

Pioneering of the Simon Fraser University Daycare: The Early Years 1965-1974

**by
Barbara Bates**

M.A. (Liberal Studies), Simon Fraser University 2012

B.A. (Anthropology), Simon Fraser University, 2008

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in the
Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Barbara Bates 2019
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2019

Copyright in this work rests with the author. Please ensure that any reproduction or re-use is done in accordance with the relevant national copyright legislation.

Approval

Name: **Barbara Bates**

Degree: **Doctor of Philosophy**

Title: **Pioneering of the Simon Fraser University Daycare:
The Early Years 1965-1974**

Examining Committee:

Chair: Helen Leung
Professor

Lara Campbell
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Dara Culhane
Supervisor
Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Ellie Stebner
Internal Examiner
Associate Professor
Department of Humanities

Eryk Martin
External Examiner
Faculty Member
Department of History
Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Date Defended/Approved: December 13, 2018

Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016

Abstract

Simon Fraser University opened in September 1965 and from the very beginning, a significant number of students arrived with their children in tow. Children present on university campuses was not the norm in the 1960s and this phenomenon presented administrations with unexpected challenges. At Simon Fraser University the arrival of preschool children needing daycare, accompanied by parents, some of whom were political and part of the burgeoning student movement, some of whom were liberationists and part of the campus women's movement, some of whom were faculty arriving with the promise of childminding, and some of whom were simply student/parents desperately in need of daycare; but not just any daycare. What united students, faculty, and staff, all arriving with children at Simon Fraser University, was the need to have accessible campus daycare with an unprecedented high standard of care and education, overseen by the parents involved, and without external interference. In the 1960s this is not how daycare was perceived, delivered, or administered and to achieve this innovative horizon, SFU parents had to petition, demonstrate, sit-in, occupy, protest, and defy authority.

The Simon Fraser Daycare Movement was as significant and ground-breaking as the campus student movement and the women's movement but it has remained undocumented in the condensed form that this thesis offers. Through archival material and oral histories, the early SFU Daycare Movement is acknowledged in this dissertation.

This thesis contribution to the history of Simon Fraser University is important, offering new material about the SFU student body, the 1960s and early 1970s campus activity, and the emergence of childcare as a matter of excellence rather than maintenance. The Simon Fraser Childcare Society that exists on campus today, has its roots planted in the midst of 1960s radicalism.

Keywords: Simon Fraser University; daycare; daycare movement; women's movement; student movement; 1960s

For Archie, Max, Eric, and Soren

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge a few outstanding professors at Simon Fraser University who helped me fulfil my academic goals.

Many thanks to Dr. Lara Campbell (Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies) who accepted me as a PhD student and unfailingly offered support, advice, and encouragement, as my senior supervisor. Lara guided me right to the end of this academic journey and for that I am very grateful.

A long standing gratitude goes to Dr. Dara Culhane (Department of Anthropology and Sociology) who inspired me in my undergraduate years, recommended me for a master's degree undertaking in Graduate Liberal Studies, as well as for PhD research in Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, and also agreed to be part my PhD supervisory committee.

Dr. Eleanor Stebner (Department of Humanities and Graduate Liberal Studies) was an exceptional graduate professor who opened new doors for me in my master's studies. She referred me to the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies for PhD studies and initially acted as a supervisor and then examiner for my thesis defence.

There are other exceptional professors to whom I am grateful. Dr. Stephen Duguid (Department of Graduate Liberal Studies and Humanities) accepted me as a master's student in the department of Graduate Liberal Studies, remained supportive throughout, and recommended me for PhD studies. Thanks to Dr. Michael Kenny, (Department of Anthropology and Sociology) for recommending me to Graduate Liberal Studies. And thank you Dr. Jerry Zaslove (Department of English, Humanities, Graduate Liberal Studies, and School for Contemporary Arts) for always being there.

Table of Contents

Approval	ii
Ethics Statement	iii
Abstract	iv
Dedication	v
Acknowledgments	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations	x
Introduction	1
Historical Background	4
Methodology	28
Academic Contributions	37
Chapter Overview	44
Conclusion	47
Chapter One Babysitting services for dentists' wives? SFU Daycare from 1965 to 1968	48
Student Identity within Emerging Movements	48
SFU and the Dawning of the Social Shift	50
Early Days: The Student Movement and Women's Liberation at Simon Fraser University	58
Women in the SFU Student Movement	65
The Relationship between the VWC and the SFU Daycare Activists	70
Interconnections: Student Activism on the SFU Campus and the Student Body	80
Chapter Two The Early SFU Daycares: Snake Hill and The Family Co-op Daycare	88
Snake Hill	89
June 1968 Student Sit-in and the Beginning of the Family Co-op	93
Chapter Three Parents, Children, and Friends of the Family	104
Daycare on Campus	104
Co-operative and Participatory Childcare Designed by SFU Parents	107
Accommodations and Compromise	117
Photos	130
Chapter Four External Pressure and Internal Disruption for the Family Co-op: 1970	137
Focus on the SFU Daycare in a New Decade	137
Chapter Five From the Family Co-op to the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society: Conflict, Regulation, and Diminishing Idealism (1971-1974)	160
Mounting Need for Daycare Space and Regulation	160
More Trouble: Post-1973 Daycare	183

Conclusion	193
References	199
Appendix A. Movements	210
Appendix B. Demographic of Interviewees	218
Appendix C. SFU Enrolment Statistics	219
Appendix D. Profiles of Interviewees	220
Interviews	223
Appendix E. Consent Form	224

List of Figures

Figure 1	SFU Board of Governors Meeting Room Sit-in, June 1968 (<i>Peak</i> , June 12, 1968, 6.)	130
Figure 2	Daycare playground Family Co-op Daycare.....	131
Figure 3	Pussy Power Strikes at SFU (<i>The Peak</i> , July 3, 1968, 1.)	132
Figure 4	The Family Co-op after a year of operation. <i>The Peak</i> , Sept 17, 1969, 16.)	132
Figure 5	Daycare children drawn to the music in the Mall	133
Figure 6	Family Co-op Children riding trikes in the SFU Mall with Ted Sinnott. (<i>Peak</i> , March 14, 1973, 1.)	134
Figure 7	Adventure Playground, 1972	135
Figure 8	Daycare Toddlers	135
Figure 9	The daycare trailers, donated in 1973	136
Figure 10	SFU Family Co-op Children in the unfenced playground	136

List of Abbreviations

BMDCS	Burnaby Mountain Day Care Society
CAUT	Canadian Association of University Teachers
CCDCC	Campus Community Daycare Centre
CCF	Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
CUCND	Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CUS	Canadian Union of Students
DNA	Dominion Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement
ECEC	Early Childhood Education and Care
FAL	Feminine Action League
FLQ	Front de Libération du Québec
NLC	New Left Committee
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SDU	Students for a Democratic University
SFU	Simon Fraser University
SFU WC	Simon Fraser University Women's Caucus
SUPA	Student Union for Peace Action
UBC	University of British Columbia
VDNA	Vancouver Day Nursery Association
VPD	Vancouver Police Department
VWC	Vancouver Women's Caucus
WDNA	Dominion Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement

Introduction

“This whole sense that the new university [SFU] was going to be in the vanguard of educational theory....was a very exciting idea. The students were very proud of it. They had a certain sense of a loyalty to innovation and being part of something that was starting out.” Jerry Zaslove, reflections of a SFU charter professor, March 31, 2016 interview

“Two universities in English Canada had a radical student body [in the 1960s]. One was Regina and the other SFU.” Martin Loney, student activist leader, August 8, 2016 interview

“I was a real outlier even trying to go to university especially with a baby.” Melody Kilian Ermachild, co-founder of the Family Daycare, August 18, 2016 interview

On June 4th 1968, a five day student sit-in in the boardroom of Simon Fraser University (SFU) challenged the democratic order of university governance and helped establish the foundation of one of the first university campus, co-operative, parent-run daycares in Canada. What began that week was the first step toward forming the SFU Family Co-op daycare, an idea that would move from boardroom sit-in, to student lounge occupation, to fully licensed childcare on campus. The establishment of the daycare was an innovative grassroots initiative that was fiercely defended by student petitioning, resistance, and protest. Turning this ad hoc movement that began in the summer of 1968 into an enduring institution presented formidable difficulties and challenges to the founding parents, who in turn responded with the determination and innovation necessary for the daycare to survive. After years of struggle, conflict, and compromise, the daycare blossomed into a licenced and professionally staffed SFU Childcare Society that became a model for future nationwide daycares.

Even though the SFU daycare seems to be the first such daycare established on any university campus in the country, its emergence is addressed only briefly in historical literature on daycare, student activism, the New Left, and women’s liberation.¹

¹ Other than Lisa Pasolli, no other child care, or 1960s scholar has referenced the Family Co-op or the founding years of the SFU Daycare in depth. Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma: A History of British Columbia’s Social Policy* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2015), 132. Pasolli’s research regarding the SFU daycare will be critiqued later in this introduction. Four other scholars make reference to the SFU daycare specifically. They are: Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 250; Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies Of Identity In A Rebellious Era* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2012), 303; Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home: The Story of the*

The founding years of the SFU daycare is the focus of this dissertation. By researching the previously unwritten early campus daycare history, this dissertation sheds new light on the connections between the radical and often controversial student movement, women's liberation movement, and daycare movement at SFU in the 1960s.

The establishment of the SFU campus daycare was no easy task or simple accomplishment. Like so many of the 1960s movements for rights and freedoms, such as the civil liberties movement, the civil rights movement, the student movement, the women's liberation movement, and the anti-Vietnam War and peace movement, a challenge to the status quo was necessary for change to occur. As Jerry Zaslove, an original faculty member at SFU states, the student body at SFU did have "a sense of loyalty to innovation and being part of something that was starting out."² But in 1965, SFU students, staff, and administration had no cohesive idea of what form that innovation would take. SFU's first chancellor Gordon Shrum was a representative of British Columbia's conservative establishment. Shrum was appointed by a provincial Social Credit government that favoured "large-scale public investment in energy and transportation infrastructure, as a stimulus to private investment in the profitable resource-extraction and processing sectors," rather than committing to human development.³ Shrum held status as a well-educated and politically connected white male and exercised his rank, position, and power by verbally denigrating certain groups of students. For example, Shrum told SFU's student newspaper *The Peak* that the speed limit on Gaglardi Way should be left to the students' discretion and that resulting

Sixties Generation in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1980), 179; Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 47. Other scholars add significantly to the understanding of second wave feminism, 1960s radicalism, the student movement, youth culture, the Canadian labour movement, and support the research undertaken for this dissertation. A comprehensive list of books and articles referencing the 1960s can be seen in footnote 92 of this introduction.

² Jerry Zaslove, Interview, March 31, 2016

³ Zaslove maintains that the Social Credit government was responsible for the building of "roads and dams and highways and building the perception that British Columbia was a progressive modern place. Shrum's idea of a university was to fit in to that world view." Jerry Zaslove interview March 31, 2016. The Social Credit Government was the governing political party in British Columbia from 1952 to 1991 excluding 1972 to 1975, when the New Democratic Party was in power. Under Premier W.A.C. Bennett, "it became a conservative-centrist party" focusing on provincial highways, hydroelectric power, the BC Ferries, and "social programs with education and universities at the top of the list." Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 18. Social programs and education were granted less financial allotment than highways and dams. Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 41.

traffic “cadavers” should be taken to the hospital or to UBC, where they might be of some use. In 1966 he suggested that students with an “IQ under 110” should not attend university and at one point suggested that waitresses need not go past grade two or labourers past grade eight.⁴ While this outspoken and inflammatory rhetoric was somewhat unconventional for a university chancellor, he embodied common beliefs about class, intelligence, and student involvement in university governance. To Shrum, student demands for representation in university governance, including the appeal for a campus daycare, smacked of revolutionary thinking; thinking that would not be tolerated.⁵ The politicians, architects, project directors, administration, faculty, and student body involved in the early years of SFU included people from opposing and conflictual philosophical and political viewpoints. Nevertheless, they all came together in the mid-1960s to create a university that was soon to become known as radical. Simon Fraser University in its unconventionality was the embodiment of the socio-cultural shift that was sweeping through North America in the 1960s.⁶

Social change required organization, activism, focus, and the meeting of like minds. But even then, resistance to change evoked formidable opposition. From the beginning of its existence, the SFU daycare faced opposition from the university administration. Like many other 1960s activist groups, pushing for the establishment of on-campus care for the children of students, professors, and staff at the university required a huge effort by parents with shared incentives, needs, and vision. The survival of the SFU daycare required a movement of its own not only because administrative powers resisted the daycare, but because of systemic postwar norms and social conventions that opposed working mothers and stigmatized daycare. In the postwar era, women were expected to marry young, birth and raise children, and remain in the domestic space of the home to care for them while fathers were the primary

⁴ *The Peak*, December 8, 1965, 12. and *The Peak*, October 5, 1966, 2.

⁵ Shrum opposed student participation in university governance. During an interview, Gini Shaw remembered attending a Board of Governors meeting with activist Martin Loney. She recalled that Shrum was “nasty” and that “every time Martin tried to open his mouth, Shrum would yell at him and attempt to humiliate him. He wanted to intimidate him and embarrass him..... make him look like an idiot and shut him up.” Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

⁶ “The 1960s are remembered as a decade of upheaval, change, revolutionary ideas, and resistance to any authority.....everything was questioned. This questioning was expressed in new lifestyles, language, music, dress, ideas, and values.” Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change*, 33.

breadwinners. Mothers tucked away at home with children was part of the traditional and wholesome facade that prevailed in postwar society.

My dissertation details the sociopolitical events that occurred in the 1960s that enabled the formation of the SFU daycare that was initially envisioned in 1965. It explores the establishment of the daycare by activist parents, and follows the growth of the daycare into a volunteer family co-operative which began in 1968. It ends after the transition from the co-operative to an established, funded, regulated, and official daycare society in 1973.

Historical Background

My own experience during the 1960s is itself an illustration of the time. I was a teenager in the mid-1960s and came of age by the end of the era. I did not have a steady boyfriend until I was in my last year of high school in a northern Ontario town. My boyfriend was a sensitive and passionate young man and the two of us awkwardly attempted to satisfy our stifled sexual desires while maintaining my innocence and avoiding an unwanted pregnancy.⁷ To do otherwise would be disastrous especially for me. Premarital sex and particularly premarital pregnancy resulted in a reputation for young men and ruination for young women.⁸ Single mothers attending university with campus childcare was unheard of in my small town, even if such a program was being considered at SFU.

Prior to 1969, it was exceedingly difficult for young women to get birth control that was reliable.⁹ At that time in our very conservative city, if I, or any other girl, went to the family doctor to inquire about birth control, the doctor would likely have contacted our

⁷ “It was common at the time, and perhaps remains so today, to assume that boys sought sex while girls sought only affection (or some other emotional or psychological reward).” Sharon Wall, “Some Thought They Were ‘in Love’”: Sex, White Teenage hood, and Unmarried Pregnancy in Early Postwar Canada,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 25, no. 1 (November 1, 2014), 223. Wall argues that the extent of female desire before the sexual revolution is understudied.

⁸ “Once teenage girls became pregnant, a changed future was more or less unavoidable for them, at least in the short, and often also the long run. Teenage boys, however, could still be protected from this fate.” *Ibid.*, 230.

⁹ “As men and boys could more easily evade any consequences of pregnancy, the impetus to seek out contraception was, sadly, not all that great.” *Ibid.*, 215.

parents before we even made it back home.¹⁰ This disclosure could bring shame on the family as sexual relations outside of marriage were considered disgraceful, particularly for an unmarried woman.¹¹ This was a period of public scrutiny and surveillance. Gossip ran wild in our small town. People made it their business to censor undesirable behaviour by ostracizing wayward individuals. Parents would prohibit association with some of their daughter's peers for a variety of reasons that they deemed inappropriate.

In our town, girls who retained their virginity until marriage were "good girls," and girls who had premarital or casual sex were "bad girls" or girls who would "go" all the way. Boys' sexual behaviour, however, remained unlabeled. This double standard was a mixture of social, moral and religious views inherited from generations past.¹² Girls were encouraged to have boyfriends to confirm they were normal and to herald their eligibility for marriage.¹³ Any deviation from sexual "normalcy" was ruinous and gay and lesbian youth were invisible in mainstream institutions.¹⁴ Young women were expected to attract the opposite sex without sacrificing their virginity.¹⁵ However, the longer a young couple

¹⁰ Birth control was legalized in Canada in 1961, but restricted to married women, and for therapeutic purposes such as the regulation of menstrual cycles and for married women. In May of 1969, Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government introduced Bill C-150 to amend the criminal code and legalized the birth control pill as part of many other reforms. With the passing of Bill C-150 the pill became available to adult women on request as a method of contraception. The age of majority in Canada was 21 until 1970.

¹¹ Christabelle Sethna, "The Evolution of the *Birth Control Handbook: From Student Peer-Education Manual to Feminist Self Empowerment Text, 1968–1975*," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 23, no.1 (Spring 2006).

¹² "The central point in the Western vision of sexual differences was that a woman's place was in the home, leaving men to run everything that went on outside the front door. Men provided and protected; women served and deferred." Gail Collins, *When Everything Changed* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2009), 5.

¹³ "Girls were under intense pressure to date and to have boyfriends. To be popular was everything, to 'go steady,' nirvana, and so the quandary arose: How could you attract a boy or a man, or preferably a flock of them, and still follow the prohibition against having sex? Anne Petrie, *Gone to an Aunt's: Remembering Canada's Homes for Unwed Mothers* (Toronto: McClelland & Stuart, 2004), 6. "Experts told parents to help their children become datable, warning that a late start might doom their marriage prospects." Beth Bailey, "From Front Porch to Back Seat: A History of the Date," *OAH Magazine of History*, 18, no. 4 (July 2004), 25.

¹⁴ Bill C-150 decriminalized homosexuality in Canada in 1969.

¹⁵ For example, see "Goddess Touch" *The Peak*, November 3, 1965, 6. This article suggests that women can "land on cloud nine," by using special talents, beauty care, natural looking makeup, graceful movements, and cultivation of a lovely voice. Standards of female appearance and deportment were imperative in attracting a husband and this ideal was driven by the consumer industry, and reinforced through media, popular culture, and social pressure. Appearance, deportment, and manner of dress were hardly the only issues under scrutiny. Another article in *The Peak*, "Co-eds Dial for Immoral Support," reported: "Girls at Fresno State, California and

dated, the greater their chance of having sexual intercourse. Kissing soon became necking, and then petting, and this progression in sexual engagement was too often a slippery slope that ended badly.¹⁶ Men were expected to push women for sexual intercourse while women were expected to exercise self-control and resist going “all the way” or risk pregnancy or the “bad girl” reputation.¹⁷ This double standard linked to sexual behaviour left young women severely disadvantaged in relation to young men.¹⁸ The legalization of birth control and abortion in 1969, although welcomed by many at the time, by no means corrected this prevailing gender disparity. Historians have therefore argued that the “sexual revolution,” defined broadly as “a dramatic reorientation of sexual values...concerning the rights of men and women,” did not fundamentally alter longstanding gender and sexual inequality between men and women—and may even have contributed to placing additional pressure on young women to become sexually active.¹⁹ Many young women were acutely aware of this reality even if they were weakly

Sheffield Universities, have instituted an anti-sex organization called Dial-A-Virgin that is patterned after Alcoholics Anonymous. Founder June Heaton, being shocked at the standards of morality at universities, started the Dial-A-Virgin program, designed “to save innocent maidens from a lifetime of shame. The solution is simple. When a member finds herself in the mood for inter-personal relationships, she simply calls a special number.” *The Peak*, November 24, 1965, 6.

¹⁶ Author Myrna Kostash, who came of age in the 1960s recalls, “There was not a woman alive who did not fear the consequences of her sexual activity; nor one who did not realize, even instinctively, that this fear was a form of social control.” Kostash, *Long Way from Home*, 172.

¹⁷ Doug Owrarn argues: “Society put the burden of sexual purity on the female. Boys were expected to initiate, and the girl was supposed to decide what was appropriate. The boys were supposed to prove they were men, and the girls had to prove they were respectable.” Doug Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 256. The double standard was apparent at SFU in the 1960s. A February 1966, issue of *The Peak* recalled a fraternity party that had happened the previous weekend. The editorial reads: “Your maiden aunt may not have liked it, (there was booze enough to float in, and the many bedrooms were open for those lucky enough to find a willing girl) but, by the standards of college morality it was everything you could want in a social event. Nobody got obnoxiously drunk and damage was limited to reputations hurt the next day by inevitable gossip.” *The Peak*, February 16, 1966, 4.

¹⁸ “Teen sexual experimentation had its consequences, but these were distinctly gendered and unequal.” Wall, “Some Thought They Were in Love,” 230. and Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time*, 256.

¹⁹ Owrarn refers to the “so called sexual revolution” as a “reorientation of sexual values” and behavior “surrounding premarital chastity for women.” Owrarn, *Born at The Right Time*, 249. Myrna Kostash argues that “the ‘sexual revolution’ simply served to increase the access men had to women, without the attendant responsibilities of traditional male-female relations. The woman was on her own with her fear of pregnancy, her pregnancy in fact, her ‘frigidity’ if she would not consent to sex, and her desolation when she did.” Kostash adds: “It was the women’s liberation movement that exposed the fallacy of the sexual liberation movement: that real sexual liberation could take place without upsetting the social superiority of men.” Kostash, *Long Way from Home*, 185. However, the counter-argument from scholars such as Deirde English claims that, although

informed, due to their age and life experience, about socioeconomic and political gender inequality enforced by the dominant patriarchal social hierarchy.²⁰

Options for young, unmarried, and pregnant women were minimal in the 1960s. One common response was for a young woman to leave town until after she had an abortion or gave birth to the baby. This was a girl's worst nightmare, especially in small town Canada: a painful place for a girl "in trouble."²¹ People were often told that the young woman was "visiting her aunt back east."²² If she did have the baby while unmarried, then the baby was usually given up for adoption in a larger urban center like Toronto before the girl returned home. Sharon Wall argues that young men usually did not feel obligated to marry their girlfriends if they became pregnant, especially if they were not yet employed or established.²³ Marriage or no marriage, the family was disgraced and traumatized by a premarital pregnancy, especially in smaller towns where everybody knew everyone else's business. Furthermore, a "shot gun wedding" meant a young woman was "knocked-up." The sense of shame that was associated with

"sexism was there, women were actually having more sexual experience of different kinds and enjoying it. Women were having more sex that was not procreational and claiming the right to it as well as paying a lower social and emotional cost." Deirdre English, Gayle Rubin, and Amber Hollibaugh, "Talking Sex," *Socialist Review*, #58 (July–August 1981), 45. See also Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 43. Beth Bailey argues that "since the early 1970s no completely dominant national system of courtship has emerged, and the existing systems are not nearly so clear in their conventions and expectations as were the old system of dating. Not always knowing 'the rules' is undoubtedly harder than following the clear script of the traditional date." Bailey, "From Front Porch to Back Seat, 25.

²⁰ "The ideological and material beginnings of the contemporary women's movement in Canada can be traced to the early 1960s. While the terms and concepts of 'women's liberation', 'feminism', 'sexism', and 'discrimination against women' were not used in this period, the material conditions for the development of the contemporary women's movement had appeared." Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 37. The material conditions that became apparent were developed over time and with maturity. Young women in high school may have understood sexual repression and the double standard, but wage inequality and work place discrimination became apparent as they entered the workforce.

²¹ "It would be easier to say you had murdered someone...[than] this the great crime of youth, especially for a girl. It meant that you had had sex 'out of wedlock.' And now everyone would know. You were a slut. Pure and simple." Petrie, *Gone to an Aunt's*, 13.

²² "The girls just disappeared and the cover stories were vague. 'Gone to visit an aunt' was typical. Occasionally there was a family member in another city who could be trusted, who would take in a niece or a granddaughter, but often parents could not share the secret with anyone. The daughter was shipped off—from her own home to another home, a home to hide in until the baby came. A home for unwed mothers." Petrie, *Gone to an Aunt's*, 3.

²³ "Girls' partners were more often other teens, and because of this and the age-consciousness of the times, marriage was being questioned as the appropriate solution when pregnancy occurred." Wall, "Some Thought They Were in Love," 209.

unmarried pregnancy could be both humiliating and debilitating.²⁴ If a couple married to avoid the shame of a premarital pregnancy, any unfinished education could impact their future.

The demographic bulge known as the baby boom had an impact on many social institutions, including the education system. The baby boom generation entered post-secondary education in unprecedented numbers.²⁵ In provinces like Ontario, the consequent strain on universities was lessened by a grade thirteen year at the high school level followed by a three-year university degree. Young men without a university education could often find work in a local mill or mine, or could seek a trade, or other options for employment. Young women without a university education had fewer employment options, and were streamed into sex-typed jobs such as sales or clerical work.²⁶ Women's salaries were often paid lower than a living wage and this often kept them living at home until they married.²⁷ Marriage was one of the few available options to escape home. But marriage for a woman ideally entailed finding a husband who was willing to take on the responsibilities of becoming a full-time breadwinner and who would work at a job for the rest of his life to support a wife and children.²⁸ There were very few

²⁴ Jenny Diski's *The Sixties* describes the social codes of womanly conduct, and sexual oppression inflicted on the postwar generation who were "brought up by parents who aimed for respectability, and to conceal any suggestion that the body was not under strict control of the civilized mind. The great weapons were shame and embarrassment." Jenny Diski, *The Sixties* (New York: Picador, 2009), 54.

²⁵ The baby boom generation refers generally to children born between 1946 and 1959. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 4. By the 1960s 'bomers' were entering university in record numbers. Between 1963 and 1968, university enrolment in Canada increased more than in the previous fifty years with dozens of new institutions, hundreds of new faculty members, and tens of thousands more students in undergraduate programs.

²⁶ Throughout the 50s and 60s the "largest expansion was in clerical occupations. It began after the war and its primary impact was on women. Compared with 19% in 1921, 29% of the female labour force was in clerical occupations in 1961. The proportion of men increased and that of women decreased by 8 percentage points in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Women were concentrated in the service and clerical occupations." Abdul Rashid "Seven Decades of Wage Changes," *Perspectives* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 10.

²⁷ Women workers were more likely to be in part-time and interrupted employment, in lower wage brackets, and, save for teaching and nursing professionals, in jobs with fewer benefits and less security" Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour, Women and Work in Post-War Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2010), 23. Also, "as late as 1971, according to Statistics Canada, women working full-time jobs earned less than 60 percent of a male wage." Dominique Clément, *Equality Deferred, Sex Discrimination and British Columbia's Human Rights State, 1953-84*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 72. See also Sangster, *Transforming Labour*.

²⁸ Margret Benston points out that in traditional marriage with the woman at home, the husband in fact works for two. Industrial capitalist society encourages this arrangement, wanting the woman

opportunities for either men or women to maneuver within or escape from these cultural and social expectations.²⁹ The development of youth-dominated music, fashion, and popular culture in the 1960s did not alter the normative expectations of marriage and parenthood for most young people in the postwar era in towns and cities across the nation. This reality dominated the lived experience of Canadian youth and many young people found these expectations unnatural and oppressive. In fact, many people felt trapped, with little opportunity to live life differently.

As tough as this reality may have been for many women and youth, for some it was much worse. Youth from marginalized or racial minorities often experienced harsher standards that were exacerbated by social, religious, racial, sexual, or economic circumstance.³⁰ For example, the lived experience of Indigenous youth included the trauma of residential schools, a government policy that separated Indigenous children from their families and that lasted until 1996. The forcible removal of children from Indigenous families, often known as the “sixties scoop,” also occurred through provincial child welfare policies. And Indigenous women suffered “disproportionate scrutiny and regulation,” in all aspects of their reproductive health and wellness.³¹ Indigenous women suffered under sexism, racism, and colonialism through the federal Indian Act, which built in gender discrimination as part of its structure.³² Dara Culhane sums up the

in the home as a passive, reliant consumer, and the husband tied to a job to provide for dependents. Benston, “The Political Economy of Women’s Liberation,” 279–289.

²⁹ Benston recommended that as a means of women’s liberation, the family should restructure. She suggested that this could be done by co-operating with other families in childcare exchanges and shared domestic labour. However she saw that long term restructuring would necessitate a revolution. The SFU Family Co-op was a small but significant example of revolutionary advances. Maggie Benston, “The Political Economy of Women’s Liberation,” *In Voices from Women’s Liberation*, ed Leslie B. Tanner (New York: Mentor, 1970), 279–289.

³⁰ For more information on how sex and class were different for youth outside of the mainstream, see Lee Maracle, *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1990), 127-136. See also, Sean Mills, “*The Empire Within: Montreal, the Sixties, and the Forging of a Radical Imagination*,” Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Queens University, 2007.

³¹ Shannon Stettner, Kristin Burnett, and Travis Hay, “Introduction,” *In Abortion History, Politics, and Reproductive Justice After Morgentaler*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 17; Joan Sangster, “Criminalizing the Colonized: Ontario Native Women Confront the Criminal Justice System, 1920-60,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 80 no.1 (March 1999), 32-60.

³² The 1876 Indian Act and Bill C-31 established patrilineality as the criterion for determining Indian status. An Aboriginal woman who married a non-aboriginal man or a non-status man could lose her band membership. As well, non-band women who married a band member, could lose their status when their husband died or when they divorced. Within the band, a woman’s status was dependent on her husband’s status. In the case of non-band member marriages, “the woman, on marriage must leave her parents’ home and her reserve. She may not own property

enormity of this process of colonization as follows: “Spatial segregation on administered reserves, restrictions on mobility, intense surveillance of every day private and public life, hospitalization and incarceration, and prohibition of cultural practices like potlatching –to name but a few strategies- directly targeted individual and collective Indigenous bodies, minds, thoughts, feelings, and sensations, penetrating and engineering everyday lived experience.”³³

Furthermore, with the Second World War drawing women into the workforce, a window of opportunity appeared for Canada's gay community who also became readily employed. However, the situation changed after WWII with the emergence of Cold War concerns for security and normalcy. As Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile explain, the Cold War reinforced a desire for normality against the supposed spread of “political, gender, and sexual deviance.”³⁴ By 1969 the Canadian legal amendment of Bill C 150 legalized homosexuality. This was a victory for LGBTQ people but changes in the law do not necessarily coincide with changes in public attitude. LGBTQ people continued to fight an ongoing battle against sexual prejudice.

The era of the 1960s is remembered for youthful protests and battles for broad ideals like civil liberties, civil rights, racial and gender equality, and peace. But focusing too much on these larger ideals and the movements to achieve them can run the risk of overshadowing the range of personal everyday experiences and realities that propel social change. Social awareness regarding the forces of capitalism and consumerism

on the reserve and must dispose of any property she does hold. She may be prevented from inheriting property left to her by her parents. She cannot take any further part in band business. Her children are not recognized as Indian and are therefore denied access to cultural and social amenities of the Indian community. And most punitive of all, she may be prevented from returning to live with her family on the reserve, even if she is in dire need, very ill, a widow, divorced or separated. Finally, her body may not be buried on the reserve with those of her forebears.” Joanne Baker, “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism,” in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 6th ed., eds. Mona Gleason, Adele Perry, and Tamara Myers. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 130; Joyce Green, “Canada the Bully: Indigenous Human Rights in Canada and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” *Prairie Forum*, 36, vol. 1, (Fall 2011); Emma LaRocque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010); Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

³³ Dara Culhane, “Sensing,” in *A Different Kind of Ethnography, Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, eds. Dara Culhane and Denielle Elliott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 59.

³⁴ Patricia Gentile and Gary Kinsman, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 23.

that oppressed and kept the individual contained within restricted gender, familial, and social norms emerged in this period. Youth began to protest against these outmoded, oppressive, disrespectful, and demoralizing social expectations. Activism in the 1960s was about an ideological pursuit toward abstract ideals of equality and peace, but it was also about individuals who mobilized for change because their everyday lived experience became unacceptable or even intolerable. The desire for change was worth defying the status quo. However, change requires cooperation and collaboration amongst likeminded people. Such likeminded people came together at SFU in the 1960s as baby boom youth entered university and began to identify ongoing repression and injustice in the world.

The history of the origins of childcare at SFU is therefore connected to broader social, economic, and political changes in the postwar era. This dissertation draws on and contributes to several bodies of historiography, including the connection between normative ideals of gender, sexuality, and the family and Cold War state concerns about security and subversion. The dissertation also places the story of childcare at SFU within the historiography on the emergence of daycare. Finally, the activism of daycare parents must be understood in relation to historical literature which debates the chronology and periodization of social activism in the 1960s.

Historians have assessed the postwar era as conflicted, with a sense of optimism fed by increased prosperity and stability after the end of depression and war, but the era was also marked by underlying insecurity and fear brought about by atomic warfare and nuclear proliferation.³⁵ Historian Elaine Tyler May argues that initial enthusiasm at the end of the Second World War “juxtaposed the thrill of atomic

³⁵ With the development of two dominant superpowers (the United States and Russia or more generally the Western Bloc, and its European NATO Allies, and the Eastern Bloc, the Soviet Union and its allies through the Warsaw Pact) and nuclear weapons, world peace was believed to be tenuous. The fear and insecurity instilled by the depression, the war, and the reality of atomic warfare was powerful. See Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 1; Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012). Soon after WW II ended, the Soviet Union and the United States were poised as the two world super powers with divergent political, social, and financial interests. The USSR had developed its own atomic bomb by 1949 and was prepared to defend Communism and its claim as a super power. The threat of another war lead to the so-called Cold War that lasted from 1947 to 1991. The beginning of the Cold War was aggravated by the Bay of Pigs (1961) and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962).

empowerment with the terror of annihilation.”³⁶ Historical work on the postwar period acknowledges this complex relationship between hope and insecurity, but it is also important to point out that the affluence that marked the period was always circumscribed by race, class, and region. Bryan Palmer argues that “Canadian identity, prior to the 1960s, was a subset of British identity, and it was, whatever its uniqueness, unmistakable in its attachment to empire and to understandings of colonizing superiorities.”³⁷ This attachment to British superiority played out in a number of different ways across the country. For example, Quebecers identified as a marginalized group fighting to protect their language and culture as a cultural minority in Canada. The Duplessis government that controlled Quebec from 1944 to 1959, the long established control of the Catholic clergy in Quebec, and the powerful landowners and English colonizers had been responsible for the period of the “great darkness.”³⁸ Palmer argues that “for all that Quebec mattered, English Canadians mattered more.”³⁹ As previously outlined, Indigenous people lived under colonization and suffered high rates of poverty. Black Canadians across the country also lived in conditions of poverty even though the period was supposedly marked by affluence. Many non-Black Canadians displayed racism against the Black Canadian population rendering them “a poor and politically powerless community.”⁴⁰ This anti-Black racial discrimination affected employment, education, housing, and other aspects of well-being for Black Canadians. Clearly postwar affluence was not shared equally across divides of race, ethnicity, or region.⁴¹

The economic crisis of the 1930s Depression, followed by the political and social upheaval of the Second World War, left North American society devastated and apprehensive about the security of the nation. These fears were further exploited by

³⁶ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 416.

³⁸ Pierre Vallières, *White Niggers of America* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1971), 63.

³⁹ Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 415.

⁴⁰ A Sir George Williams University student protest, ignited by a professor's racially biased grading of black students, ended in violence, destruction, and the deportation of a black student. James Walker, *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985); James Walker. “Black Confrontation in Sixties Halifax,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 177; Dionne Brand, et al. *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays on African Canadian Women's Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

⁴¹ For more on this period, see Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford, eds. *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945-75* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

governing authorities and social powers during the Cold War period, as the two postwar superpowers—the United States and the USSR— and their respective allies fought for global political and economic dominance. Historians have argued that this period in North America was shaped by fear, paranoia, and a strong desire for national, familial, and personal security. People wanted to avoid further hardship, loss, and political turmoil at all costs. These costs exacted social and individual demands that frustrated the postwar generation and also affected future generations. Guaranteeing a high level of security required individual and collective compromise, including acceptance of state surveillance and the quashing of individual and collective subversion. While political historians have focused on the way in which authorities placed individuals and organizations under surveillance for political subversion and ties to communism, gender and women’s historians have demonstrated that North American powers were also invested in maintaining rigid heteronormative gender and family roles. Historians Gary Kinsman and Patricia Gentile argue that the Cold War “was directed against differing forms of political, social, sexual, and cultural subversion. The adaptability of the concept of 'subversion' was and is key to the Cold War and the national security discourse.”⁴² In other words, individuals whose behaviour and identity was deemed outside the norm—and which therefore challenged the postwar consensus on heterosexual family structures, gender norms, and reproduction—were seen as subversive because they were a threat to national stability and cohesiveness. Any form of subversion that could “weaken” the moral fabric of the nation was understood as a threat to national security.

Postwar values demarking the difference between right and wrong, good and bad, normal or abnormal, acceptable or unacceptable were understood as part of socialization and were re-enforced by the emergence of the professional expert as the source of authority. The rising field of psychology dominated ideals of normality in the family, school, and workplace. Mona Gleason argues “the normal family that was constructed through psychological discourse was idealized and therefore largely unattainable; moreover, it entrenched and reproduced the dominance of Anglo/Celtic (as

⁴² Patricia Gentile, and Gary Kinsman, *The Canadian War on Queers*, 24. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound*; Daniel Robinson and David Kimmel, “The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1994); Jenny Diski, *The Sixties*; Owsen, *Born At The Right Time*.

opposed to 'ethnic'), middle-class, heterosexual, and patriarchal values."⁴³ Kinsman and Gentile conclude that "a key objective of Cold War mobilization was the creation of the 'normal' [in that] certain forms of social practice were defined as moral and normal, whereas others were constructed as immoral and deviant."⁴⁴ These ideas were also upheld in the workplace where, according to Daniel Robinson and David Kimmel, 1960s government officials sought the advice of psychiatric and psychological specialists. What was construed as 'normal' met the needs of Cold War security and therefore enabled "social surveillance, normalization, and disciplinary power."⁴⁵ What was normal and acceptable was expressed most fully in a stable, attractive, white middle-class suburban, hyper-consumerist family, with a stay-at-home mother and breadwinning father, and who had ideally one son and one daughter. This ideal left anyone who did not fit this idealized model marginalized. As Gleason states, "those who stand outside the mainstream, who resist the dominant culture or display alternative behaviour, are vulnerable to social disapproval, ostracization, and depending upon the seriousness of their transgression, even state censure and punishment."⁴⁶ Groups who stood outside the mainstream and were viewed with suspicion or public condemnation included people who were unemployed or poor, Indigenous people, immigrants, members of racialized communities, members of LGBTQ communities, people with disabilities, single parents (in particular unmarried mothers), and any group or individuals who held alternative or uncommon political views, especially those rooted in or perceived to be associated with communism.⁴⁷ The social construction of normalcy enabled authorities to regulate or manage people and consequently, postwar psychological theories about normalcy permeated family life, childrearing, teacher training, education, and marital relationships.

⁴³ Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4.

⁴⁴ Gentile and Kinsman, *The Canadian War on Queers*, 24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁶ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 8.

⁴⁷ "Single mothers.....felt the unfairness of an economic system that did not compensate them as breadwinners." Sangster, *Transforming Labour*, 3. Owrarn underscores the "evil" rhetoric associated with the impoverished family, compared to the "good" assigned to the financially adequate Anglo-Celtic family. Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time*, 91. Post-Second World War beliefs saw homosexuals and prostitutes as "problem[s]" and wanted the "promiscuous, over-sexed, conquering, aggressive dyke" exposed as a social threat. Donna Penn, "The Sexualized Woman, The Lesbian the Prostitute and the Containment of Female Sexuality in Postwar America", in *Not June Cleaver*, ed., Joanne Meyerowitz, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 365.

The pressure on women to uphold social and gender norms in this period was intense, and “women whose roles did not center on the home and family were considered deviant.”⁴⁸ Most women whose lives did centre on the home paid a price because their worth was marginalized by the very social structures that constructed normalcy and security.⁴⁹ There was pressure on mothers to remain in the home to nurture, supervise, and socialize children who would turn out to be socially prescribed normal adults. Mothers were expected to raise well-adjusted, healthy, intelligent, heterosexual children who would become patriotic adults ready to defend and champion the North American dream of capitalism, consumerism, and nuclear family formation. The postwar era was marked by the resurgence of home and family in a new age of modernity; as a foremost historian of the period Elaine Tyler May argues, the “self-contained home held out the promise of security in an insecure world.”⁵⁰ The formula for a strong home, marriage and family was standard: “Strong families required two essential ingredients: sexual restraint outside marriage and traditional gender roles in marriage.”⁵¹ Traditional gender roles based on the stay at home mother ideal lasted long after the 1960s. The dominant ideology which prevailed up to the late 1980s and beyond was conveyed by a SFU financial executive when he said that “if people chose to have kids, then they should stay at home to care for them. That’s what mothers are for.”⁵²

Mothers had little choice but to stay at home unless they had reliable childcare from family, friends, or a regular babysitter. Daycare centres were scarce and often undesirable. To understand the daycare structures that SFU parents were resisting when they fought for and established their ideal of a co-operative, parent administrated, non-hierarchical daycare, it is necessary to understand something of the twentieth century history of ideas about motherhood as well as the history of daycare prior to the 1960s.

⁴⁸ Verta Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in Abeyance,” *Sociological Review*, 54, no. 5 (October 1989), 765.

⁴⁹ Kathy McAfee and Myrna Wood argue that women by the late 1960s could identify personal feelings of anger, defeat, and distress, and knew that these feeling were shared by other women. Women started to locate the source of their own oppression. Kathy McAfee and Myrna Wood, “Bread and Roses,” in *Voices from Women’s Liberation*, ed. Leslie B. Tanner, 1st ed. (New York: Signet, 1970), 415-433.

⁵⁰ May, *Homeward Bound*, 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, Joyce Branscombe taped interview, F 149-2-0-0-3. March 1998.

The public perception of working mothers was that they were selfish and pitiable women who signified personal failure. Working mothers were assumed to be in the labour force not because of choice but due to family breakdown, poverty, single parenthood, or an unemployed, debilitated, or absent male breadwinner. Scholars of daycare have shown how these norms and assumptions about motherhood, family life, and childcare limited the development of childcare policy in Canada.⁵³ Despite childcare advocates such as women's liberation groups and welfare rights activists who argued for a mother's right to work in the public sphere, and the advocacy of some idealistic politicians for families in financial need, working mothers and their childcare choices were nevertheless the subject of public examination and often condemnation.⁵⁴

These sorts of assumptions about working mothers shaped how childcare was provided. For the most part, childcare was delivered as a form of charity for impoverished or working-class women. The first Vancouver crèche began in 1909, as a private institution founded by middle and upper middle-class women who wanted white women to care for their children. Prior to the provision of daycare for working women in 1909, Chinese men, who had remained in Canada after the completion of the railway in the late 1880s, worked as domestic workers and also provided childcare in private homes.⁵⁵ The crèche was taken over by social welfare officials in 1912 and publicly funded. By 1914 a new crèche was constructed as an employment centre and a daycare, run by the city of Vancouver and administrated by the Health Department.

Although the general public supported the initial construction of the crèche, by the end of WW I city councillors and relief officials argued that the crèche was not cost-effective and a cheaper alternative was to board children year-round, provide foster

⁵³ Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*; Martha Friendly, "Child Care as a Social Policy Issue," in Larry Prochner and Nina Howe, *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past Present and Future* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); and Susan Prentice, "The Business of Childcare: The Issue of Auspice," in *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*; Larry Prochner and Nina Howe, *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada*.

⁵⁴ "No matter the reason or the rationale behind their labour force participation, mothers could not escape their subordinate status as second-class workers." Lisa Pasolli, "I ask you, Mr. Mitchell, is the emergency over? Debating Day Nurseries in the Second World War," *Canadian Historical Review*, 96, no. 1 (March 2015), 1.

⁵⁵ Bryan Palmer stresses that in Canada until the 1960s "nationality [was] rooted in inequalities and unfairness as broad as the country itself and as deep as its layered settlements." Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 10.

care, or place them in an orphanage. Public support for daycare wavered upon disclosure of the actual cost of the service and by the moral disapproval of politicians and church groups who did not want to be seen as interfering with a mother's domestic duty. This debate inspired the idea of mother's pensions as an alternative to the crèche with the philosophy that mothers belonged in the home with their children. These debates ushered in the mother's pension legislation in 1920 but it initially was offered only for widowed and deserted mothers and later included unwed mothers but only if they were British subjects. Despite the circumstance of need, mothers' pensions were never intended to fully compensate women for the role of mothering. This is reflected in the structure of the pensions, which were never set at high enough rates to allow mothers to look after children full time.⁵⁶ In 1938 the *Mothers' Pensions Act* was replaced by the *Mothers' Allowances Act* as a charity based on need.⁵⁷ For many families a mothers' allowance or pension provided only a meagre aid to a subsistence standard of living.⁵⁸

In this same period, daycare remained substantially underfunded. Childcare was considered a woman's job, especially for white, middle-class women. This further delineated the class divisions of Canadian society, rendering as second-class citizens families that required the income of both parents to survive, unwed mothers, or women who needed to work because they had been abandoned, widowed, or were unwed. Normative fathers were expected to earn sufficient income to support their family and

⁵⁶ "Although the BC Mothers' Pension rates were more generous than most they still remained inadequate [and] well below subsistence." Margaret Hillyard Little, "Claiming a Unique Place: The Introduction of Mothers' Pensions in BC," *BC Studies* 105/106 (Spring/Summer 1995), 100.

⁵⁷ After WWI, public support for publically funded daycare diminished due to the cost of operation. Further concern was expressed by politicians and church groups who did not want to be seen interfering with a mother's rightful place in the home. As daycare subsidies diminished, the mother's pension legislation in 1920 allowed for widowed, deserted, divorced and unwed mothers to receive mother's pensions but only if they were of Anglo-Celtic descent. Charlotte Whitton the director of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare was hired in 1931 by Progressive Conservative BC Premier Simon Tolmie to help the province curb social welfare spending. She proposed that the Mother's Pensions be replaced by the Mother's Allowance (implemented in 1938) because pensions were payments in recognition of work or service already performed, while allowances were paid as a charitable substitute. Her recommendations included reducing charitable payment to mothers, and cancelling allowances: to mothers with only one child, to mothers who did not display fit and proper behaviour determined by visiting social workers, and to unwed mothers who were considered morally unfit. "Allowances entered the realm of needs-based charity. Mothers were not entitled to social rights as mothers nor as workers." Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 70.

⁵⁸ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Wages for Housework": Mothers' Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, no.1 (Spring 1979), 24-34.

mothers were expected to fulfil their sacred duty of caring for children in the home. This model of the full-time female homemaker and full-time male breadwinner may not have described the comfortable reality of most Canadians in this period, but it was an idealized model of gender and family relations that had a great deal of cultural power. This model family was the sought after ideal and socially imposed by a capitalist consumer society where the father earned income in the labour market while the mother worked in the domestic domain of unpaid labour.

However, the advent of the Second World War demonstrates the flexibility of this ideal when the security and needs of the nation became a priority. In this period, the labour shortage caused by men serving in the military led to a policy in which the federal government supported childcare for mothers who worked in war industries.⁵⁹ The *Dominion Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement* (WDNA) was a federal-provincial cost-shared daycare program that began in July 1942.⁶⁰ The provinces were not obligated to participate, however. British Columbia declined to join the WDNA trying instead to use existing daycare provided by three existing day nurseries and foster-home care as a cost saving measure. City officials and expert opinions remained steadfast in the belief that children were physically and morally better off in a home.⁶¹ Nevertheless, women of all social classes took up a variety of jobs during the war, and childcare became an issue for mothers who were paid workers. Unprecedented numbers of women in the workforce were empowered daycare advocates who were predominantly from socialist and social democratic women's groups like the Vancouver Housewives League, the Vancouver Council of Women, the Communist Party, the BC Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and foundations like the YWCA. Some welfare groups such as the Vancouver Council of Social Agencies and the Children's Aid Society feared

⁵⁹ Prentice states that "it seems clear that Canada's first (and to date only) national child care act was designed to serve the war effort, not the needs of parents or children." Prentice, "The Business of Childcare," 275.

⁶⁰ Childcare advocate and researcher Martha Friendly underscores that "the federal government had no role in child care until the Second World War. The Authorization of Agreements with Provinces for the Care of Children initiated the first federal intervention in child care; 50 percent cost-sharing would be available to allow provinces to provide child care for children whose mothers were working in war-related industries. Only Ontario and Quebec participated in this agreement." Martha Friendly, "Childcare as a Social Policy Issue," 258.

⁶¹ "The bias against very young children in day nurseries stemmed from a trend in psychiatry in the 1940s that emphasized the importance of a child's secure relationship with his or her mother for healthy emotional development. Group child care was also thought to be overstimulating for young children." Prochner, and Howe, *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada*, 55.

the abandonment of children while their mothers worked. Concerned daycare advocates “reported that those [mothers] with preschool-aged children were resorting to troubling child care arrangements: inattentive landladies, older siblings” or unsupervised children left in schoolyards and thus organizations. In particular the Vancouver Housewives League and the Depression-era Mother’s Council supported more extensive daycare.⁶²

However, the expanded daycare services of the war era did not change the deeper social beliefs that daycare was a form of charity, that childcare was a pitiable alternative to home care, and that children were best off in the home under the care of a full-time mother. Although some organizations lobbied for continued government subsidized childcare after the war, the WDNA was withdrawn in June 1946. Daycare during the war period was clearly understood as a response to a temporary crisis.⁶³ As a result, childcare access and services did not improve between the end of the war and the 1960s, when SFU opened. The *Vancouver Community Chest* conducted a *Report on Day Care Needs* in 1965 and reported “that 11,000 of the city’s children were without adequate day care.”⁶⁴ Family, friends, neighbours, and parents working in shifts provided much of the childminding while mothers worked for wages. When required, private home care and foster care sufficed, often providing child care standards that were ranked from deficient to dreadful.⁶⁵

In summary, daycare as it was delivered in 1965 did not satisfy the standards that SFU parents wanted and demanded for their children. Intellectually and philosophically SFU parents represented a new age of educated and aspiring mothers and fathers who envisioned new forms of childcare and consequently created a change

⁶² Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 90.

⁶³ “In the post-war ubiquity of nuclear family ideology, any mother who worked outside the home was once again assumed to be acting out of economic desperation, and child care services such as the Vancouver Day Nursery Association (VDNA) continued to treat working mothers like charity cases.” Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 75.

⁶⁴ The Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, Welfare and Recreation Council, produced a reported on childcare in 1965 titled, “Report on Day Care Needs, Vancouver: Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, June 1965.” in Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 105.

⁶⁵ “Evidence that owner-operated ‘Mom and Pop’ operations may be the least safe places for children flies in the face of much commonly accepted wisdom. Most critics of commercial care reserve their harshest criticism for chain, franchised care, and tend to be less concerned about single-owner centres. Evidence suggests this criticism should be precisely inverted: in the strictest terms of quality, chain day care is not the most troubling.” Prentice, “The Business of Childcare,” 281.

in daycare provision. But this change required tremendous determination because the old order had to be challenged. Changing the status quo meant taking charge of all aspects of their children's care. These student/parents were part of a postwar generation known as the baby boomers and the genesis of their politics inspired the emergence of the SFU Co-op daycare that is also referred to as the Family, the Family Co-op, or simply the Co-op.

There is no extended scholarly analysis of the historical emergence of daycare at SFU. The most comprehensive work regarding the early daycare at SFU is seen in part of one chapter in Lisa Pasolli's book, a few pages in her doctoral dissertation, and three pages in Diane MacDonald's thirty page pamphlet.⁶⁶ Most of the scholarly writing regarding the 1960s does not address daycare in general or campus daycare in particular. Benjamin Isitt's *Militant Minority* examines the "working-class women and men who challenged the premises and practices of politics and labour relations in postwar BC."⁶⁷ In describing valuable details regarding the New Left and emerging political movements, Isitt mentions SFU and addresses activists, such as "teachers and students ... experimenting with egalitarian and participatory models of education." But he does not make any reference to daycare at SFU.⁶⁸ Ian Milligan's *Rebel Youth* explores 1960s youth culture (over 80% of whom was engaged in the paid labour market) and the political organizing that drove the labour and student movement.⁶⁹ Isitt and Milligan offer important scholarship regarding the 1960s and the political organizations that generated change, but narrowly focus on the student and labour movement and do not address the demands for childcare. Since many women in the paid labour market required childcare, the question of childcare should be a central issue when discussing labour relations in the 1960s. This lack of attention to childcare by historians of the period may reflect the

⁶⁶ Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 128; Lisa Pasolli, "Talkin' Day Care Blues": Motherhood, Work, and Child Care in Twentieth Century British Columbia" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Victoria, 2012) 201; Diane MacDonald, "The History of Day care on Campus at Simon Fraser University," commemorative booklet, 1979.

⁶⁷ Isitt, *Militant Minority*, 3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁶⁹ Ian Milligan, "Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward-Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University," *BC Studies: The British Columbia Quarterly*, no. 17 (Autumn 2011) does not mention the SFU daycare or the early years of the SDU. It is focused on larger actions in late 1968 and 1969. See also: Ian Milligan, *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014)

larger issue of gender inequality in the student movement or the New Left, where women's issues and concerns were not the priority.⁷⁰

Some historians who have addressed social movements of the 1960s, such as Johnston, Palmer, Kostash, and Adamson, Briskin and McPhail, make specific but only fleeting references to SFU daycare. What little information there is on the establishment of daycare at SFU misconstrues or over emphasizes the relationship between the early SFU daycare and the emergence of women's liberation on campus.⁷¹ Johnston's *Radical Campus* is an ambitious undertaking of SFU history but he devotes only five pages to women's studies and the feminist movement. Within these five pages, the founding of the daycare is summarized in just one paragraph, and he leads readers to believe that "a seasoned band of feminists," among them a "group of student mothers," began the daycare.⁷² Bryan Palmer's *Canada's 1960s* surveys the student, youth, feminist, political, and nationalist movements of the era and claims that "university women's caucuses spearheaded mobilization for daycare, as they did at Simon Fraser in the spring of 1968."⁷³ Myrna Kostash's *Long Way from Home* surveys the Canadian student activist groups that organized students across the nation. She infers that the SFU daycare was a VWC initiative when she argues that "the Vancouver Women's Caucus had already

⁷⁰ Carol Gilligan surmises that "in relationships of permanent inequality, power cements dominance and subordination, and oppression is rationalized by theories that 'explain' the need for its continuation." Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 168. Mary O'Brien advises that feminists must understand that "the low social and philosophical value given to reproduction and to birth is not ontological, not immanent, but socio-historical, and the sturdiest plank in the platform of male supremacy." Mary O'Brien, *The Politics of Reproduction* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 75. The founding of the Family Co-op challenged a women's role as "the" natural caregiver even though Chodorow stresses that child bearing and rearing was and is a constant domain of the female gender. Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 3. Chodorow, Gilligan, and O'Brien's work in the late 1970s and early 1980s was already understood by feminists and SFU parents in the daycare's early years. Gender inequality is also addressed herein by interviews with: Jim Harding, August 26, 2016; Marcy Toms March 24 2017; and Melody Kilian August 18, 2016, and in articles and books such as: Roberta Lexier, "To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart: The Sixties Student Movements at English-Canadian Universities," in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 92; Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 299; Joan Sangster, "Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 1 (March 2010), 5; Milligan, *Rebel Youth*, 67.

⁷¹ The SFU Co-op is mentioned in: Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 132. See also Pasolli's doctoral dissertation which devotes a few pages to SFU daycare. Pasolli, "Talkin' Day Care Blues," 201.

⁷² Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 250.

⁷³ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 303.

acknowledged the need to organize ‘beyond’ abortion (their first public action had been to involve themselves in a SFU day-care centre).⁷⁴ But Kostash does not elaborate further on the Co-op daycare. Authors Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, in *Feminist Organizing for Change*, concentrate on the women’s movement and write that “at Simon Fraser University feminists were active in setting up a parent-run-day-care co-op in 1968.”⁷⁵ They add that the idea for daycare at SFU was born during the June 1968 sit-in and when the sit-in ended the daycare also ended.

Much current historical literature generally links the emergence of daycare to the emergence of women’s liberation. For example, while Steve Hewitt and Christabelle Sethna argue that women’s liberation groups like the VWC concerned themselves with feminist issues like daycare, they do not specifically address daycare at SFU.⁷⁶ Frances Wasserlein offers a detailed account of the establishment of women’s liberation and particularly the Vancouver Women’s Caucus but she does not mention the SFU daycare at all.⁷⁷ Similarly, Roberta Lexier explores 1960s student movements, students’ common concerns for democratic university governance at SFU and other Canadian universities, and the women’s movement, and writes that “the student movement became less relevant as people focused more and more on off-campus problems and prioritized their non-student identities.”⁷⁸ This was the case for the Vancouver Women’s Caucus when they left the flagging student movement and uneasy Family Co-op at SFU in 1969. The Family Co-op stayed on campus and endured because of dedicated parents in need of daycare.⁷⁹ But while Lexier examines the relationship amongst activist organizations, she too does not spend much time looking at the daycare movement.

⁷⁴ Kostash, *Long Way from Home*, 179.

⁷⁵ Adamson, Briskin and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change*, 47

⁷⁶ Steve Hewitt and Christabelle Sethna, “Sex Spying: The RCMP Framing of English-Canadian Women’s Liberation Groups during the Cold War” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 136.

⁷⁷ Frances Wasserlein, “‘An Arrow Aimed at the Heart’: The Vancouver Women’s Caucus and the Abortion Campaign 1969–1971,” Master’s Thesis, Department of History, Simon Fraser University, 1990.

⁷⁸ Lexier, “To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart,” 92.

⁷⁹ This is a point worth noting but overlooked by historians because the early years of the SFU daycare movement have not been documented prior to this dissertation. The SFU daycare movement was a movement that endured and evolved from its original form, in the same location, and with a vision that adapted but progressed without relocation, or interruption.

Therefore, a close case study of the emergence of daycare on campus at SFU reveals that historians have often assumed that its appearance was directly tied to women's liberation. While the two were associated, the oral histories and archival evidence in this thesis demonstrate that this connection has been over emphasized, at least regarding the emergence of daycare at SFU. The most substantial treatment of SFU's daycare is in Lisa Pasolli's *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, which includes part of one chapter on the emergence of the SFU Co-op daycare. Pasolli's monograph is an immensely valuable scholarly contribution to the history of childcare in British Columbia. However, she writes that "for this vanguard" of feminists at SFU childcare was a premier issue."⁸⁰ While she correctly notes that "a group of students, most of them women and many of them mothers," began the occupation of the student lounge, she overstates the relationship between the daycare activists and the Women's Caucus."⁸¹

Interestingly, the story of daycare at the University of Toronto better fits this narrative which closely links women's liberation and daycare. But there, the history of the daycare's feminist roots has been subsumed into a larger story about New Left politics. The emergence of daycare at SFU clearly differs from feminist activist daycare initiatives at other universities and therefore should be cautiously compared to the establishment of other on-campus daycares in the same period. Some aspects of the University of Toronto daycare, which was founded in 1969, were similar to that of SFU. Sarah Spinks, one of the founders of the daycare at the University of Toronto, remembers: "We had a feminist group that met once a week or so. We talked about feminist theory, and some of us got tired of just talking. Many of us wanted to have children eventually, so decided we'd start a daycare centre."⁸² The group looked at different places where a daycare centre might be possible and decided that the University of Toronto was the best location. The feminist group formed the Campus Community Day Care Centre, (CCDCC) and established a co-op at 12 Sussex Avenue on campus grounds. The University of Toronto's Administration initially allowed the use of the university space, but the CCDCC failed to achieve government certification, and consequently the daycare

⁸⁰ Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma: A History of British Columbia's Social Policy* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2015), 132.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁸² Judy Rebick, *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2005), 60.

was given an eviction notice in April 1970. Consequently, a coalition of including “the CCDCC, the Student’s Administrative Council, the Graduate Student’s Union, *The Varsity* [University of Toronto] student newspaper, students, staff, faculty, and community residents who used the daycare, and feminist and student activists,” organized a sit-in in the Senate chamber at Simcoe Hall in protest of the impending eviction.⁸³ Within days, the university acquiesced to the continued use of 12 Sussex Avenue. According to Jason Ellis, with this victory the student newspaper *The Varsity* “[painted] the daycare issue as primarily a New Left cause.”⁸⁴ *Varsity* editor Brian Johnson downplayed the role of feminist activism and cast “the daycare question exclusively as an issue of workers’ rights.”⁸⁵ The CCDCC history as a feminist initiative was subsumed into a story of the successes of the New Left. While some observers of the time understand this protest as deeply connected to New Left student politics, Ellis argues that “the daycare sit-in at the University of Toronto should be studied on its own as an example of feminist activism, alongside, but outside of, the context of New Left politics.”⁸⁶ There were many similarities between the SFU and the University of Toronto daycare. Both were run as co-operatives, both operated as unconventional alternatives to raising children, and both had to fight the university administration for survival. However, founders of the SFU daycare were already parents of children who were in desperate and immediate need of daycare. There were parents in the SFU daycare who identified as women’s liberationists but there were also many who did not. In contrast, the CCDCC began as a distinctly feminist initiative.

In the absence of dedicated historical research on the emergence of the SFU daycare, many scholars have assumed it was primarily a women’s or feminist initiative. While this is a logical conjecture in the absence of a documented history of the daycare, such historical assumptions overlook the daycare’s nuanced and complex origins. It was connected to the politics of the New Left, student activism, and women’s liberation, but also separate from those social movements.⁸⁷ Studying social movement activism in this era is complex because movements often intersected in ideals, organizing tactics, and

⁸³ Jason A. Ellis, “This is Not a Medieval University Attended by Celibate Clergy”: Contesting the University of Toronto’s First Daycare Sit-in” (unpublished manuscript, May 9, 2005,), 2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁷ See Johnston, *Radical Campus*; Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s*; Kostash, *A Long Way from Home*.

personnel. As a result, histories of Canadian student movements, the emergence of women's liberation groups, and the establishment of daycare movements are often blended together in our historical memory. Political activism at different Canadian universities shared some similarities, but also significant differences that can be attributed to the unique circumstances on each campus. Every sit-in, march, demonstration, rally, and protest had a unique genesis. The late 1960s was "an increasingly complex society," with new movement activity.⁸⁸ Furthermore, individuals involved in social movements had multiple priorities and sets of interests, and these interests were often not reducible to one specific movement.

Finally, this dissertation is situated within historical debates about the importance, chronology, and periodization of the 1960s. In general, Palmer regrets the dearth of research on the 1960s and claims that "research on this period is underdeveloped."⁸⁹ Sangster agrees, arguing that there is insufficient "writing about and contestation over, the sixties in Canada."⁹⁰ Kostash states that although a great deal of American material on the 1960s is available "Canadian material, on the other hand, is patchy."⁹¹ For a period characterized by such important political activism, there is still relatively little literature exploring the complexity and significance of the period.⁹²

⁸⁸ Isitt, *Militant Minority*, 40.

⁸⁹ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 21.

⁹⁰ Sangster, "Radical Ruptures," 3.

⁹¹ Kostash, *Long Way from Home*, 294.

⁹² There are a small number of books and edited collections focusing on the period of the 1960s, See: Owram, *Born At The Right Time*; Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*; Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change*; Johnston, *Radical Campus*; Milligan, *Rebel Youth*; Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Isitt, *Militant Minority*; Campbell, Clément, and Kealey, eds. *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*; Mills, *The Empire Within*; Ron Verzuh, *Underground Times, Canada's Flower Child Revolutionaries* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1989); Dmitry Anastakis, ed., *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-McQueen's University Press, 2008). There is also a dearth of articles addressing 1960s topics, although the following research contributes to an understanding of the 1960s: Marcel Martel, "They smell bad, have diseases, and are lazy': RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties," *Canadian Historical Review*, 90, no. 2 (June 2009): 215-254; Roberta Lexier, "How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge from the Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University," *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600-2000*, 13, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 1-12; Roberta Lexier, "The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened": English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change, *History of Intellectual Culture*, 7, no. 1 (2007): 1-18; Wall, "Some Thought They Were 'In Love'"; Milligan, "Coming off the Mountain"; Daniel Ross, "Panic On Love Street: Citizens and Local Government Respond to Vancouver's Local Hippie Problem, 1967-1968," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, no. 180 (Winter

Although there are many books and articles that touch on the 1960s, I agree that there are only a limited number of books and articles that focus specifically on the period of the 1960s.

By placing this thesis in the context of 1960s social movements, particularly the student movement, youth culture, and second-wave feminism, this dissertation contributes to ongoing debates about how to assess the impact and importance of the 1960s. One of the main historiographical debates is whether to periodize 1960s activism as a social rupture or a social continuum. Some historians see the era as exceptional, while others argue that the social and political changes of the 1960s are connected to longer processes of historical change.⁹³ Catherine Gidney argues, for example, that 1960s was a period of continuity, pointing out that “in the past several decades, historians in the United States have begun to challenge the view of the 1960s as rupture, focusing instead on the ideological developments and political events of the 1940s and 1950s which helped lay the groundwork for the radicalism of the 1960s.”⁹⁴ Verta Taylor would agree, arguing that “carry-overs and carry-ons between movements” is obscured by focusing too closely on political climates and activist membership.⁹⁵ In contrast, while Joan Sangster favours some aspects of the idea of the 1960s as a continuum, she argues that certain aspects of the long sixties (1965 to 1975) were an exception and must be described as a rupture from the eras both before and after. In particular she sees the socialist feminist challenges and advances made in the Canadian trade union movement as “a radical departure with the past.”⁹⁶ Sangster argues that the “radical rupture I am describing was part of a longer stream of left-wing feminist activism that went up and down over the twentieth century, yet the ‘glorious decade’ of the long sixties did mark a significant upsurge in this current, which assumed radically new political

2013/14) 1-41; Sangster, *Transforming Labour*; Sangster, “Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labour, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada,”; For dissertations on the era see: Wasserlein, “‘An Arrow Aimed at the Heart’; Eryk Martin, *Burn it Down! Anarchism, Activism, and the Vancouver Five, 1967-1985*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Simon Fraser University, 2016.

⁹³ Catherine Gidney, “The Rise of Faculty Power, 1951–1970,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 69; Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity,” 761. Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s*, 21; Sangster, “Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada,” 1.

⁹⁴ Gidney, “The Rise of Faculty Power,” 69.

⁹⁵ Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity,” 761.

⁹⁶ Sangster, “Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada,” 1.

directions.”⁹⁷ The establishment of a parent administrated co-operative campus daycare represented one of the “radically new” social directions taken in the 1960s. Similarly, Bryan Palmer sees the 1960s as “a historical happening, riveting in its rebellious uniqueness” and “a different chapter in the politics and culture of dissent.”⁹⁸ Palmer describes the 1960s as a rebellious decade that can be understood as a rupture from the past, and stamped with dissent, protest, and change.

Whether historians understand the 1960s as marked by rupture or continuum, it is generally agreed that significant change occurred in the period.⁹⁹ Some activists and historians have debated (and continue to debate) the extent to which social movements in the 1960s had revolutionary potential.¹⁰⁰ But this dissertation does not address these specific arguments about revolution. Rather, I argue that the daycare movement on campus was an important and radical challenge to contemporary, mainstream social norms about gender and the family.¹⁰¹ The daycare movement at SFU was radical in a number of ways. Parents and children on campus occupied space, protested, and participated in sit-ins and demonstrations in order to force the university to recognize the daycare. Campus daycare was a ground-breaking concept and so too was the SFU Co-op daycare philosophy, organization, and delivery of childcare. The provision of daycare at the university required a significant and lasting change of attitudes regarding the care of children. Interviewees see the period through this lens as well. Jerry Zaslove claims that “SFU was radical for sure, but, the term should not be used as sensational. The radicalism was not superficial. SFU was part of the 1960s movements toward social and educational reform.”¹⁰² Sharon Yandle points out that at SFU, “the 1960s radicalism was

⁹⁷ Ibid. 1.

⁹⁸ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 23, 15.

⁹⁹Sangster, “Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada”; Gidney, “The Rise of Faculty Power”; Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity”;

¹⁰⁰ I defer to the Oxford Dictionary’s definition of the term revolution, “A forcible overthrow of a government or social order, in favour of a new system,” and use the term in this sense herein along with the Oxford Dictionary’s definition of revolutionary as an event or action “causing a complete or dramatic change”.

¹⁰¹ Revolutionary change occurred for the SFU parents and children with the establishment of a campus daycare. This change can be credited to the radical actions taken by the daycare activists.

¹⁰² Jerry Zaslove, email correspondence, August 26 2018

meant to challenge the established system. The term radical referred to getting to the root of the problem and identifying core issues for revolutionary change.”¹⁰³

This thesis claims that what emerged with the SFU daycare creation was one piece of radical student activism that took place on university campuses in the sixties. By situating the founding of the SFU Co-op daycare in the context of the history of the 1960s and the history of SFU, this dissertation contributes to ongoing debates about whether to consider SFU a leading radical university, particularly regarding the student movement, youth culture, and second-wave feminist movement. By reading about the founding years of the SFU daycare these deliberations will expand and develop. Therefore, this dissertation contributes to a broader understanding of the 1960s at SFU by highlighting the distinctive and radical social movements that initiated campus action, protest, and revolt.¹⁰⁴

The speed and intensity of change that occurred between 1967 and 1970 at SFU is remarkable. The development of the first six to eight years of the SFU Co-op daycare provides a case study of action on campus that also allows an assessment and overview of radical politics in this period. In many ways, the activists who advocated, lobbied, and protested to establish daycare at SFU were connected to the larger postwar demographic that demanded change, as outlined earlier in this introduction. However, the fact the Family Co-op survived and flourished while so many other movements and radical actions failed suggests, like Palmer and Sangster argue, that daycare activism is a radical “rupture” from the past.

Methodology

To explore these themes this dissertation utilizes several methodological approaches, with a strong emphasis on oral history supplemented by an analysis of student, alternative, and mainstream media. This dissertation also utilizes a critical ethnography approach to facilitate the method, theory, and analysis of the SFU daycare history. Ethnography is a qualitative “research practice and textual product” that seeks to understand human groups, societies, cultures, or institutions, through a nonfictional

¹⁰³ Sharon Yandle, email correspondence, August 27, 1968

¹⁰⁴ See Palmer 2012; Sangster 2010; Johnston 2005

account.¹⁰⁵ “The critical ethnographer ... takes us beneath surface appearances, disrupts the status quo, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control.”¹⁰⁶ My research, which concerns the SFU campus between 1965 and 1974, centers on the interactions between the SFU Co-op and their demand for quality daycare, the SFU administration that sought traditional university hierarchical governance, and off-campus governmental regulatory bodies interested in safety, quality, and other licencing regulations.

In the face of resistance and disapproval from on-campus and off-campus governing bodies, the Family daycare occupied space while collectively agreeing to an organizational structure and a unified set of operating principles. This solidarity was political, with the objective of providing children with exceptional care while pioneering social change. Consequently, a SFU daycare movement emerged with common objectives, collaborative unity, and a shared political focus that sustained the SFU Co-op through its first turbulent years. The daycare culture was complex, with networks extending to the student movement and the women’s movement. Critical ethnography has allowed for an analysis of this complexity and for the analysis and interpretation of cultural performances and social interactions within the SFU daycare by responding to “‘what’ people do” and “‘why’ people do things.”¹⁰⁷ Because ethnography studies cultures and societies this methodology is an ideal means of telling the daycare “story.”¹⁰⁸ What makes ethnography expressly appropriate for this daycare history is its “improvisational [and] flexible intellectual openness” that allows unique methods of understanding and

¹⁰⁵ Ethnography is “ultimately a story that is backed up by qualitative reliable data and the authority that comes from active ethnographic engagement.” Raymond Madden, *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography* (Los Angeles: Sage 2010), 6. Critical ethnography points to oppressive practices, exploitation, and inequality, and supports social change to rectify injustice.

¹⁰⁶ Madison, Soyini, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2012), 5.

¹⁰⁷ Madden, *Being Ethnographic*, 153.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1. As outlined by Madden, the research project is purposed or the question is formed, the participants are determined, the researcher and research subject(s) begin oral history interviews, while the researcher observes and compiles field notes, pictures, video footage, and other data. The compilation of data is analyzed and interpreted, and finally written-up in the conclusion or research product. The ethnographical text is an interpretive and explanatory story about a person or group of people and their sociality, culture and behaviours, and is an end product to the research undertaken, although additional research or investigation could follow. Madden, *Being Ethnographic*.

interpretation.¹⁰⁹ Ethnography allows for research insights, reflexivity, and “analytical leaps of discovery” that have enabled my study.¹¹⁰

In practice, critical ethnography aims to address discrimination, inequality, and exploitation and to expose the underlying causes of these injustices. The researcher commits to a principled duty to protect human freedom and well-being and if possible to alleviate the suffering of others. According to Michael Marker, however, these goals are not always achieved: “We are subject to a new version of the old pudding sometimes named as collaborative, or dialogic, methodologies. However, this stance is too often a continuation of the neo-liberal goal of offering support to oppressed minorities without challenging the power and cultural position of dominant groups.”¹¹¹ In response to Marker’s critique, I analyse the daycare founding years marked by the compelling need of student parents who were oppressed and frustrated by the traditional power structure of university administration exercising a practice of domination and control characteristic of institutional Cold War social repression.¹¹²

This dissertation research has placed a strong emphasis on oral history, supplemented by an analysis of available media. I analyze a number of different primary print sources including contemporary and mainstream newspapers, and focus closely on articles and columns in the alternative and student press, including the SFU student

¹⁰⁹ Allaine Cerwonka and Liisa Malkki, *Improvising theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 181.

¹¹⁰ Madden, *Being Ethnographic*, 7. Reflexivity is a useful methodological approach which allows me to position and locate myself in the text. In the introduction, I situate my personal experience as a young woman in the 1960s within the larger story of 1960s gender and sexual norms while also acknowledging that my knowledge is situated by a particular class and race background. Uzwiak writes, “If we are going to have truly liberatory politics, researchers need to be self-reflexive and critical of organizations, be they nongovernmental or otherwise, and the ways in which they contribute to and respond to neoliberal positions even unwillingly.” Beth Uzwiak, “Fracturing feminism: Activist Research and Ethics in a Women’s Human Rights NGO,” in *Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism in North America*, eds. Christa Craven and Dána-Ain Davis (Lexington, VA: Lexington Books, 2013), 134.

¹¹¹ Marker, Michael, “Indigenous Voice, Community, and Epistemic Violence: The Ethnographer’s ‘Interests’ and what ‘Interests’ the Ethnographer,” in *Voice in Qualitative Inquiry: Challenging Conventional, Interpretive, and Critical Conceptions in Qualitative Research*, eds. Alecia Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei (New York: Routledge, 2009), 36.

¹¹² Uzwiak writes: “If we are going to have truly liberatory politics, researchers need to be self-reflexive and critical of organizations, be they nongovernmental or otherwise, and the ways in which they contribute to and respond to neoliberal positions even unwillingly.” Beth Uzwiak, “Fracturing feminism: Activist Research and Ethics in a Women’s Human Rights NGO,” 134. Michael Marker, “Indigenous voice, community, and epistemic violence: the ethnographer’s ‘interests’ and what ‘interests’ the ethnographer,” 36.

paper *The Peak*, *The Ubyyssey* (UBC student paper), *The Georgia Straight*, and *The Pedestal* (the periodical of the Vancouver Women's Caucus). The columns and articles in *The Peak* provide an extensive record of student perspectives on the university, activism, and gender. The views represented in *The Peak* were and are not monolithic, however. While the paper covered a great deal of student activism, columns and letters to the editors reflected a range of political and ideological perspectives.

To understand how the daycare movement emerged, and how the university administration responded, I have analyzed a range of institutional university records. These include memos written by administrators, minutes of meetings, and letters from SFU students, employees, administration, and teaching staff involved with the university. These records have been supplemented by archived, taped radio shows and histories pertaining to the SFU daycare. The historical record of the SFU daycare is held primarily in the SFU Archives, but it has not been compiled in any condensed form. There is a small daycare file with specific correspondence associated with the administration, including the SFU President's Office, the Vice-President of University Services office, the Vice-president for Administration's office, the Vice-President, Academic, the Burnaby and Provincial Welfare Departments, the Provincial Child Care Department, and the Municipality of Burnaby Building Inspector's office.

Very little has been written about the early days of the Family by the people involved. Two articles by a daycare parent, Melody Kilian, titled "Children Are Only Littler People" and "Day Care", written in 1969, reference the SFU Family Co-op and many of the internal workings and issues that surfaced within the daycare.¹¹³ Kilian provides a perspective on ideas about motherhood and the family that were emerging in the public consciousness. The memoirs of Mary Wilson, also a daycare parent, provide a history of, and specific perspective relating to, the post-1970 daycare.¹¹⁴ Wilson details the conflicts encountered in the early 1970s Co-op both internally and externally. Kilian and Wilson's documents are invaluable and they are referenced in the body of this dissertation in detail. As well, articles in *The Peak* written by daycare parents

¹¹³ Melody Kilian, "Children Are Only Littler People...or the louis riel university family co-op" (Vancouver, 1969, repr., *Women Unite*, Toronto; Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1972), 90-99; SFUA. Women's Caucus papers fonds, 1970, F 111-2-0-1-0. Melody Kilian, "Daycare". 1969.

¹¹⁴ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229-0-0-0-1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

infrequently appear.¹¹⁵ Finally, there are a couple of brochures that devote a page or two to the founding of the SFU daycare, and those documents refer very casually to the first shaky year and the subsequent victories that followed within a few years.¹¹⁶ Information concerning the daycare from 1965 to 1974 is scarce, and there is even less recorded about the people involved in the daycare in the early years.

Because the history of daycare has been so under-researched, my dissertation is informed by oral histories undertaken with people involved in the student movement, the women's liberation movement, and the daycare movement between 1965 and 1974 at SFU. I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews and numerous follow-up interviews with the founders of the SFU daycare, student activists, a daycare employee, and a professor who was active on campus during this period. Without these interviews, this history of the daycare would have been scant and insufficient. The interviews for this thesis filled in the blanks of the daycare's history, clarified what seemed like discrepancies, added important detail, and explained the internal conflicts and external pressures that weighed on the daycare.

All of the interviewees were presented with the same consent form, approved by the Office of Research Services at SFU, detailing probable questions and topics that could be discussed in the interview (see Appendix E). Every interview referenced in this dissertation is recorded and stored on a digital MP3 recording. Every interviewee has agreed to have their recording kept indefinitely in the SFU Archives (SFUA). The interviews conducted, transcribed, and compiled for this dissertation can be assessed through a digital MP3 collection. I am committed to working with the SFU Daycare Society and the SFU Archives Department to make the interviews and findings from this project publicly available, for example, by archiving the oral histories and/or publishing the material in accessible and popular formats.

The people interviewed were often difficult to find because they were at SFU 46 to 52 years ago. I chose these particular people to interview after completing extensive research in *The Peak* and institutional records at the SFU archives. After reading about the activism of the period, I then compiled a list of names of people who were involved in

¹¹⁵ Chris Perry, "We want to co-opt you," *The Peak*, July 29, 1970, 5; Ros Pickett, "Family Co-op Active," *The Peak*, September 17, 1969, 16.

¹¹⁶ Diane MacDonald, "The History of Day care on Campus at Simon Fraser University," 1979

the establishment of the early daycare. I contacted as many people as I could from this initial list. In addition, I relied on snowball methodology, where initial contacts suggested names of others who were active in the movement. Jerry Zaslove was my first interview because he had been active at SFU from its opening day in 1965. I had seen Gini Shaw referenced as the founding mother of the SFU daycare in various sources, and I wanted to interview her next, but could not find her despite searching through SFU's Alumni Relations Association, looking through white pages, searching the internet, and consequently doing some cold calling. What confused me was that *The Peak* also referenced a Gini Yorke as an active member of the SFU student caucus executive. At that time, I noted that Dave Yorke was an active student society member and decided to contact him for information and a possible interview. It was fairly easy to find Dave Yorke as he is still an active lawyer in Vancouver. He was advertised on the SFU internet site for the Institute for the Humanities lecture series, where he was scheduled to give a talk on March 21, 2016. I went to the lecture and met Dave for the first time. As it turns out, he was Gini's husband from 1968 to 1978. Gini initially changed her name to Yorke but reverted back to her maiden name soon thereafter. Dave tried to put me in touch with Gini, but before that occurred Gini Shaw contacted me. SFU's Alumni Relations had sent my letter of appeal for contact and an interview to Gini several weeks before. Gini was one of my first interviews, and, surprisingly, she had never previously been approached for an interview by anyone.

I found Sharon Yandle through the home page of the *False Creek South Neighbourhood Association*, where she was an active committee member. Elise Chenier, a history professor at SFU, had given me a 1969 article by Melody Kilian titled "Children Are Only Littler People" published by Canadian Women's Educational Press. I knew from her article and from editorials published in *The Peak* that Melody had been involved in the early SFU daycare. It was very difficult to get in touch with Melody because she had changed her last name to Ermachild. After much searching, I stumbled across her on the "images" search engine on the internet. Melody Ermachild was a published author, and I was able to contact her through an email address associated with her book. Martin Loney and Jim Harding were also very difficult to find. After attempting to contact Loney by post, I contacted his publisher, McGill-Queens University Press. The marketing assistant at the press kindly forwarded a letter from me to Martin, and he responded by email and agreed to an interview. I was able to find Harding on the

internet because he was actively involved in environmental issues in Saskatchewan, but it took some hit-and-miss cold calling before I made contact.

I had almost given up on finding Chris Petty because he (or she as I suspected) was not responding to any of my emails through SFU Alumni Relations or through *UBC Alumni Affairs Trek Magazine* where he/she was an editor. So I moved on to Mary Wilson who was relatively easy to find because she was the organizer of “A Walk with Mary,” a global environmental movement in New Westminster. While I was interviewing her, she asked me if I had contacted Chris Petty, who was her neighbour. Within weeks I was interviewing him. Wilson also suggested that I interview Heidi Greco, who was easily located on the internet. It was also quite easy to find Marcy Toms, one of the founders of the SFU Women’s movement. My last interview was with Anne McDonald, a daycare worker who I was referred to by another daycare worker.¹¹⁷

Some of the interviews were recorded face-to-face and some were conducted by telephone from as far away as Germany. In total, I interviewed the following five men and seven women: Gini Shaw, Dave Yorke, Sharon Yandle, Melody Kilian Ermachild, Heidi Greco, Jim Harding, Martin Loney, Anne McDonald, Mary Wilson, Chris Petty, Marcy Toms, and Jerry Zaslove. All of the people interviewed for this thesis were involved at SFU and in attendance during part or all of the period between 1965–1974.

All of the interviewees were active across a number of social movements and activism initiatives at SFU in the period under study. Gini Shaw organized an early childcare at SFU before the 1968 establishment of the SFU Family Co-op. Melody Kilian Ermachild and Jim Harding were involved parents of two of the first thirty children enrolled with the SFU Family Co-op in 1968. Mary Wilson, Chris Petty, Heidi Greco, and Sharon Yandle were involved with the daycare between 1970 and 1974. Anne McDonald was employed by the Family Co-op as a daycare worker in the early 1970s. Dave Yorke, Marcy Toms, and Martin Loney were present and politically active at SFU in the 1960s although daycare founders Shaw, Ermachild, Harding, and Yandle were also involved politically. Most of the people that I interviewed were considered student activists and played a part in the radical activity at SFU in the 1960s. Jerry Zaslove has been a professor at SFU from 1965 to the present (see Appendices B and C).

¹¹⁷ For a brief outline of the individuals interviewed, see Appendix D of this dissertation.

There are other people that I would have liked to interview. Some of them have died, and others simply could not be found. Chantel Hébert, CBC commentator, journalist, and author, in an interview about her book *Behind the Scenes*, said “over the years I have come to think that in Canada, we don’t do well with our history in large part because the main players are allowed to go to their graves without having them testify.”¹¹⁸ This historical documentation of the daycare’s early years aims to address Hébert’s concern. As the pioneers of the daycare are aging, it is timely to acknowledge their accomplishments and chronicle their words. By undertaking this research, I have added new perspectives to the university’s history.

As researcher, I have placed the oral histories within the context of archival research and the historiographical debates of the 1960s. However, I embrace some aspects of Madison’s challenge to researchers to allow the “interview data [to] stand alone and speak for itself.”¹¹⁹ Throughout the dissertation, I attempt to privilege the words and perspectives of the people interviewed.¹²⁰ I structured the interviews to be open-ended and verified that I could follow up with interviewees for further clarification. This allowed me to explore a range of questions without actually posing a question-and-answer interview format. I rely on the oral histories of the interviewees and follow up their memories with supporting historical documentation when possible. My application of critical ethnography is seen throughout as analyses or as supplemental explanation.

As Soyini Madison argues, “when we tell and perform oral history, we are also telling and performing memory.”¹²¹ And Barbara Misztal adds that the accuracy of memory “is supported by others’ remembrances.”¹²² She argues that individual memory separated from collective memory is provisional and without meaning. For example, when I first interviewed Gini Shaw, she told me she was not the founder of the 1968 SFU daycare known as the Family, but that she did organize the Snake Hill childcare at SFU

¹¹⁸ CBC TV Sept. 4, 2014, Chantel Hébert

¹¹⁹ Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2012), 35.

¹²⁰ Kathryn Besio, “Telling Stories to Hear Autoethnography: Researching Women’s Lives in Northern Pakistan,” *Gender, Place and Culture: Journal of Feminist Geography*, issue 3, vol. 24 pg. 317-331 (Hamilton, NZ, University of Waikato, 2006), 322.

¹²¹ Madison, *Critical Ethnography*, 38.

¹²² Misztal, Barbara, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), 53.

that preceded the Family. This information was astonishing to me and I thought that I might have some trouble unravelling the discrepancy in the historical record. However, my interviews with Harding and Kilian Ermachild supported and complemented Shaw's memories. It is noteworthy that the individual memories that emerged from the interviews in this research are supported by a compilation of memories from other interviews, all of which reinforce and supplement each other. The interviews are understood and analyzed within the context of letters, memos, interdepartmental notes, surveys, newspaper articles, and each other because "oral history is the interplay between individual memory and collective memory" and can be better understood by situating it within a range of available data.¹²³ By carefully listening to the stories of the daycare parents and supporting their memories with archival documentation, I identify the values and aspirations of the daycare parents that were eroded by administrative pressure. In doing this, I endeavour to make clear the activist and philosophical foundations of the daycare, document the extent of the opposition to the daycare on campus, and analyze the causes of conflict that frustrated the ongoing functioning of the campus daycare.

Histories of any period or social movement are shaped by variations in the remembering and retelling, and the way that we think about the past bears on the present. For example, the 1960s and the social-political gains that ensued from that period are sometimes discounted by caricaturing the epoch as a ribald time of sex, drugs, and rock and roll.¹²⁴ This biased representation of the 1960s satisfies the imperative of power structures that seek to restructure the public's perception of the period as selfish or inconsequential, and thus to undermine the political advances of the era. Trivializing the people and the events of the era serves the same purpose. For example, the daycare parents were sometimes labeled as permissive hippies with out-

¹²³ Ibid. 38.

¹²⁴ In the 1960s, "first birth control and then legalized abortion, would change the relationship between sexual activity and procreation." Doug Oram, *Born At The Right Time*, 279. For the first time in history, unmarried youth were able to have sexual relations without the fear of pregnancy. Drugs like marijuana and LSD were common in the 1960s among youth. As Oram states, "Nothing divided official society from the emergent counter-culture more than drugs." Ibid. 197. Oram adds, "The other great shift that occurred in the period from 1964 to 1966, was the acceptance by key folk artists of the importance of rock." Ibid., 195. With "youth's absence of inhibition" the availability of the pill, the use of drugs, and the popularity of rock, the 1960s era became known as a time of sex, drugs and rock and roll. Ibid., 195.

of-control or unsupervised children.¹²⁵ The daycare parents resisted these labels at the time and continue to do so in the present day. Listening to these interviews also reveals surprising and sometimes conflicting revelations compared to what we have come to accept about the 1960s era, the SFU student body at the time, the intersection between North American and campus activism, the emergence of feminism in the late 1960s, and the history of the daycare at SFU.

The interviews are of intrinsic value to the history of the early years at SFU, and demonstrate the complex interrelationships between the student body, the faculty, and the administration between 1965 and 1974. They demonstrate some of the buried and conflicting emotions about the establishment and functioning of the daycare and together they make what has been largely forgotten, apparent. Without this important history, we are susceptible to a residual rhetoric that stigmatized daycare and effectively instilled anxiety, guilt, and self-doubt in postwar parents that frustrated childcare innovation and reformation.

Academic Contributions

This dissertation makes several important original contributions to the history of Simon Fraser University, the history of social movement organizing in the 1960s, the campus-based social movement activity, and the history of gender, the family, and childcare in post WWII Canada.

First, the complex history of the creation of the early SFU daycare (1965 to 1973), is an important part of SFU's history that has, until this dissertation, gone unrecorded. This dissertation recaptures that history and argues that the founding and ultimate survival of the SFU daycare was an exceptional accomplishment. Despite the many difficulties experienced by the original co-operative daycare detailed in this dissertation, the daycare has endured as the SFU Childcare Society. The evolution of the SFU daycare early history is centred on the SFU Burnaby campus from 1965 to 1974 and is linked to radical campus activity.

¹²⁵ SFUA. Archived interviews, F 149-2-0-0-3. Branscomb taped interview, March 1998. SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Memorandum to Mr. George Suart, Vice President, for Administration from Wm. DeVries, Director of Physical Plant and Planning. 21 July 1969.

Second, this dissertation also contributes to the interdisciplinary study of social movement activities by offering an extended analysis of grassroots action. The early history of the SFU daycare follows the fledgling years of a movement in minutiae, and consequently contributes substantial practicalities that are typical of other similar undertakings. The organization, tactics, challenges, opposition, resistance and internal conflicts experienced, although unique in some ways to the SFU campus daycare, were also widely prevalent in other crusades. As Dominique Clément writes, in Canada's post Second World War social movement history, there was a "transformation in social movement dynamics. New strategies for social change, innovations in organization, demographic change, and a host of new grievances defined this era of social activism."¹²⁶ Scholars such as Verta Taylor underscore the importance of movement commitment, Bert Klanderman stresses the social psychological principles of movement participation, and Emerson and Russel Dobash address survival tactics that social movements often have in common.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, Clément laments that "historians, particularly in Canada, have yet to make a significant contribution to the study of contemporary social movements."¹²⁸ This dissertation contributes to the broader histories of Canadian social movements by offering an in-depth analysis of the early SFU daycare years.

Third, this dissertation argues that advances for mothers, fathers, and families with children were broadly connected with two other important social movements in the 1960s and particular to SFU campus activity: the women's liberation movement that promoted gender equality, and the student movement that emphasized student rights and a more equitable university structure where students were full citizens of the university. In the 1960s, childrearing was often seen as a woman's issue. This assumption persists to this day, and some historians have automatically linked the organization and establishment of the SFU daycare with the development and goals of the SFU women's liberation movement. Although the two were related, that relationship was complicated. This dissertation unravels this complex association. The SFU daycare,

¹²⁶ Dominique Clément, "Generations and the Transformation of Social Movements in Postwar Canada," *Histoire social/Social History* 42 (2009), 363.

¹²⁷ Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, *Women Violence and Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 18. See also, Taylor, "Social Movement Continuity," 765; Bert Klandermans, "Motivations to Action," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, eds. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (London: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2.

¹²⁸ Clément, "Generations and the Transformation of Social Movements in Postwar Canada," 362.

student, and women's liberation movements on campus each had unique interests that required a sustained and distinctive organizational focus, and although there were cross interests and cross membership, each movement concentrated on its own goals and progress.

Fourth, the history of gender, the family, and childcare in post Second World War Canada is enlarged by this study. The movement to establish daycare at SFU reflects the 1960s gender discrepancy that engrained the mother/father roles with childcare limitations. The daycare movement also draws on changes in women's labour and access to university education. In the 1960s, women were pursuing university education in unprecedented numbers with the intention of entering the workforce and this change was part of a socio-cultural shift that defined the era.¹²⁹ What occurred to middle-class women in the relatively affluent and peaceful 1960s is that they could go to university, have children, and work outside of the home. However, mothers and fathers realised that they could not attempt to realize their educational goals or pursue their vocations without excellent childcare support or facilities. To enable this change, parents at SFU, amid campus radical activity, demanded and took charge of establishing a co-operative childcare at the university that resulted in the SFU Family Co-op daycare; a fledgling

¹²⁹ The emergence of second wave feminism challenged many of the suppositions about women's and men's gender roles, particularly around supposedly "natural" abilities to mother and entitlement to paid labour. Paid labour was a largely male domain in the 1930's with relatively few middle-class women working full-time outside the home, especially after marriage. Although some American women, especially those who were poor or working-class worked outside the home during the 30s, "the disincentives were so powerful that by 1940 only 15 percent of married women were employed." May, *Homeward Bound*, 49. These statistics changed with the call for women to enter the workforce during WW II. In Canada almost 23 percent of the female population was working by 1941 but there was an "enormous amount of cultural bitterness over women perceived to be stealing what were considered to be men's rightful jobs." Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens, Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 42. The flow of women into the paid labour force during the Second World War was considered an emergency response to a male labour shortage, and most believed that working women would vacate their jobs in favour of male veterans at the end of the war. In fact, "between 1944 and 1946 more than 300,000 women, or 25 per cent of the total female workforce, left their jobs either voluntarily or involuntarily." Owsram, *Born at the Right Time*, 27. It was expected that men could have their jobs back; women's entitlement to employment was overlooked. Postwar thought expressed the fear that gender equality could lead to social decay if women could work, spend, and then act like men. The moral tone was a condition of stability and security because moral decay threatened national safety. Women's labour was for the most part performed in the home and was not considered productive labour. Consequently, it went unacknowledged as work. Government, religious groups, relief authorities, social workers, the court system, men, and even women wanted to maintain accepted traditional roles. However, traditional roles changed forever after WW II as many women remained in the workforce. (Only 25 percent of working women left their jobs according to Owsram)

movement that would survive and expand. The SFU daycare movement acted alongside the emerging woman's liberation movement and the student movement to challenge social norms that kept students, parents and women marginalized. The SFU daycare movement defied cold-war gender, family and childcare models and marked a shift toward new ways of being a student/parent or working/parent.

Finally, this dissertation makes a significant contribution to understanding how daycare activists confronted the status quo to improve child raising conditions for mothers, fathers and their children. This was accomplished in three major ways: by defying the stigmatization of daycare, challenging professional authority, and changing traditional family models.

SFU parents confronted mainstream ideas that stigmatized daycare as a charity or public service for unmarried mothers, people with developmental disabilities, immigrant families deemed to be lacking parenting skills, or broken families in need of material assistance. The daycare parents had to challenge the prevailing stigma associated with daycare and replace it with a positive co-operative image of their imagining if mothers, alongside fathers, were to access higher education and participate in the paid labour market without guilt or worry. SFU parents had to overcome the lack of public daycare service available by locating their own daycare on unauthorized campus space. Parents were responsible for developing and maintaining the daycare infrastructure, including organization, supervision, scheduling, curriculum, activities, toys and other supplies. The daycare was established and maintained amid the political turmoil of the late 1960s and in the face of the university administration's initial criticism of the daycare, and then its tenuous support, followed by pressure to conform to governmental demands.

The SFU daycare parents also challenged accepted authority figures on childrearing. Postwar values were re-enforced by the emergence of the professional expert as the source of authority, with the rising field of psychology dominating ideals of normality in the family, school, and workplace.¹³⁰ Daycare parents were confident that their parenting skills and daycare design far outshone any professional expert model.

¹³⁰ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 4. In the workplace, according to Daniel Robinson and David Kimmel, 1960s government officials sought the advice of psychiatric and psychological specialists. Robinson and Kimmel. "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security."

SFU parents wanted nothing short of an excellent daycare. By administering their own daycare design, parents defied expert advice, and challenged conventional daycare standards and prevailing daycare stigmas.

SFU daycare parents challenged Cold War ideals of 'normal' home and family life, centred on full-time housewives raising obedient children supported by full-time male breadwinners, all upheld by expert advice from professional or government sanctioned authority.¹³¹ As this thesis demonstrates, the dependent stay-at-home wife and the breadwinner husband paradigm was considered by such experts as essential to stable homes and families, good citizenship, and safe communities. What became glaringly obvious to the baby boomer generation and particularly to SFU parents who established the daycare Co-op, is that ideas about safety and gender inequality were intrinsically enmeshed in postwar values that frustrated change to the status quo. This dissertation argues that SFU parents involved in the daycare were influenced by feminist critiques of family and mothering. As Nancy Chodorow argues, "women's mothering is one of the few universal and enduring elements of the sexual division of labor."¹³²

SFU daycare parents challenged the idea that the stay-at-home mother and the working father was an ideal family model.¹³³ Stay-at-home mothers caring for children alone in a self-contained home was often an unstimulating and alienating lifestyle that could lead to depression and abuse. Women realized that to remain in the home and work in the unpaid private sector would stifle their aspirations for equality and liberation.¹³⁴ Furthermore, a homemaker-breadwinner model in which fathers were

¹³¹ Gentile and Kinsman 2010; Robinson, 1994; May, 1988; Cynthia Comacchio, "A Postscript for Father': Defining a New Fatherhood in Interwar Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, 78 (September 1997): 385–408; Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 1999.

¹³² Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering*, 3.

¹³³ Authors like Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique* instigated consciousness raising by disclosing the domestic discontent engendered by external influences that suppressed women and alienated them from each other and from mainstream society. This discontent was passive due to socially imposed guilt, fear, and pressure, directed at the core of women's sexual characterization.

¹³⁴ Women's domestic labour in the home remains unacknowledged today. Women's work in the private domain is still considered unskilled labour, because nurturing and caregiving for the young, the elderly, the sick, or the needy, does not have set tasks, reliable hours, or employee standards and benefits. As Gilligan elaborates, "the very qualities that distinguished women's moral goodness, their relational sensitivity and empathic concern, marked them as deficient in development." Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*, 18. Currently, women who spend their life

expected to be the primary or sole income earners could also be unsatisfying to men. Societal pressure to support a family as the sole economic provider can be a form of drudgery.¹³⁵ Consequently, many young people in the 1960s searched for new ways of thinking that defied the ideals promoted by the postwar traditional family model. The desire for a collaborative campus daycare at SFU is an example of how some parents searched for and tried to establish new models of parenting and childcare in this period.

Fathers as principal caregivers participated fully in the early Family Co-op daycare and as such, disrupted the “mother as primary caregiver” Cold War model. For the Family Co-op to be successful and survive, men and women had to respect each other and contribute equally to child minding by working their shift, while men had equal responsibility for the care of children. The Family Co-op was firm in its resolve to maintain equal participation and contribution from all parents involved. The co-operative and non-discriminatory working relationship established in the daycare was extraordinary, and challenged the “man-as-breadwinner family form.”¹³⁶ This change enabled fathers to connect with children in a profoundly tender way that had previously been discouraged by Cold War standards of normative masculine behaviour.

This dissertation makes a significant and original contribution to the history of childcare in Canada in general, and specifically, to the history of childcare at Simon Fraser University. Scholars have argued that the field of childcare history is underdeveloped and under-researched. Prochner, for example, argues that “child study history is a ‘truly marginal sub-specialty’ in Canada.”¹³⁷ A detailed history of the establishment of the SFU daycare remains almost absent in the available published literature on the history of SFU and the history of the 1960s. There has been only limited documentation of the establishment, internal issues, external pressures, and organization of the original SFU daycare referred to as the Family or the Family Co-op. The lack of SFU daycare history from 1965 to 1974 is perhaps no mistake. I think that

working in the home retain an inferior status as second-rate citizens and this position is socially demarcated by limitations.

¹³⁵ Barbara Epstein’s article suggests that “commitment may have been more problematic to men [in the 1960s] because it evoked memories of the ‘trapped quality of their fathers’ lives.”¹³⁵ Barbara Epstein, “Family Politics and the New Left: Learning from Our own Experience,” *Socialist Review*, 63-64 (May-August 1982), 153. See also, Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 43.

¹³⁶ Rianne Mahon, “Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring,” *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (December 2002), 191.

¹³⁷ Prochner, and Howe, *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada*, 11.

this is the result of the daycare's precarious position in the early days of its existence. Most of the parents were too busy to worry about collecting and archiving information related to the founding of the daycare. The daycare wanted to operate and survive, and the best way was to go unchallenged and unapproachable. The Family Co-op occupied space at SFU for more than two years. This was a remarkable accomplishment that went unchallenged by the SFU administration until radical student action subsided in 1970. Until then, the parents privately ran the daycare without soliciting expert advice or financial assistance. Additionally, the Co-op parents were unapproachable except as a group, because they refused to designate authority figures or a spokesperson. Furthermore, between 1970 and 1974, the Family Co-op experienced intense internal conflict that was kept very private, while at the same time, it was fighting assimilation by the university. It is noteworthy then that the present daycare history sees the founding year of the daycare as 1974, after the Family became the Burnaby Mountain Childcare Society, and it was agreed that the university could appoint a daycare co-ordinator. The daycare co-ordinator was Emily Campbell and even though she was not the first co-ordinator, the history of the daycare begins with her listed as the first official employee.

The "official" history of the daycare is also related to the reality that the SFU administration wished to control the image of the daycare. The administration gained control of the daycare gradually but surely over the six years preceding the hiring of Emily Campbell. She had been the coordinator of the Vancouver Marpole Daycare Centre, a government sponsored pilot daycare project before coming to SFU and she was good friends with the wife of Stan Roberts, who was the SFU Vice President of Development and University Services. The SFU administration must have felt confident that they could trust Campbell to keep them informed. The administration envisioned a daycare worthy of pride that reflected well on the university. However, the daycare was not seen by the SFU administration as an organization to be proud of during radical campus activity of the 1960s. The parents of the Family Co-op were known as politically radical people who challenged mainstream conventions and norms, and this was not the sort of activity that SFU wished to celebrate. The SFU administration wanted to distance themselves from the early activist conflict on campus and did not want the daycare to be a reminder of this early and conflict-ridden period of its history. As social anthropologist Paul Connerton argues, control of information is a political issue and "the more total the aspirations of the new regime, the more imperiously will it seek to introduce an era of

forced forgetting.”¹³⁸ With the employment of Emily Campbell as the first daycare coordinator hired by the SFU administration in June of 1974, the daycare entered a more established phase of its history. By 1974, the SFU administration began to see the daycare as a professional institution and a potential asset to the university, as well as an organization to be proud of. When this shift in attitude occurred, and the university had achieved some control, the official university sanctioned daycare history began to be told.

Chapter Overview

SFU was established in 1965 in the midst of an era of social transition, and sociopolitical action would escalate by the late 1960s. As this introduction has argued, in 1965, SFU students, staff, and administration attend a newly built university that imagined itself as not “bound by tradition.” But there was no cohesive idea of what form innovation would take at this new university. The people involved in the early years of SFU’s existence held disparate philosophical viewpoints and political positions.¹³⁹ Students and administration, for example, had very different aspirations regarding the functioning and governance of the university in this period.

The student parents at SFU identified and acknowledged their need for campus daycare provisions for their children. Like the activist campus student council and SDU executive who organized sit-ins, demonstrations, and strikes, the daycare parents were responding to administrative opposition when they began to occupy daycare space. Direct action in the form of occupation and non-compliance to the university’s demands was necessary in the face of oppressive attitudes that developed in a postwar society steeped in fear of non-normative behaviour. Additionally, the SFU leadership was initially steeped in a hierarchical administrative culture. Administrative authorities did not see the need to innovate, reform, or improve the state and quality of being a student. The parents of the SFU Co-op daycare were left with little choice but to resist the outmoded thinking that campus daycare was unneeded or even preposterous.

¹³⁸ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12.

¹³⁹ *Vancouver Sun*, July 24, 1963, “Even Baby-Sitting Service In Shrum’s University Plans,” July 24, 1963.

Chapter one argues that the daycare experienced its formative origins in the opening years of the university from 1965 to 1967 and was not newly imagined in June 1968. A daycare was badly needed on a geographically isolated campus with a large enrolment of mature students, many of whom had children. Some historians have argued that the SFU daycare was linked directly to the second wave women's movement on campus and that it was supported by what would become the Vancouver Women's Caucus. This thesis argues that although this assumption is partially true, as some of the daycare mothers were women's liberationists and the VWC supported daycare as part of its philosophical platform of women's emancipation, it is more accurate to state that the daycare emerged alongside the women's movement and the student movement. The SFU Family daycare was not an arm of the VWC but emerged in parallel as a movement of its own. The student, women's, and daycare movements at SFU worked together interdependently, operating in tandem, but each with its own unique motivations.

Chapter two follows the journey of the informal Co-op daycare to the start of the Family daycare that began at the end of the week following the June 4th 1968 student sit-in, situating its emergence within the growing student movement. However, as I argue in Chapter 1, while the daycare movement had connections to both the women's liberation and the student movements, it was a movement with its own leaders, priorities, and long-term goals. The political activism at SFU crescendoed by January 1968 with the establishment of SDU and with the emergence of several leading radical activists on campus. In this chapter the demand for campus daycare transitions into the seizure and occupation of space and the ad hoc establishment of the Snake Hill childcare, and the early days of the Family Co-op daycare.

Chapter three surveys the daycare to 1970 and emphasizes the importance of the daycare philosophy and the daycare parents' identity. Daycare structures and approaches to childcare did not meet the approval of SFU parent/students, nor did the normative family paradigms that such childcare was based on. The progressive educators and scholars that parents had been reading and studying influenced the daycare's structure and curriculum. By the end of 1969, the daycare conceded to some of the university administration's demands and the administration began to think of the daycare as a long term institution. The chapter ends with an assessment, based on interviews with student activists involved at the time, about why the daycare survived.

Initially the Family was entirely responsible for maintaining and supplying their occupied space, for the children's education and wellbeing, and for the daycare's internal functioning, administration, and philosophical solidarity. This all had to be accomplished despite the disapproval and lack of support from the SFU administration.

Chapter four covers the period from 1970 to 1971. There was a change of atmosphere on the SFU campus by 1970 because much of the political turmoil of 1968 and 1969 had receded. For the daycare, however, it was business as usual but not without the discomfort of renewed scrutiny by the SFU administration into the Family's affairs. The transformation of the Family daycare from a non-hierarchical, co-operative establishment to a university-controlled institution began in this period. Daycare parents wanted a resilient and permanent daycare structure of their design, but the need for full funding and university approval meant compromise and adaptation to university and government regulations. Failure to comply to external pressure meant that the university might crush the daycare directly, or indirectly, through municipal and governmental closure. The university mandate was to assimilate and administrate the daycare following their own corporate ideal.

Chapter 5 explores how the Family daycare became the Burnaby Mountain Childcare Society with official recognition, university funding, expanded childcare services, and a provincially qualified supervisor with assistants. This chapter examines the discomfort and tensions that such a change instigated amongst the parents of the daycare. In particular, many parents struggled with the erosion of the co-operative model, and conflict emerged between them and other parents who argued that they must adapt to survive.

This final chapter includes a postscript. By the fall of 1973 the daycare had unionized despite the disapproval of the Family. The daycare had also expanded with an infant centre at Louis Riel House and two trailer units each with different kinds of daycare services. The last daycare supervisor hired by the Family retired at the end of the year and left a temporary replacement. There was considerable disagreement internally about the future of the daycare with varying opinions from the new daycare units, each with their own particular needs. As a result, the SFU administration removed support and funding for a few months, requiring the newly formed society to reorganise. A new daycare supervisor was hired, but this time by the SFU administration. This

transformation marked the end of the daycare as a grassroots organization run as co-operative and eased its transition to a university administrated society.

Conclusion

The history of the SFU Daycare attests to what can be done with cooperation and determination. Students, mothers, and fathers at SFU proceeded from a conviction that social change was necessary and possible, and the time was ripe for such a change. The evolution of the SFU daycare from innovative co-op to daycare society is in itself a concentrated example of the compromise, adaptation, and determination found within the larger struggle for women's progress and emancipation, for women's right to work outside of the home and earn a wage in the public sphere, for parents' struggles for childcare reforms that overturned postwar paradigms of parenting, and for student demands for representation in educational and university policy.

In many ways, the founding of the SFU daycare is a microcosm of the larger university establishment and culture and stands as a small but symbolic part of what makes up the whole of what SFU was and still is. The history of the daycare is a micro view of the challenge to and confrontation with mainstream stereotypical norms about parenting, daycare, student hood, and gender roles in the 1960s. This history, however, must be understood within the larger historical story of the protests and demonstrations of SFU students and professors at the university as they confronted traditional views of what post-secondary education should be.

There is no better time to examine and recognize the struggles and successes of parents' and particularly women's battles and triumphs to establish accessible, high quality, and affordable daycare. Daycare provision remains inadequate in a society that values economic profitability over the values of human development and a lifelong investment in healthy citizens. This commitment to childcare must continue to evolve if women are to be liberated, and if men and women are to become fully equal.

Chapter One

Babysitting services for dentists' wives? SFU Daycare from 1965 to 1968

"That idea of the dentists' wives plagued women who were in fact married and were accomplished in their own right." Sharon Yandle interview April 21, 2016

"This was 1968 and everybody's dress was too short. But because I was pregnant, I was supposed to have one of those long double drape ridiculous outfits that married women were expected to wear." Heidi Greco interview September 10, 2017

"There was a fair amount of clash around gender in SDU. Genderism became more and more fractious as feminism became more and more the focus of the activism at SFU." Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

The desire and need for childcare was expressed by staff, faculty, and students from the opening of the university. While SFU did not begin as a radical university, soon after SFU opened in 1965, student leaders became increasingly active on campus. By 1967, activist student groups like Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) and later Students for a Democratic University (SDU) had organized on campus. Student groups radicalized the student body and enabled the burgeoning student movement. From that foundation the daycare movement and the women's liberation movement soon organized as separate groups. Understanding the SFU student body and the development and relationship amongst the different movements on campus helps to explain the emergence and development of the demand for the Family Co-op daycare. This chapter details the initial stages of the daycare movement alongside the emergence of the SFU student movement and women's movement.

Student Identity within Emerging Movements

The official SFU Childcare Society (SFUCCS) that operates on campus today developed in 1982 from the Burnaby Association of University Child Care Societies (BAUCCS) established in 1977. Prior to this period, the daycare had been known as the

Burnaby Mountain Child Care Society (BMDCS), founded in 1973.¹ However, two daycares preceded the establishment of the BMDCS. In 1966/67, a childcare named Snake Hill provided informal childcare to student/parents on the SFU campus.² The Family Co-op, established in 1968, soon followed. The relationship between Snake Hill, the Family Co-op, and the BMDCS is a complicated one and has been unexplored prior to this dissertation.³

Most histories of SFU assume that the first daycare on campus was the Family Co-op. *The Peak* chronicles the establishment of the Family or the Family Co-op as the first daycare at SFU, which began in early June 1968 after students occupied the university Board of Governors meeting room during a Students for a Democratic University sit-in. The establishment and functioning of the Family Co-op is the main focus of this dissertation. However, oral testimonies and archival documents reveal an even more complex story. The Family Co-op was preceded by a loosely organized and informal childcare called Snake Hill, which existed on the same site as the Family. The Family daycare answered a need that had been expressed by administrators, parents, students, faculty, and staff from the opening of the university. Demand for daycare at SFU emerged in 1965 and its ensuing progress was linked to several inter-related movements: a student movement which demanded a greater voice for students in university governance; a women's liberation movement which saw the establishment of childcare as a crucial component of women's equality; and a larger shift in social values about women's work and education as increasing numbers of women attended university and other forms of higher education. This chapter demonstrates that while all of these factors played an important role in the emerging demand for daycare, historians have largely assumed that daycare activism emerged largely from the radical activism of the women's liberation and the student movement. However, many of the initial daycare activists were only tangentially active in either of these movements, and several leading

¹ The Family Co-op was the first officially recognized child care center at SFU and was located in the Academic Quadrangle. "In 1973, the Family Co-op became an incorporated society called the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society (BMDCS). This meant there were four individual child care centers, all with different models, under one society." <http://www.sfu.ca/childcare/about-us/history.html> Each center was individual and autonomous but carried on the Family Co-op model of providing excellent childcare.

² It is unknown exactly when Snake Hill began operation but 1967 is a close estimation.

³ "SFU childcare started in 1968 with a group of dedicated parents who began a co-operative family orientated drop-in center." <http://www.sfu.ca/childcare/about-us/history.html> This statement acknowledges the early SFU daycare.

early figures did not identify as feminist. This chapter underscores the intricacy of identity politics that enable movements like the student, women's, and daycare movements, but also influence and sometimes interfere with internal workings. These movements at SFU were further shaped by an often supportive but sometimes unpredictable student body.

SFU and the Dawning of the Social Shift

In July of 1963 SFU Chancellor Gordon Shrum's address to the Vancouver Rotary Club boasted that the new university would offer "baby-sitting services" to housewives who were university graduates and willing to help professors with marking papers and other routine administrative classroom chores. The "housewives" Shrum was describing soon became dubbed "dentists' wives" but in the summer of 1963, Shrum announced "if the housewives have young children the university could help out with the baby-sitting by providing play facilities for children while the mothers work."⁴ The fact that mothers with children could work providing that they had "babysitting" was an important admission in 1963, and Shrum claimed to the Rotary Club audience that SFU would not "be bound by tradition."⁵ But Shrum's vision for women's work at the university was situated within a gender-segregated, white collar, and supportive role. Cold War normative behaviour encouraged mothers to remain in the home or, if they worked, to do so in a way that prioritized caregiving and home-making. In the summer of 1963, however, Shrum had no way of knowing that SFU would be a radical and politically active university as well as a progressive leader in the student movement, the women's movement, and the daycare movement.

SFU originated out of the need for a post-secondary institution strategically located on the eastern side of Vancouver; a university that would be accessible to an influx of students seeking higher education who lived in Vancouver, the urban suburbs, or the Lower Mainland. Along with necessity came creation and in September 1965 this new university held the promise of something different: something out-of-the ordinary. But the university's modern or non-traditional image was a manufactured descriptor that obscured the traditional and hierarchical governing structure of the university. Catherine Gidney writes that "benevolent paternalism" best describes a university system which

⁴ SFUA. Building and Residences, Daycare Centre fonds, 1972 -1976, F 100-3-0-0-1; *Vancouver Sun*, article by John Arnett, July 24, 1963.

⁵ Ibid.

was based on “power that radiated downward from within hierarchically structured institution[s],” with administrators at the top of the system and faculty and students at the bottom.⁶ “Prior to the 1960s students were not considered responsible adults, either by the university or the wider society,” points out Hugh Johnston, “especially since the legal age of majority was twenty-one.” Therefore, “the university exercised the prerogatives of a strict but judicious parent”; a relationship recognized by historians as “*in loco parentis*.”⁷ Johnston refers to *in loco parentis* as “a halfway house between childhood and adulthood” because in this period post-secondary students were expected to abide by paternalistic guidelines that were an extension of home and secondary school.⁸ This traditionalism was manifested at SFU in a number of ways. For example, students were banned from attending administrative meetings and they could not use the Academic Quadrangle elevator or the faculty lounge unless accompanied by a faculty member.

But a significant number of students came to SFU with a radically different image of what a modern university would look like. SFU founders, professors, and students anticipated that SFU would offer a change from the traditional bastions of education such as the University of British Columbia (UBC). But exactly how this change would occur was undetermined, because in 1965 this image was only manifested by SFU’s surprising mountaintop location and by the modern architecture of Arthur Erickson rather than by any visible social radicalism.⁹ Political activist and founding daycare father Jim Harding thinks that “the SFU administration and the Social Credit Government was envisioning a race and class based elite university with elite profs and a place on the hill

⁶ Catherine Gidney, “The Rise of Faculty Power, 1951–1970,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 67.

⁷ Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 136.

⁸ Ibid., 136. Roberta Lexier, “To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart: The Sixties Student Movement at English-Canadian Universities,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 83; Catherine Gidney, “The Rise of Faculty Power, 1951–1970,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 70.

⁹ What the administrative founders of SFU did not realize is that a modern university established in the midst of social change, protest, activism, and radicalism, would attract faculty and students who were interested in a democratic structure of governance with shared decision making and representation. Two of the first SFU protests voiced opposition to campus building modifications in 1966 when a parking lot replaced designated park land, and when a Shell gas station was approved for the top rather than the bottom of the mountain. These protests alerted the governing elite that SFU was modern not just in name but by the response of a student body who wanted to be active participants in all aspects of their university education.

to train people to help with the economic growth of the Province.”¹⁰ Activists and the student movement interfered with that vision and plan. But the late sixties era of protests and actions were not envisioned when SFU opened.

The social conservatism from 1965 into early 1967 attests to the fact that the later 1960s radical period was both short and swift at SFU. This was not necessarily the case elsewhere. The radical 1960s was experienced at different times in different places. SFU student activist leader Martin Loney remembers a much earlier trajectory in Great Britain, arguing that “in 1966, Britain was already part of the Student revolt. You could see the tide turning in the UK well before it happened in Canada. I was political before I arrived [in Canada] and I had already been involved in the civil disobedience movement and other student and antiwar movements.”¹¹

At SFU the activist movements gained in momentum from 1967 to 1970 but before that, Cold War pressures to maintain normative behaviour weighed heavily on Canadian campuses. Young Canadian women in the 1960s were schooled in appropriate behaviour, defined by a strict moral code of sexual restraint, lady-like submissiveness, and appropriate public deportment and manner of dress. Marcy Toms, founding member of the Vancouver Women’s Caucus, enrolled at SFU in September 1967 directly after finishing high school. “When I graduated from high school in British Columbia there was still corporal punishment and girls were not allowed ever, to wear trousers in class. So, if it was freezing cold you could wear your trousers under your dress or skirt but you had to take them off before you went to class.” She remembers SFU in the fall of 1967 as less “draconian.”¹² Nevertheless, a residual although somewhat relaxed high school standard was apparent at SFU. Sharon Yandle, outspoken journalist, SFU SUPA representative, and the first student to hold a seat on the SFU Senate, reminisced, “I look at pictures of myself in the fall of ‘65 and I had my hair all done up and I was wearing makeup and dressed very properly. Even men in the faculty were walking around in three piece suits.”¹³

¹⁰ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

¹¹ Martin Loney interview, August 9, 2016

¹² Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

¹³ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

But life was much harder for young women who challenged the mainstream moral code. Heidi Greco was one of the single mothers who participated in the early SFU Co-op Family and she remembers social expectations and pressure regarding unmarried mothers in particular:

My son was born in July of 1968. I was not married. I did find it helped my social status to have purchased a cheap ring at probably a Woolworths, because it was still not at all acceptable for an unmarried female to have a child. I was sick of getting tut tutted on the street. There was huge huge disapproval attached [to unwed pregnancy]. I kept [my son] and it was not easy to do, because I gave birth in a Catholic hospital and the nuns were very suspect of anybody who might want to take home a child without a husband in tow. They did everything they could to make it nasty for me to take him. They really wanted me to say 'forget it I'll put him up for adoption' but I was not willing to do that. I remember that I was treated very badly by the nuns. I remember one time they sent me home from the clinic because they said my dress was too short. This was 1968 and everybody's dress was too short. But because I was pregnant, I was supposed to have one of those long double drape ridiculous outfits that married women were expected to wear. I was nonconforming in every respect.¹⁴

Student social unrest, protest, and rebellion was on the horizon but during 1965 and 1966, SFU was in many ways much like any other Canadian university with social and behavioural restraints imposed on both women and men. Dave Yorke, SFU student activist and council member, enrolled at SFU in January 1966: "At Simon Fraser University right at the beginning of 1966 the atmosphere actually was more like a throwback to being in high school. The student interest was on sock hops and dances and fairly trivial stuff. The student population, by and large, was very young."¹⁵ Martin Loney also enrolled in 1966 and remembers SFU as "a very conventional university in an extremely conventional Province. People whistled at you if you had long hair. The whole thing, the whole Vancouver thing, was kind of odd to an Englishman."¹⁶

Shrum's initial promise of babysitting for female teaching assistants was documented in a June 1966 *McLeans* article titled "The Mountain-top Radical" with a caption which stated: "All our instant campuses are experimental. But BC's Simon

¹⁴ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

¹⁵ Dave Yorke interview, April 27, 2016

¹⁶ Martin Loney interview, August 9, 2016

Fraser is the wildest of the lot.”¹⁷ The author noted Shrum’s reference to “dentists’ wives” and quoted his statement that “I believe that some of them would do an excellent job of conducting tutorials and they would be making a valuable contribution to the university. Isn’t that better than sitting around playing bridge in the afternoons?”¹⁸ Sharon Yandle remembers this statement by Shrum: “I remember when the university first opened that Gordon Shrum... had talked about dentists’ wives. The whole structure of the university was going to be the big lecture theatres and then the tutorials. So, who was going to run these tutorials? ‘Well, dentists’ wives.’ he said, and that really meant the wives of faculty. That idea of the dentists’ wives plagued women who were in fact married and were accomplished in their own right.”¹⁹ Yandle adds that “it took a little while for me to understand how insulting that was. There were so many insulting things that people said to you in those days, and you didn’t understand until years later what a put down it was, and how much a part of the piece it was in the whole patriarchal system.”²⁰

Shrum’s promise of “babysitting services” for “housewives” prompted a series of discussions amongst SFU administrators about whether the university would provide some form of childcare service on campus. By February 8, 1966, just five months after SFU opened, Lolita Wilson, the Dean of Women, wrote Gordon Shrum regarding the possibility of a Crèche. Wilson wrote, “I have been approached by members of the ‘dentist’s wives’ group concerning the establishment of some sort of baby-sitting services for women who are working on campus on a temporary basis. They were evidently given to understand by the Chancellor that such services were to be provided and they are now wondering if this original plan is likely to go through. What should I tell them?”²¹ Clearly, Shrum’s earlier promise had resonated amongst some of the campus community, and the women in question expected him to follow through with some sort of subsidized childcare.

Despite this initial promise, Shrum did not follow through. On June 2, 1966, a memo entitled “Baby Sitting Service” went out to the SFU President and department

¹⁷ Jon Ruddy, “The Mountain-top Radical,” *McLean’s Magazine*, June 4, 1966, 12.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Lolita Wilson to Gordon Shrum. 8 February 1966.

heads from Lolita Wilson, which stated “in February 225 questionnaires were sent out to Departments to assess the need for some sort of baby-sitting services at Simon Fraser University. We have received 13 of these back. A total of 15 children would be affected by the provision of the service and these at various times through-out the day and the week. This being the case, no further action will be taken at this time.”²² It is impossible to know how seriously the male dominated department heads took the questionnaire, especially given the bias about women working or continuing education if they had children.²³ Melody Kilian Ermachild remembers this bias first hand. “At university a professor said to me ‘why are you here? You are taking the place of a man who could be here and support his family.’”²⁴

Whether the questionnaire handed to the department heads was fairly dealt with or not, the “dentists’ wives” were not the only parents at SFU in need of daycare. Staff, faculty and their spouses, as well as single and married students and their spouses, also needed daycare if they had children. A November 3, 1965 article in *The Peak* claimed that of the 2,578 students enrolled in 1965 “there are approximately 200 mature students registered in SFU’s first semester.” Cy Thomas, vice-president of the Union of Adult Students (UAS) stated that “the majority of mature students at SFU are married and have children, factors which increase the magnitude of their study and financial problems.”²⁵ Gini Shaw, founder of the Snake Hill childcare service that preceded the 1968 Family daycare, knew many of the mature students at SFU and remembers: “I don’t think there was enough emphasis put on the mature students that were there. It made a huge difference that it wasn’t all young people. There was a broader spectrum of society.”²⁶ For the first few years the SFU administration overlooked the need for childcare and the needs of students with children.²⁷ Jim Harding remembers that “when

²² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. A memo went out to the SFU President and All Department Heads from Lolita Wilson “Re: Baby Sitting Service.” 2 June 1966.

²³ When SFU first opened its doors in 1965, women made up only 37 per cent of the student body. The faculty also held low representation of women, with only 16 women out of its 126 members. Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 118.

²⁴ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

²⁵ *The Peak*, November 3, 1965, 3.

²⁶ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

²⁷ “The fundamental question...is whether child care is a matter of public concern or a private family responsibility. The answer to this question will determine whether child care is treated as a private commodity within a market model or as a public service within the framework of social

you came to Simon Fraser nobody asked you if you needed daycare.”²⁸ In fact any petitions for SFU campus daycare by students or parents were frustrated by the administration’s denial of their need.

The administration’s lack of interest and co-operation in accommodating students with children was also evident in the planning stages of the married student’s residence (Louis Riel House), when SFU president Patrick McTaggart-Cowan refused to consider the needs of parents with children who were six months and older.²⁹ In an article in *The Peak* in October 1967, McTaggart-Cowan advised that “the new student residence will contain 62 two bedroom suites and 140 one bedroom suites. The suites will not be for rent to married couples with children.” The president said that “if couples have children over about six months old they require special facilities and it wasn't possible at the time to provide them.”³⁰ Nor did he suggest how to provide for them in the future. His implicit message was that university students would not or should not have children. This was also the case at the University of Toronto, where the administration argued that they had no responsibility to provide daycare because it was an issue of social welfare. Jason Ellis notes that the University of Toronto distributed birth control prescriptions through the university health services. “But once a female student or faculty member became pregnant, the Administration felt no need to continue to provide services for them, because in their eyes they ceased to be part of the university community.”³¹ This position was the status quo at Canadian universities in the 1960s when administrations were

policy. This is a fundamental point because whether child care is considered a private responsibility or a “public good” is central to the design of child care policy and, ultimately, to service delivery.” Martha Friendly, “Childcare as a Social Policy Issue,” in *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Larry Prochner and Nina Howe (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 253.

²⁸ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

²⁹ On the establishment of Louis Riel House, see *The Peak*, January 19, 1966, 2. and Oct 25, 1967, 1. The October article reported that a married student’s residence would be completed by September 1968 and that children over six months would not be allowed. This ban on children was overturned the following week—on the principle “that in any residence provided for married students provision be made for children.” (*The Peak*, November 1, 1967, 1.) On August 6, 1969, 6. *The Peak* states that “...the majority of 95 potential residents have decided to call the new campus apartment dwelling Louis Riel House and the move in date is anticipated for August 25, 1969.”

³⁰ *The Peak*, October 25, 1967, 1.

³¹ Jason A. Ellis, “This is Not a Medieval University Attended by Celibate Clergy: Contesting the University of Toronto’s First Daycare Sit-in” (MA paper, York University, 2005), 9.

primarily concerned “with governmental or parental wrath.”³² Owram explains that some universities feared ramification from the law or parents when they yielded to student demands and “quietly began to dispense birth control prescriptions” and information to students at a time when the pill was prohibited and parents expected self-restraint within Cold War moral paradigms.³³

In 1967 Dave Yorke was on the student council and remembers that “McTaggart-Cowan was a real old school fuddy-duddy kind of guy. Social conservatism was his forte.”³⁴ McTaggart-Cowan, understanding that the SFU administration did not want a daycare on campus, probably tried to discourage the idea of children in the married students’ residence by bamboozling prospective residents into accepting the six-month-old age limitation. This deception did not go unnoticed and the veto on children over the age of six months in the married student residence was overturned a week later (November 1st 1967), after SFU Council President Arthur Weeks and Graduate Student Association president Ian Spencer met with several members of the Board of Governors. A motion was introduced resolving that: “in any residence provided for married students that provision be made for children.”³⁵ Inevitably, Louis Riel House would become a family centered residence with children of all ages playing together in the halls and wandering in and out of apartments as they liked.

Gordon Shrum paid lip service to the notion of providing university staff with babysitting but was obviously not seriously committed to the idea of university provided childcare. The SFU administration continually ignored student’s requests for a designated daycare space. A November 1966 letter in *The Peak* to the editor titled “More Mothers” declared that “more women in Canada [might] attend university... if day-care centres for pre-school children were to be opened on campus.”³⁶ The idea of on-campus daycares was only beginning to emerge at this time and at the forefront was SFU student Gini Shaw, who had been trying to arrange an official daycare at SFU since

³² Doug Owram, *Born At The Right Time: A History Of The Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 268.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Dave Yorke interview, April 27, 2016

³⁵ *The Peak*, November 1, 1967, 1.

³⁶ *The Peak*, November 23, 1966, 4.

1966.³⁷ The first few years after SFU's founding were early days for the women's movement and the student movement on campus. Consequently, Gini Shaw's efforts to petition for a daycare were not widely known or supported. Women were not yet acting as a united front at SFU, and student activists at SFU were just becoming organized. However, by 1968 the SFU student movement was gaining in strength and women were beginning to organize.

Because the founding of the 1968 SFU Family Co-op daycare is often represented by historians as connected with the student movement and even more so with the women's movement, it is necessary to dispel this myth at the beginning of this chapter. The Family Co-op daycare was the official beginning of the SFU daycare movement, and its creation should be documented with as much attention that is given to the student or women's movement at SFU. Therefore, before proceeding with an analysis of the Family Co-op, the following section will explain how the SFU women's movement emerged alongside the SFU student movement, and look at how both movements played a supportive but markedly separate role in the establishment of the original daycare movement.

Early Days: The Student Movement and Women's Liberation at Simon Fraser University

Between 1965 and 1967 women at SFU were not yet politically organizing as a separate university group. The women's movement was in the nascent stages at SFU and only started to surface with increased education and feminist consciousness raising.³⁸ The first women's organization at SFU was the Feminine Action League (FAL) which was formed in June 1968, and soon renamed the Women's Caucus (WC) or the SFU Women's Caucus (SFUWC). It was renamed again as the Vancouver Women's Caucus when campus women joined with off-campus women to meet in a Vancouver location. Women like Melody Kilian Ermachild were becoming aware of gender inequality and she remembers her early days at SFU in 1966 as informative and inspiring. "It was

³⁷ Dennis Roberts, "History of campus daycare notes concern for quality," *SFU Week*, 17, no 12, July 24, 1980, 3.

³⁸ By 1969, Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* wrote that male dominance and power was woven into the social order. She argued that women internalize the social denigration directed toward them and turn it on themselves and other members of their gender. "Women despise both themselves and each other." Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 77.

such early days of the women's movement. We had very good examples of women who were doing so much. I was completely inspired by these women's lives and the burgeoning writing that was coming out."³⁹ Kilian doesn't remember specifics about the origin of the Women's Caucus but does remember that she was in Kathleen (Aberle) Gough's Anthropology seminar:

There were lots and lots of women sitting together and talking. Probably the reason we had the Women's Caucus get off the ground with everything that happened, was due to Kathleen Gough. Kathleen Gough and Margret Benston should probably have some credit for the daycare. Kathleen Gough was my mentor. She took me into her office I don't know how many times, alone, and kept giving me these pep talks, telling me 'you have to be twice as good as these men. You've got the baby, you've got to keep going, you have to work harder and you have to be twice as good otherwise you won't get your Masters'.⁴⁰

Individual and group consciousness raising was the precursor of structured women's liberation groups at SFU like the FAL, the SFUWC and the VWC. The emergence of these groups should be understood in the larger context of the gender politics of radical North American activism in the 1960s. In the United States and Canada, New Left activism was centered around several important groups, including the American groups SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), as well as the Canadian group SUPA (Student Union for Peace Action) that disbanded in 1967 and was replaced by SDU (Students for A Democratic University). SDU arrived at SFU in late 1967. These organizations played a central role in student activism, civil rights and anti-poverty campaigns, and were early critics of the Vietnam War. These groups organized to identify, protest, and rectify inequality and injustice where it existed. But their commitment to fighting social, economic, and political inequality did not guarantee equality within. Movements and organizations were often divided, prone to fracture and splintering, and disbanded due to internal gender, racial and philosophical power inequalities.⁴¹

For example, SNCC was founded in 1960 by Black students, was the first civil rights group to oppose the Vietnam War and advocate for black power, and attracted

³⁹ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ SDS and SNCC were both student groups organized in the early 1960s, and were "virtually synonymous with what is commonly referred to as the 'Movement'." Alice Echols, *Daring To Be Bad, Radical Feminism in America 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 23.

white members from the United States and Canada. Black citizens who tried to register to vote were threatened with violence and to rectify this situation, SNCC helped with a voter registration campaign that brought 800 northern white students to Mississippi to assist with voter registration. But the Canadian SUPA members who joined SNCC in the southern States soon became disillusioned with SNCC's "laying trips of all kinds" on SUPA members labeling them heartless and "just typewriters."⁴² There were tensions in the early New Left: between men and women, African-American activists and white allies, and Canadians and Americans. Within SNCC, "many black civil rights workers resented the white volunteers whose behavior they often found patronizing and imperious."⁴³ Sexual relationships between white women and black men fueled charges of racial and sexual exploitation and inequality. These tensions changed the movement drastically and by 1966, SNCC had begun to focus on black power and autonomy. White members asked to leave, however, took some of the "techniques" they had learned in this organization to other social movements, including the student movement and the anti-war movement.⁴⁴

The discontent and consequent split that occurred within these political groups was emblematic of divisions in other 1960s movements. In addition to the racial tensions described above, gender tensions within the New Left were prominent in this period in both Canada and the United States. The women who participated in these groups developed political skills, met politically powerful women, and left the confines of the home to do non-domestic work. But gender tensions increased through the 1960s as women began to critique the sexism of their male comrades and found that their concerns were dismissed by male members. In 1964 a "position paper on women in the movement" was written by SNCC members Mary King and Casey Hayden that "cited instances of sexual discrimination, [and] likened male supremacy to racial supremacy."⁴⁵ The paper was presented at a November 1964 SNCC conference. Echols explains that "Both the New Left and the civil rights movement were dominated by men who were, at

⁴² Myrna Kostash, *Long Way from Home* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1980), 12

⁴³ Echols, *Daring To Be Bad*, 29.

⁴⁴ SNCC, "SNCC Speaks for Itself," in *The Sixties Papers: Documents of a Rebelious Decade*, eds. Judith Clavir Albert and Stewart Albert (New York: Praeger, 1984), 122; Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul On Ice* (New York: Random House, 1968), 97.

⁴⁵ Casey Hayden and Mary King, "A Kind of Memo to Women in the Peace and Freedom Movements, 1965," in *Major Problems in American Women's History*, ed. Mary Beth Norton, 2nd edition, (DC Heath, 1996), 443-44; Echols, *Daring To Be Bad*, 30.

best, uninterested in challenging sexual inequality.”⁴⁶ At worst, the men could inflame the apparent gender inequality within the groups. For example, when the subject of women’s oppression was addressed at the November SNCC meeting, Stokely Carmichael picked up on King and Hayden’s “position paper,” stood up with some hostility, and made a sexual jest to state his position, saying that “the position of women in SNCC is prone.”⁴⁷

Gender inequality came to a head in the late 1960s as women within New Left groups began to self-identify as an oppressed group on the basis of their gender. On January 20th 1969 SDS activists Shulamith Firestone and Marilyn Webb, along with other activist women who arrived from various cities, were in Washington to attend the New Left’s Counter-Inaugural to Richard Nixon’s first Inauguration. At a rally during the counter-inaugural protests, Marilyn Webb mounted the stage to speak. Just three sentences into her speech, men in the audience began to shout: “Take her off the stage and fuck her!” and “Fuck her down a dark alley!” Shulamith Firestone was standing next to her and scheduled to speak next but when she approached the podium she was drowned out by sexual insults from the audience. In response to this incident Firestone wrote a letter titled “To the left” published on February 1st 1969 in the *Guardian*, a radical weekly based in New York. The letter addressed the men in the group stating, “We have more important things to do than to try to get you to come around. You will come around when you have to, because you need us more than we need you. . . . The message being: Fuck off, left. You can examine your navel by yourself from now on. We’re starting our own movement.” This incident ignited the beginnings of separate political women’s movement groups in the United States like the New York Radical Women, Redstockings, and New York Radical Feminists.⁴⁸

There was no such dramatic Carmichael moment on the Canadian New Left. Such a statement about women had never been proclaimed by SUPA men, but historian Bryan Palmer surmises, “It was bad enough, however, that they might well have been

⁴⁶ Ibid., 25. See also Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women’s Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979); Alice Echols, “Nothing Distant About it’: Women’s Liberation and Sixties Radicalism,” in *Shaky Ground: The 60s and Its Aftershocks*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). 75-96.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁸ Susan Faludi. *The New Yorker*, April 15, 2013; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 118. Echols interviews women like Marilyn Webb who were present at the rally.

thinking it.”⁴⁹ There were just as many tensions around gender inequality and women’s leadership in activism in Canada. Women were beginning to self-identify as oppressed on the basis of their gender and realized that they had to change this status without the support of their male comrades. Men involved in SUPA would not take the contributions of their female counterparts seriously. When SUPA women began to talk about their “discontents....their male comrades responded with jokes and gendered put-downs.”⁵⁰ Consequently “in Toronto in late 1967 a group of women involved in SUPA began to meet to discuss their oppression as women.”⁵¹ Four SUPA women, Judy Bernstein, Peggy Morton, Linda Seese, and Myrna Wood, wrote a position paper for a SUPA conference titled “Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen.” Within the paper the authors exposed male members of SUPA by writing that SUPA men “put women in SUPA in two categories or roles...the workers and the ‘wives’. One role for women is that of servicing the organization’s men. These women maintain the stable, homey atmosphere which the radical man needs to survive. While these ‘real’ women are being women (earning money, cooking and housecleaning), their radical partners can run around being political, creative, writing, thinking and oozing charisma.” The authors maintained that the women in SUPA were “the typists, fundraisers, and community organizers. The vast majority of community organizers were women and we must ask why. Community organizing was considered tedious. It required patience, sensitivity, understanding, and more patience.”⁵² The paper quickly became the founding document of the Toronto Women’s Liberation Movement. As we shall see, this document also inspired the birth of the women’s liberation movement at SFU. “*Sisters, Brothers Lovers....Listen*” argued that men look for comfort from women that they can dominate, women gain identity through male domination, and therefore both men and women are mutually dependent on their socio-sexual roles. The authors point out that activist groups are not immune to these gendered values, arguing that “the role of women in the New left in Canadais determined by the values of the dominant society.”⁵³ The document, however, was also rooted in Marxist theories about women’s subordination, especially the idea that under

⁴⁹ Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 300.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 299.

⁵¹ Adamson, et al., *Feminist Organizing For Change*, 44.

⁵² Bernstein, et al. “Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen,” 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

capitalism, “personal worth” becomes an “exchange value.”⁵⁴ Women are supported and protected in the home and in exchange are expected to help men to advance politically and perpetuate their domination. A woman “must gain her identity through that domination.”⁵⁵

SUPA disbanded in 1967 when a number of members quit the organization, including those who “rejected Marxism”, women who felt marginalized, and those who resisted turning SUPA from “an informal network into an organization.”⁵⁶ SUPA founder Dimitri Roussopoulos elaborates other tensions as well, including ideological differences between liberals and radicals, disagreements over Quebec’s “struggle for self-determination,” and debates about the efficacy and necessity of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience.⁵⁷ The troubled gender relationships within SUPA did not end when the organization disbanded but simply transferred to the new student organization SDU.

Meanwhile, many activist women were increasingly influenced by the growth of feminist theory, arguing that women had historically been dominated by men. Some socialist feminists borrowed from Friedrich Engels, who argued that history was formed by “struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating.”⁵⁸ Like women in the New Left, feminists pointed out that men seemed uninterested in ending women’s exploitation and lamented the lack of female-centred movements for social and political change. The influential French feminist Simone de Beauvoir wrote about this phenomenon in *Second Sex* in 1949. She claimed that women have no association or entity in which to activate change and therefore, they “lack the concrete means to organize themselves into a unit that could posit itself in opposition.”⁵⁹ This lack of organization and solidarity, Beauvoir argued, is because women had historically been

⁵⁴ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Bantam Dell, Division of Random House Inc., 1992), 16.

⁵⁵ Judi Bernstein, et al. “Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen,” 2.

⁵⁶ Kostash, *Long Way From Home*, 25.

⁵⁷ Dimitri Roussopoulos, “Canada: 1968 and the New Left,” in *Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt*, eds. Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, (Washington D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2009), 42.

⁵⁸ Friedrich Engels, “Preface to the German Edition,” in *The Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (London, 1883), 5.

⁵⁹ Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), 8.

isolated in the home and bound to men for financial support and security. In 1969, Kate Millet's analysis was even more radical. In *Sexual Politics* she writes that dominance and power is part of the male birthright and woven into the social order.⁶⁰ Women accepted and acquiesced to male domination as part of their internal colonization. She goes further to explain that women internalize the social denigration directed toward them and turn it on themselves and other members of their gender.

With women entering university and pursuing education in unprecedented numbers, the availability of feminist literature, women's participation in the civil rights movement, the student movement, and the New Left, provided women with the perspective needed to distinguish between "the rhetoric of equality and women's subordination with it."⁶¹ Women in the 1960s may have been aware of gender oppression and inequality, and the power structure that kept women in their place, but they did not have the social capital to emerge as "the" student leader and exercise their political viewpoint beyond their oppressed situation and status. Their exclusion from leadership positions—and the feeling that men ignored the important contributions they made to activism—led to increasing frustration with the left.⁶² Palmer argues, for example, that within SUPA only a "few people were allowed to lead. Many people were excluded from leadership. The largest excluded group was women."⁶³ The *Sisters, Brothers, Lovers, Listen* paper reflects that frustration well. The authors argued that "on occasion a female member of SUPA "would try through her efforts and work, to attain a position of leadership. They, as we all know too well, were labeled 'castrating females' and not 'real women'. These women were forced out of the organization by various unconscious means, or accepted their subservient roles."⁶⁴ By the late 1960s many Canadian women on the left had come to believe that men were not interested in enabling women politically and were more interested in competing with each other for

⁶⁰ Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), 29.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶² "It is our contention that until the male chauvinists of the movement (North American and world-wide) understand the concept of Liberation in relation to us, the most exploited members of any society, the Women, they will be voicing political lies." Bernstein, et al., "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen," 7.

⁶³ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 300.

⁶⁴ Bernstein, et al., "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen," 6.

prestige and power. "SUPA in respect to women," Palmer argues, "totally accepted the mores of the dominant society."⁶⁵

Women in the SFU Student Movement

However, by the late 1960s, women began to locate the source of internalized oppression that obstructed their aspirations and discouraged their political success and desire to lead. Women at SFU like Gini Shaw, Sharon Yandle, and Melody Kilian Ermachild transcended women's historical sociopolitical disempowerment and were accomplished leaders in SFU student politics. However, they did not rise to the highest positions of power. It was men who embodied the charisma and the power of radical leadership. Harding explains this phenomenon further: "Think about Loney, a charismatic articulate Britisher with a British accent, versus some of the young bright women emerging in the ranks who were quite capable in analyzing and articulating but they didn't have the bombastic social presence." Harding adds that "there were some outsiders who were put on a throne because the media liked them."⁶⁶ Myrna Kostash remembers SDU leaders as very theatrical and "ferociously entertaining."⁶⁷ Loney accredits the popularity of the radical student council to "the capacity to entertain in a dynamic way."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, SFU women were not seen to be part of the most entertaining and dynamic leaders. Women in SDU claimed that men were powerful and dominant while women were doing the office work and cleaning, and like their SUPA sisters, they had the "experience of being female in a male-dominated world."⁶⁹ Consequently, "politically active female students at [SFU], discovering common frustrations with their positions in the student organizations, increasingly acknowledged and prioritized their identity as women, rather than their identity as students, and began to agitate to end their oppression in society."⁷⁰ This "identity" formation was a process that took place over time and started with consciousness raising encouraged by SFU

⁶⁵ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 300.

⁶⁶ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

⁶⁷ Kostash, *Long Way from Home*, 83.

⁶⁸ Martin Loney interview, August 9, 2016

⁶⁹ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 299.

⁷⁰ Roberta Lexier, "How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge from the Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University," *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600-2000*, 13, no. 2 (Fall 2009), 1.

professors and then progressed to female student group meetings that became increasingly larger in membership.

Female identity emerged within student political groups at SFU, like SUPA and SDU that concentrated on student political platforms, while subordinating female members by assigning them menial tasks and ignoring their contributions. Men who had historically held power in a patriarchal society were reticent to relinquish control and this became problematic at SFU among faculty members as well as within student groups. Yandle reminisced, "I remember so many of those situations of meeting the male faculty members in their homes with their wives and watching them treat those women, their wives, [in a way] which was not nice. It was something that didn't involve me directly but it was ...kind of.... you registered in your mind that what was going down here was not good. And this same guy here who was treating his wife like a floor mop in fact was the same guy standing up the next day in the lecture hall saying all sorts of progressive wonderful things."⁷¹

By summer of 1968 there was an apparent discontent among SDU women at SFU:

I guess that one of the things we might have been concerned about was how at least in the SDU there were lots of women doing lots of things ... but the focus of making speeches or seeming to develop ideas, largely or completely fell to the men. Even though women were actively engaged in intellectual work, in courses and other things, that type of leadership seemed unavailable to us. There was this usual cliché about 'oh we were just making coffee or we were just doing the mimeographing or handing stuff out' but I don't recall ever doing any of that. We knew we were as smart as they were, so why were we not rising to the positions of leadership even though there were lots of us.⁷²

Women as well as men like Jim Harding were aware of gender bias at SFU. Harding remembers:

There was a fair amount of clash around gender in SDU. Genderism became more and more fractious as feminism became more and more the focus of the activism at SFU. The sexuality [at SFU] wasn't healthy in my opinion. It really was quite unhealthy including inside of the SDU. You had some sexual exploitation going on at the same time as you had the public mobilizing around great ethics regarding education. This sexuality was getting challenged. The activist women like Melody were aware of it

⁷¹ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

⁷² Ibid.

and challenging it. Maggie Benston played a very big role because she was always pushing for women's studies.⁷³

Reaction to gender inequality came to a head at SFU by June 1968 when female members of SDU splintered off as a women's group, "named the Feminine Action League at which the presence of men was prohibited, the first of many such unprecedented decisions."⁷⁴ Toms remembers that Jim Harding approached her and a friend at SFU early in 1968 with a copy of a paper titled "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen" published by the four Toronto based SUPA women.⁷⁵ Toms remembers the publication as exciting and it may have inspired her and a fellow student in Professor Martin Nicolaus' sociology course in the summer semester of 1968 to rewrite the Communist Manifesto from a women's perspective. Toms' sociology paper was titled "The Feminine Action League" and she remembers "at the time I did not have any intention of using it [the name] further."⁷⁶ The term most often used at SFU was feminine, which was used to describe a growing women's consciousness in the 1960s. According to Jerry Zaslove "You didn't talk about feminism as such, you didn't talk about Kate Millet, that kind of ideological feminism."⁷⁷ Marcy Toms expands this point to argue that the term feminine movement or women's liberation was consciously used instead of the term feminist.⁷⁸ "I think we associated feminist with a group of women who organized

⁷³ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

⁷⁴ Frances Wasserlein, "'An Arrow Aimed at the Heart': The Vancouver Women's Caucus and the Abortion Campaign 1969–1971," (Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1990), 34.

⁷⁵ Canadian Judi Bernstein and her feminist associates in their 1968 publication *Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen*, tell us that in our inhumane society men look for comfort from women that they can dominate and women gain identity through male domination and therefore both are mutually dependent on their socio-sexual roles. Canadian women, especially those involved in feminist groups like The Voice of Women (VOW) formed in 1960, and those involved in student associations like CUNDI and SUPA, came to the realization that women were oppressed and unequal to men even in the very groups that they were mutually involved in.

⁷⁶ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

⁷⁷ Jerry Zaslove interview, March 31, 2016

⁷⁸ Not all feminist theorists and activists agreed on what the fundamental problems in society were, or how they might be transformed. For example, feminism is the belief that men and women should have equal opportunities and privileges. To achieve equality, feminism advocates for social, political, legal, and economic rights for women that are equal to the rights of men. The problem with such a simplistic definition of feminism, as so many feminists have underscored, is that everyone is different, and consequently they hold unique sociopolitical, cultural, gender, race and class standpoints when they reference equality as a concept within the political agenda of industrialized capitalism. Therefore, a variety of feminisms emerged among second wave feminists and this was expressed by specific ideological positions within the women's or feminist liberation movement that emerged in the Western or developed world in the 1960s and 1970s. The many strains within feminism have included Lesbian feminism, Transfeminism, Native

the vote...a middle-class group. We felt that the term feminism had its day with the suffrage movement.”⁷⁹ This same feeling existed amongst radical feminists in the United States, who wished to differentiate themselves from first wave feminism. They viewed the emphasis on achieving the vote “a mockery of democracy, and equality in a fundamentally unequal society an obscenity.”⁸⁰ In addition, Francis Wasserlein’s thesis on the Vancouver Women’s Caucus includes an interview with Marcy Toms who explains that the Caucus “consciously did not use the word ‘feminist’ because of its association ‘with people who are very bitchy’.”⁸¹ This would explain the word “feminine” in the action league title of the original SFU women’s liberation movement.

At SFU women’s experience within the student movement, and a growing feminist consciousness regarding gender inequalities, led to the formation of The Feminine Action League that was organized soon after the June 1968 SDU sit-in and a month after the beginning of the Family Co-op daycare. The women’s movement organizers at SFU confirmed the formation of The Feminine Action League through a pictorial announcement in *The Peak* of their first official meeting on July 3, 1968. The daycare became official in the minds of the parents involved as soon as they began to occupy space in the Academic Quadrangle directly after the governor’s meeting room sit-in ended by June 10, 1968. During the summer of 1968, Maggie Benston met with Toms and suggested that the next meeting of the Feminine Action League should focus on some of the things that the members might do specifically to create change. When the next meeting occurred in August 1968 some women involved in the Feminine Action League wanted to focus on consciousness raising, but others like Toms, preferred a direct action approach.

The development of these early women’s groups at SFU reflects what was happening in the larger North American women’s movement. Bryan Palmer explains that consciousness raising groups of women would meet to discuss “their own oppression...and the traditional repression of women’s capacities, initiatives and needs,” and consequently inform other women of their views, and in doing so provided the

American, Chicana and Black Feminism, Marxist and Socialist Feminism, Anarchist Feminism, etc.

⁷⁹ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

⁸⁰ Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 12.

⁸¹ Wasserlein, “An Arrow,” 30-32.

foundations of the women's liberation movement.⁸² Adrienne Rich saw women's discussions as transformative. She writes that "one of the most powerful social and political catalysts of the past decade has been the speaking of women with other women, the telling of our secrets, the comparing of wounds and the sharing of words. This hearing and saying of women has been able to break many a silence and taboo, literally to transform forever the way we see."⁸³ As Janet Freedman explains, consciousness raising groups were the "entry point for many second wave feminists" as women were able to understand how "sexism affects their lives."⁸⁴ Aside from being an entry point, consciousness raising was seen by many radical feminists in the 1960s as an organizing tool that could lead to other forms of "action."⁸⁵ For example, in the United States, some "women were able to connect social indoctrination of what a woman should be with their image of self and some women wanted to be involved in direct action by protesting at beauty pageants, through burn the bra demonstrations etc. but some women did not want to be part of direct action."⁸⁶

The relationship between consciousness raising and direct action was up for debate in women's groups in both Canada and the United States. Many women were simply not comfortable with a direct action approach. Social movement scholars Diani and Porta suggest that "it is important for social movements to find tactics which are suitable for realizing internal aims" without adversely affecting the group spirit of their participants.⁸⁷ As Frances Wasserlein points out, "within the Vancouver Women's Caucus there arose considerable difficulty in maintaining political unity in action. Women's own histories, and beliefs about methods of change were often in conflict. These conflicts were the moving forces behind debates and decisions about actions, and the forces which eventually brought about the end of the Women's Caucus as an

⁸² Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 301.

⁸³ Adrienne Rich, *On Lies, Secrets and Silence, Selected Prose 1966-1978* (New York: Norton, 1979), 260.

⁸⁴ Janet Freedman, *Reclaiming the Feminist Vision: Consciousness Raising in Small Group Practice* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2014), 11.

⁸⁵ Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 86.

⁸⁶ Debra Michals, "Consciousness Raising: Feminism and the Countercultural Politics of the Self," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s*, eds. by Peter Braunstein, and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 45.

⁸⁷ Donatella Della Porta and, Mario Diani, *Social Movements, An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 179

organization.”⁸⁸ As already detailed in this chapter, conflicts within and among movements were common in the 1960s and women’s groups were no exception.

Although some women wanted to promote consciousness raising instead of “action,” in SFU’s Feminine Action League this difference was not what Toms would call “a split.” She remembers that “women who took a more activist stance decided that we should call ourselves the Women’s Caucus (WC). The assumption was that we were the Women’s Caucus of SDU but that was never written down anywhere nor was it formal.”⁸⁹ The Women’s Caucus remained at SFU until the fall of 1969 when the organization moved off campus to join with other likeminded women to become the Vancouver Women’s Caucus. It should be noted that in 1968 and 1969 the majority of SFU women or SDU women were not part of the Feminine Action League or the Women’s Caucus. For the first few meetings of the FAL “There were 15 women there at the most.”⁹⁰ Nor did most SFU women, or mothers involved in the daycare, necessarily identify as women’s liberationists. The daycare was hardly a vanguard of self-identified feminists even though history might think of them as such.

The Relationship between the VWC and the SFU Daycare Activists

Although the VWC advocated for daycare as part of their political platform, they did not play a central role in the establishment of the SFU daycare itself.⁹¹ Because of feminist support for daycare, and because the FAL, the SFUWC and the VWC were founded at almost the same time as the Family Co-op, historians have mistakenly assumed that the women’s liberation movement was directly linked to and responsible for the founding of the daycare. Historians who have studied the period and made reference to daycare at SFU have exaggerated the role of the FAL, the SFUWC and the

⁸⁸ Frances Wasserlein, “An Arrow,” 55.

⁸⁹ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Dominique Clément however writes that the VWC was advocating for daycare. “The Vancouver Women’s Caucus lobbied in 1969 to have childcare added to the Human Rights Act.” Dominique Clément, *Equality Deferred, Sex Discrimination and British Columbia’s Human Rights State, 1953–84* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 213.

VWC in the founding of the Family.⁹² Mahon and Phillips argue that in the 1960s “feminism was beginning to stir, but it was not yet strong enough yet to make child care an issue of gender equality.”⁹³ As the interviews referenced within this dissertation demonstrate, the founding daycare parents were couples with children, single mothers, or single fathers who needed daycare and who shared a common vision, one that was related to feminism and student activism but also separate from both. The SFU Co-op daycare was established by parent activism and was a movement of its own. Although some of the daycare activists were also members of the VWC and the student movement, the establishment of the SFU daycare did not emerge directly from these movements and required the focused attention and dedication of the parents involved.

Women’s liberationists in the VWC had priorities other than daycare that were considered more pressing for their movement. Unlike the founding parents of the SFU Family Co-op who focused on the fight for on-campus access to daycare, the VWC prioritized reproductive rights, particularly the decriminalization of abortion and women’s right to abortion on demand. The current VWC web site states that the subject of daycare “came up often, but only a few of the more active Caucus members had children under school age. While we noted childcare would be available at our meetings, it was poorly provided and received little attention. The issues of organizing working women, educating women about women’s oppression, and the abortion campaign took precedence and required much energy.”⁹⁴ These VWC priorities – work and reproductive rights – left little time to organize directly for access to childcare.

Access to abortion rights may have been prioritized because until 1969, abortion was illegal in Canada. Even with reforms to the Criminal Code in 1969, rigid restrictions were placed on obtaining an abortion. To obtain a legal and medically approved abortion, a committee of doctors had to meet to approve of the procedure based on

⁹² Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma: A History of British Columbia’s Social Policy* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2015), 132. Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005) 250; Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2012) 303; Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 47; Myrna Kostash, *Long Way from Home* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1980), 179.

⁹³ Rianne Mahon, “Canada’s Early Childhood Education and Care Policies: Still a Laggard?” *International Journal of Child Care and Education Policy*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (November, 2009), 196.

⁹⁴ <https://www.vancouverwomenscaucus.ca/key-issues/child-care/> Vancouver Women’s Caucus, A Women’s Liberation History Project.

associated mental or physical risk to the mother or the fetus. Prior to 1969 “abortions could be had, but they were illegal, expensive, and usually dangerous.”⁹⁵ The women’s liberation movement argued that women should not have to receive permission for a medically approved abortion and they had the right to control their own bodies, as well as their “reproductive freedom and choice.”⁹⁶ Feminists thought that access to safe abortion on demand should be an essential human liberty incorporating “reproductive rights and freedoms.”⁹⁷

Second wave feminists understood that abortion prohibition was tied to broader concerns of oppression and control over women. As feminist journalist and activist Ellen Willis writes, “more than any other issue, abortion embodied and symbolized our fundamental demand - not merely formal equality for women but genuine self-determination.”⁹⁸ Abortion was also tied to the morality of Cold War normality that negatively stigmatized a women’s choice to terminate a pregnancy.⁹⁹ The Cold War double standard that trapped youth in the normative mother-in-the-home and father-in-the-workforce paradigm could not be maintained without control of a woman’s reproductive freedom. “Good girls” who feared the risk of pregnancy remained virginal and ensured patrilineal legitimacy; a status that encouraged marriage and the isolation and regulation of women.

Access to abortion was not an abstract demand for equality and autonomy. Without safe abortion on demand and the legal requirement for approval from a medical board, there was no guarantee that permission for an abortion would be granted. Without permission, a woman might have to resort to an illegal abortion. The 1969 abortion legislation left women vulnerable and potentially in life threatening situations. “According to one estimate, thirty-three thousand illegal abortions were performed in Canada in 1959 alone. A botched abortion was the number one reason for hospital

⁹⁵ Anne Petrie, *Gone to an Aunt's: Remembering Canada's Homes for Unwed Mothers* (Toronto: McClelland & Stuart, 2004), 2; Angus McLaren and, Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1997.

⁹⁶ Shannon Stettner, Kristin Burnett, and Travis Hay, “Introduction,” in *Abortion History, Politics and Reproductive Justice after Morgentaler* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 19.

⁹⁷ Sharon Stettner, *Without Apology: Writings on Abortion in Canada* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2016), 7.

⁹⁸ Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, vii; Millett, *Sexual Politics*, 60.

⁹⁹ May, *Homeward Bound*, 145.

emergency admissions of young women.”¹⁰⁰ For all of these reasons, women’s liberationist groups like the VWC saw abortion on demand as one of the most pressing and paramount issues facing Canadian women, and they prioritized direct action protests against the abortion law.¹⁰¹ In 1970 the VWC made an unprecedented move for reform. In April of 1970, seventeen members of the VWC began a journey to Ottawa, hoping to arrive on Mother’s Day to protest the unjust Canadian abortion law. Arriving in Ottawa on May 8th 1970, the women were joined by approximately 300 other women and men to demonstrate outside the Parliament buildings and then about 150 of the protesters moved to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s house on Sunday to demonstrate there. The following Monday during question period in the House of Commons, 36 protesters entered the galleries in the House of Commons and chained themselves to their seats. This action resulted in physical expulsion and arrests. Even though the draconian 1969 abortion law was not repealed until 1988, the abortion caravan was a hallmark event for the VWC and a watershed moment for Canadian women who demanded a right to choose.¹⁰²

For the VWC, daycare was not unimportant, but it was an issue of less pressing concern than access to abortion. In an article by the VWC in the *Georgia Straight*, the VWC announced that aside from issues on abortion, feminists were most concerned about women’s subordination in the workforce and their lack of unionization. They also argued that “childcare should be free to everyone-open 24hours- and co-operatively run.”¹⁰³ An analysis of the VWC newspaper the *Pedestal* shows increased concern for childcare beginning from March 1970 onward. A series of columns in *The Pedestal* debated the quality of family daycare centres for children under three, the efficacy of the daycare worker training, the challenges of single parenting, the benefits of communal or collective living, childrearing advice and more. The *Pedestal* also advertised discussion

¹⁰⁰ Judy Rebick, *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2005), 35.

¹⁰¹ Of the 300 women registered on the VWC membership list, only about 35 to 40 members were actively involved. Wasserlein, “An Arrow,” 24.

¹⁰² Christabelle Sethna and, Steve Hewitt, *Just Watch Us: RCMP Surveillance of the Women's Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press), 2018; Steve Hewitt and Christabelle Sethna, “Sex Spying: The RCMP Framing of English-Canadian Women’s Liberation Groups during the Cold War,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 142.

¹⁰³ Donna, titled, “Western Regional Women’s Liberation Demonstrates Here,” *Georgia Straight* October 22-30, 1969, microfiche, pg. 3.

groups, conferences, and the availability of abortion and birth control information. A February 1971 article reflected on the relationship of childcare to feminist organizing and gender equality and was critical about the tendency to make daycare a lower feminist priority: “We have long since recognized the importance of daycare for mothers, we know of its value to children but, nevertheless, it has remained a pious wish added to the other issues with which we are involved. Why are we so unexcited about organizing for day-care? Why have so many of us attempted to ‘do something’ about it but few of us have managed to do much at all and, apart from on campus, nothing has come off the ground in Vancouver?”¹⁰⁴ This statement is the introduction to a very long article titled “Children’s Houses,” which assesses the issue of daycare in relationship to motherhood and which gave a nod of approval to the accomplishments of the SFU daycare that had by this time been in operation on campus for almost three years.

Clearly, daycare was of concern to feminist activists yet was not the primary motivating factor in late 1960s and early 1970s activism. Similarly, student activists made demands for daycare part of the SFU student movement, but those demands were never their primary concern. The SDU sit-in, which was organized in June 1968 and will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter, led to a set of demands for a daycare. But it is important to emphasize that many of the student leaders saw the primary motivation for the sit-in as student rights and student representation on the SFU Board of Directors. For leader Martin Loney, student rights were the paramount priority and overrode any other political action occurring at the time. The fact that the Family Co-op emerged at the same time as the SFU 1968 student movement sit-in and at the same time the Women’s Caucus was organizing is representative of how the interests and commitments of student activists often intersected. While politically active people at SFU were often multi-focused, however, their organizations often had primary concerns that surpassed all others. The drive for student representation in the university was a shared interest among the people at the sit-in. However, the students who wanted daycare at the university, and the students who wanted to form a strong women’s alliance, splintered from the SDU group to form their own movements while simultaneously staying interconnected with the ideology of the student movement. As the next chapter documents, the daycare parents were desperate and they seized the chance provided by the sit-in to move from the SFU administrative boardroom to the Academic

¹⁰⁴ VWC *Pedestal*, February 1971, Children’s Houses, pages 11–12.

Quadrangle. There likely would have been a commotion from the SDU had they been ousted but when they left the sit-in they acted alone. Any members of the SDU people or the WC among them acted first and foremost as parents seeking campus daycare.

The leaders in the SFU student movement, women's movement, and daycare movement are remembered as radical activists. History becomes more easily understood if we conceptualize social change as constituting a vanguard of activists defying the status quo and storming forward to champion a movement or cause. But understanding the complexities of historical change, and the motivations of those who make that change, is a complex and difficult task. I have spent some of this thesis undertaking unraveling inconsistencies between how the 1960s are remembered and the memories of the people who were involved in social movement activism. Sangster writes that there is "a renewed investment in telling the truth about the sixties," but those truths are often more complex than historians have acknowledged.¹⁰⁵ Describing the founding parents of the daycare as "feminist organizers" misrepresents the primary focus of the parents, which was to develop co-operative campus childcare designed, run, and controlled by parents.¹⁰⁶ The daycare activists identified primarily as parents not as feminists, and the VWC was only tangentially involved in the initial work of establishing on-campus daycare.

Because of historical writing on the student and women's liberation movements of the 1960s, I began research on the SFU daycare ready to accept that the daycare was directly linked to the rise of women's liberation and the student movement. It was only after starting my research and conducting oral history interviews that I began to rethink this assumption. The process of rethinking assumptions is crucial to the undertaking of oral history. Joan Sangster reflects on the practice of oral history with examples from her research interviews with women from the Old Left. The women she interviewed saw motherhood, family care, and domestic life as their primary political focus and forced her to rethink "the prevailing two wave categorization of feminism which

¹⁰⁵ Joan Sangster, "Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada," in *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 40, no. 1 (March 2010), 3.

¹⁰⁶ Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma*, 127. Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 250; Hewitt and Sethna, "Sex Spying," 136; Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 303.

had obscured socialist and communist women's activities."¹⁰⁷ Sangster consequently discovered an alternative story about feminism and became cautious of imposing post-1960s feminist ideas on the recollections of the women interviewed.

I empathize with Sangster's surprise because my initial assumption of who the daycare parents were had to be reassessed and because during my research I found that historians tend to see the 1960s activism at SFU as a collective and united effort. Only after studying the student movement at SFU and researching the early years of the daycare did I reconsider the idea of 1960s movements as cohesive initiatives. Similarly, the oral histories with women activists suggested that most daycare activists did not primarily identify as feminist. Through the archival and oral history research there emerged an "alternative story" to the founding of the SFU daycare.

Archival research and interviews demonstrate that the founding of the SFU daycare co-operative and the Feminine Action League began as separate movements and goals, even though they emerged at approximately the same time.¹⁰⁸ The daycare founders were not a unified or previously organized group with a common mandate in the initial stages. Although Toms was involved in and present at the sit-in as a member of SDU, she said, "I didn't have an active role to play in the daycare. The daycare was not big in my memory."¹⁰⁹ The SFU Women's Caucus was supportive of daycare as a universal concept that would enable equality for women, as this chapter has previously shown. But, according to Toms and many of the other people interviewed for this dissertation, the Family daycare was not a division of the women's movement at SFU.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Joan Sangster, "Politics and Praxis in Canadian Working-Class Oral History," in *Oral History Off The Record: Toward An Ethnography of Practice*, eds. Anna Shefte, and Stacy Zembrzycki, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 61.

¹⁰⁸ Along with the student movement and daycare movement at SFU, the women's movement emerged. The women's movement at SFU originated with women's group discussions, often lead by professors Maggie Benston, Kathleen Gough Aberle, and Andrea Lebowitz, who mentored young SFU female students particularly in the department of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA department), while focusing on "feminine" issues. (See Kilian Ermachild interview and Toms interview.) A few of the founders of the July 1968 Feminine Action League along with some of the Family Co-op daycare parents were at the June 4th 1968 sit-in while participating as SDU activists. Activists at SFU usually knew each other and supported each other.

¹⁰⁹ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

¹¹⁰ I specifically asked Melody Kilian Ermachild, Jim Harding, Mary Wilson, Chris Petty, and Marcy Toms if the daycare was associated with, or a division of, the FAL or SFUWC or VWC and

Toms asserts: "In terms of the daycare getting set up as a formal institution, I was not involved in that."¹¹¹

Further evidence of the separation of these two movements is seen in Melody Kilian Ermachild's paper "Children Are Only Littler People" written in 1969. At the time she wrote this article, Melody was a single parent with a child enrolled in the SFU daycare, and was also an active member of the WC at Simon Fraser University. At the beginning of the paper, Ermachild addresses the SFUWC and reflects on the lack of urgency in the group regarding childcare: "In our discussion in Women's Caucus at Simon Fraser University we should be aware of the fact that one of our central tasks must be to find ways of bearing and loving children. Partly because we are university students and few of us have had children, we have never discussed this question. Perhaps our silence is imposed also by the fact that so many of us have resolved quietly never to have a baby."¹¹² Kilian Ermachild's article refers to the SFU Co-op Family as a model of collective urgency and action. This article suggests that initially the SFUWC and the Co-op Family had distinct priorities. While historians have assumed that the growth of feminist organizing on campus influenced the activism for daycare, perhaps it was the development of the daycare which influenced the Women's Caucus to more seriously consider the importance of childcare to the feminist movement.

Furthermore, several of the most prominent activists in the early years of the daycare did not identify as feminists at that time, or were only beginning to establish an interest in feminist politics. Even Melody Kilian Ermachild, who would go on to be an active and outspoken campus feminist, expressed only a mere awakening concerning feminism by 1968, and she knew only a few people when she became involved in the June 1968 daycare.¹¹³ Kilian Ermachild remembers that she was not in the leadership

the answer was no. Kilian Ermachild remembers being involved with both the daycare and WC but the daycare stands out far more vividly in her memory.

¹¹¹ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

¹¹², Melody Kilian, "Children Are Only Littler People...or the lousiel university family co-op," in *Women Unite* (Vancouver: 1969, repr. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, pg. 90-99, 1972), 95.

¹¹³ There were a few radical activists and feminists among the daycare parents. Kilian Ermachild was a founding member of the daycare and also a member of the Vancouver Women's Caucus. In her interview she suggests that there was one other woman of her acquaintance in the daycare who may have been a member of VWC. Harding remembers that "Melody Kilian was a student activist and pretty hard core on the women's liberation stuff. Don't forget that the stuff in the US where she came from was starting to influence Simon Fraser. As a member of the Family Co-op,

group of the daycare in the beginning, because her daughter was placed with a babysitter off campus. At about the time the daycare started, she recalls: "I was in the women's caucus, but I don't remember a whole lot about that." Although her membership in the Women's caucus is vague in her memory, Kathleen Aberle's consciousness raising classes are vivid in Kilian Ermachild's memory. She recollects that it was such early days of the women's movement and socialist feminism when everything was a "revelation." Kilian Ermachild remembers that identifying with her internalized oppression was a factor in growing as a feminist.¹¹⁴ Many women were conflicted by the new terms and identities of liberationist groups. Women like Yandle and Shaw are remembered as well-known activists at SFU in the 1960s even if they did not self-identify with the terms feminine, feminist, or women's liberationist in 1968. Gini Shaw was a primary political activist who politicized the lack of child care on campus and who helped establish the earliest co-operative childcare on campus. But Shaw denies being a feminist at the time. Shaw reflects that "it never bothered me to speak my mind," but at the same time she said "I was never a women's libber. I approved of them."¹¹⁵ Shaw acted on personal and political convictions that were rooted primarily in social democratic ideals, and her political involvement outside of SFU was with the Young New Democrats. She was inspired by her grandmother Sofia Nickelson who was a founding member of the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), claiming that "she gave me a sense of fairness."¹¹⁶ Shaw fought tirelessly because she thought that parents and especially mothers needed a daycare at SFU.

It took many politically engaged women who were considered activists and radicals much longer, if at all, to acknowledge gender oppression or identify with

Melody was probably the least middle class and the most connected to the broader struggles. She was a real militant anti-war activist as well as a feminist. There weren't other women quite like her in the daycare." (Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016) Additionally, in her research Wasserlein interviewed nineteen women who had been active members of the Vancouver Women's caucus. "Only four of the nineteen women interviewed were mothers at the time of their membership in the Women's Caucus. The Family Co-op was hardly overrun by active VWC mothers even though daycare was a political platform of the caucus. Wasserlein, "An Arrow," 29.

¹¹⁴ I think that Kilian Ermachild's memories of her time at SFU from 1966 to 1969 are sometimes sketchy because she was involved in so many organizations: as a student, as the founder of the American Deserters Committee, as a member of the Women's Caucus, as a member of the student counsel, as an activist for Canadian Aboriginal rights, as a new wife in a second marriage, as a member of the Co-op daycare, and as a mother of a young daughter. Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹¹⁵ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

feminism. Sharon Yandle remembers that “I actually didn’t understand the women’s movement when it first came out. It didn’t make any sense to me. Because I thought it was ... mostly for quite privileged upper middle class women.” When the women’s movement started at SFU, “I couldn’t understand what their problem was.” She adds: “I had never thought about the idea of gender oppression even though I was living it. I was a single parent with no daycare.” And “I remember saying ‘why do I want equality with oppressed men?’”¹¹⁷ These words are from the same Sharon Yandle who was the political editor of *The Peak* and in March 1967 wrote: “Dear friends, I am a radical. This means for me, I am in the political bag.....What I am challenging, if any of you would care to listen instead of depositing my words in a box marked SUBVERSIVE, is the kind of society in which profits are more important than people....What I am challenging, dear citizens, (or have you forgotten what the term means?) is a system in which people do not control their own lives.”¹¹⁸ Yandle’s article challenges modern society and rampant consumerism. Nevertheless, as radical as she was, Yandle’s interview clarifies that at the beginning of the women’s movement in 1968 she was not a self-declared women’s liberationist and was much more focused on issues of class and economic inequality. Therefore, her primary motivation for affordable daycare was driven more by issues of class and not rooted in a feminist consciousness of gender inequality, though she noted that she was “on board by 1969.”¹¹⁹ Initially, however, Yandle recalls that “at the time I didn’t see gender discrimination. I certainly saw class discrimination. I came out of a working-class family. I was keenly aware that women were paid less than men for the same work. My lack of understanding of the women’s movement in the very early formative days was based on a sense of class rather than gender, but it really was only a year or so later that I came to understand that working women faced the ‘double whammy’ of gender as well as class.” She adds, “there were a lot of women in 1968 who were seeing things that I wasn’t seeing. But even those women who were ahead of me in starting to identify gender issues were tentatively trying to find their way. Many were very concerned not to be considered bra-burners or man-haters or disloyal to husbands, and carried those trepidations well into the 70’s and even 80’s. Building a feminist

¹¹⁷ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

¹¹⁸ *The Peak*, March 8, 1967, 10.

¹¹⁹ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

consciousness took a long time around many kitchen tables and in countless living rooms.”¹²⁰

Echols argues that “the relationship of women's liberation to social change movements of the 60's is complicated and paradoxical.”¹²¹ Feminist theory attests to ideological differences between women and underscores that women united or became politically active for different reasons and in different ways. This complexity of motivation and ideology is reflected in Heidi Greco’s memory of her activism. Greco explains that in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

I don't think I really understood what feminism was about at the time. It seemed too political for me. It wasn't so much that I didn't adhere to the beliefs of the feminist movement. I just have never been much of a 'joiner' and so, to me the important aspects of feminism were actions by women who were able to rise above the then, 'demands' of gender. To me, feminism then, [and now] was [and is] more about action and a way of being than about espousing a particular philosophy or set of beliefs. Thus, my not wanting to be involved in the Feminist Caucus, etc. - groups that seemed to me as being exclusionary and maybe even divisive. ¹²²

What this assessment of the daycare activists tells us is that individual politics were complex and complicated. By the late 1960s many women were living a more liberated lifestyle, and in a moment characterized by changes in access to abortion and birth control, greater accessibility of university education, the de-stigmatization of working mothers, and improvements in daycare services. Yet many of the most active women on campus were engaging in campus politics without identifying primarily as feminist.

Interconnections: Student Activism on the SFU Campus and the Student Body

What united the SFU student movement, the women’s liberation movement, and the daycare movement was a common ideology that demanded social change. These demands for change occurred within the emergence of organized student radicalism nationwide. At SFU, student radicalism was evident by 1967 and escalated throughout

¹²⁰ Sharon Yandle email, September 11, 2017

¹²¹ Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 25.

¹²² Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

1969. The Canadian student movement had national organizations dating from 1959, when the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1959-1963 (CUCND) was formed.¹²³ After it disbanded, the Canadian Union of Students, 1963–1969 (CUS), Student Union for Peace Action, 1964–1967 (SUPA), the New Left Committee 1967–1968 (NLC) and Students for a Democratic University 1968–1970 (SDU) followed.¹²⁴ Many Canadian university students were members of these groups, including students at SFU. But that did not necessarily mean that the membership were activists willing to act. The remainder of this chapter will underscore the difference between the student body's desires for social change in conjunction with their willingness to act. Students and youth shared similar identity incongruities just as many 1960s women did, as this chapter has detailed. (See Appendix B.)

Although many thousands of youth organized for change in the early 60's, often through national groups, the larger campus population should not be overlooked. As Brian Palmer argues, “for every radical SUPA fieldworker, for every militant anti-Vietnam War protester, for every women’s liberationist, there were countless Canadian youth who followed no rebel road.”¹²⁵ This was the case at SFU. As this dissertation demonstrates, only a few student leaders lead the many in radical change and among these few

¹²³ CUCND, (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) founded in 1959 by Dimitri Roussapoulos, was a movement that would articulate and promote participatory democracy and a non-violent revolutionary approach, bringing the powerless in civil society together. See appendix A for longer description.

¹²⁴ The CUS (Canadian Union of Students) was formed in 1963 and disbanded in 1969 and was a national association of Canadian university student councils, and a political lobby group designed to give university students a united voice. CUS was increasingly focused on anti-war and critiques of capitalism. The SUPA (Student Union for Peace Action) commanded a platform of various socio-political causes, with actions that included sit-ins and demonstrations. See Kostash, *The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada, Long Way From Home*, 6. The group was predominantly Canadian and existed from 1964 to 1967 when it disbanded. The NLC (New Left Committee) was a short lived organization which emerged from SUPA in 1967. The NLC declared itself neo-Marxist but intending to organize for a social revolution. The SFU NLC focused on action rather than discussion. SDU (Students for a Democratic University) was active in Canada from approx. 1968-1970 as a branch of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), which was a New Left student activist movement in the United States (1962–1970). A frontline article in *The Peak* on SDU as a radical organization states, “The SDU is a radical student group concerned with the problems of building an alternative system of education, of democratizing the university, and of examining critically the role of the university in society.” *The Peak* January 31, 1968. See appendix A for a longer descriptions of all of these organizations.

¹²⁵ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 307.

students there was a diversity of motivations driving their actions.¹²⁶ The vast majority of SFU students were not members of these movements even though they might have supported them in principle or by a vote or action, which seems to reflect what academics of social movements have pointed out more generally.¹²⁷ For example, dynamic leadership was contained within only a small number of students amongst a much larger student body.¹²⁸ By 1969 there were approximately 5965 students enrolled at SFU but the students who were the dedicated pioneers of change represented about 5 percent of enrollment totals.¹²⁹ (Appendix C.) In this rough calculation based on names collected through archival research, analysis of *The Peak*, and oral histories, I am allowing for 200 SDU, 50 WC, and 45 daycare student members, totalling 300 student members. There may have been other activist students, but if I accounted for 600 activist students, or 10 percent of the SFU population, this would perhaps be an overly generous calculation. To put student leadership in context, during the famous 1968 sit-in approximately 30 to 40 SDU members were present in the Board of Governor's meeting room. Some of them were members of the FAL and others were advocates for the daycare. At this time there were at most 15 Feminine Action League members at SFU and approximately 15 members advocating for a Co-op daycare, but how many from each group attended the sit-in is unknown. As the week wore on only about 12 people remained in the board room. (This dissertation interviews 5 of the students present at the sit-in.) One of the most active students who was present at the

¹²⁶ The activists and reformers at SFU in the 1960s were only a few people who were able to incite the many, often unreliable although sympathetic followers. For example, it is rarely revealed in historical recollections that the May 1968 sit-in that officially announced the opening of the Family Co-op, was organized by only a few SDU student activists at SFU because the student body were unsupportive, and in the end, the people who participated were only about thirty in number.

¹²⁷ A significant number of people were not involved in the 1960s radical activism, even at SFU, but through association people took part as consensual and unwittingly as non-consensual participants. The student body as a whole was often assumed to be radical and this exaggerated personification made many of the students, especially those uninvolved with radical action, mistrustful of the media and sympathetic to anti-establishment politics. Oworm, *Born At The Right Time*, 217; Bert Klandermans, "Motivations to Action," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, eds. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2.

¹²⁸ The politically active students at SFU often came from politically involved families or they had a personal interest in politics. (Appendix B.)

¹²⁹ Appendix C. SFUA. Enrolment Statistics 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 from the SFU Academic Calendars and 1968-1969 to 1970-1973, F-52-2-2-0-1. From the Office of Analytical studies fonds (Office of Analytical Studies is now called Institutional Research and Planning). Enrolment Statistics 1970-1978.

sit-in and involved with the establishment of the daycare was Gini Shaw, who was “a very appealing personality and a formidable student voice.”¹³⁰ Wasserlein notes that there were 35 to 40 members at each meeting of the Vancouver Women’s Caucus but a membership list of over 300 names. It was clearly the dedicated few who propelled the movement forward.¹³¹

The core of the dynamic leadership at SFU was hardly the majority of the student population but they were vociferous, had a compelling presence, sent a convincing message, and were usually able to arouse support when they needed it. When such support was activated it might well have seemed that SFU was a commanding assembly of hundreds of radical students. But many students at SFU were comparatively young, idealistic, and while generally committed to changing the status quo were only emerging as self-actualized movement activists. As Kilian Ermachild said, SFU students were in the process of “learning.”¹³² Not all students were certain of the extent to which they wanted to be involved in activism at a deeper level. They might support change in principle or even elect an activist student council, but they were not willing to risk their status as students in a protest or a sit-in, and some were even highly anxious and upset about the impact of activism on their everyday lives at SFU.¹³³

While SFU was known for radical activism throughout this period, the SFU campus was home to a student body that was often reluctant to express their desire for change. This reluctance is evidenced by a number of articles in *The Peak* where the student body was lectured by activist leaders. In a January 1967 interview in *The Peak*, Sharon Yandle remarked that “much of the so called apathy among Canadian students is based on the idea that students, and especially Canadian students, cannot affect any meaningful change. This attitude is both fallacious and dangerous. Things may well condition people but people change things. This kind of defeatism not only supports the

¹³⁰ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

¹³¹ This is a point worth stressing because in the writing of history, generalizations are made about SFU “student activists,” “many women,” and “the SDU group.” These terms lead the reader to imagine the magnitude of activity in the absence of actual numbers. For example, Wasserlein gives a very specific number of active members in the VWC that supplies the reader with important information. Wasserlein, “An arrow,” 24.

¹³² Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹³³ Klandermans, “Motivations to Action,” 2. Hugh Johnston writes that the SFU PSA strike “imposed an immensely stressful and prolonged ordeal” on PSA students, professors and the university. Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 229.

status quo, however unsavory it might be, but provides fertile ground for the would be and actual Hitlers of the world.”¹³⁴ Student reticence continued as the board of directors sit-in approached a year later. In a June 1968 edition of *The Peak*, student council member Stan Wong addressed the student society’s demands for administrative reform and asked for action and support from the general student body. Wong told *The Peak* that students were apathetic: “they crawl out of the woodwork, exercise their franchise, and then crawl back in, with no continuing participation and discussions in university reforms ... If the student body really desires to invoke changes in the university structure they have to participate in the discussions and support their elected leaders.”¹³⁵

The answer to campus political action, or lack of it, was Students for a Democratic University, “an organization with the intention of radicalizing the student body.”¹³⁶ The SDU was a radical student group concerned with the building an alternative system of education and democratizing the university. In *The Peak* the SFU student body was warned about the radical SDU group by the outgoing student council president in a February 1968 article announcing the resignation of Student Society council president Arthur Weeks. In a resignation speech Weeks said:

I think Student Council, as a vehicle for responsible student government, has broken down. Seventy-five per cent of Simon Fraser’s 5,200 students are not interested in student issues. I think that someone has to address himself to that 75 per cent and tell them what’s happening. This might involve criticism of Student Council and criticism of the university. I can’t do this as president.¹³⁷

Weeks said he hopes to provoke some interest in the 75 per cent “who pay their fees but are not concerned. If they don’t become interested, minority groups, such as the Students for a Democratic University, will gain control and do harm to the university.”¹³⁸

Nevertheless, the student body could be rallied into a united force at specific moments or around specific issues, such as in the sit-in and the student society

¹³⁴ *The Peak*, January 4, 1967, 6.

¹³⁵ *The Peak*, June 4, 1968, 3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *The Peak*, February 21, 1968, 1.

¹³⁸ *The Peak*, February 21, 1968, 1.

election.¹³⁹ In the May 1968 elections for student council, the SDU affiliated candidates won ten of the thirteen available council seats. The student council and SDU at this point became almost synonymous. In May of 1968 a list of campaign regulations stated that all candidates had to submit a paragraph stating their name, age, faculty, year, qualifications, and a brief platform articulating their reasons for seeking a council position brief. The candidate's platforms were therefore transparent, and the student body knew full well that in supporting a candidate like Loney, for example, who proposed to reform the university, they were electing a radical, left-wing, activist for council president. The student body's desire for political change was expressed in their votes.

However, the support for political change was rooted in a diverse array of personal politics and priorities. Some of the student body who voted for the radical SDU members were activists in the student, women's, and daycare movement, some identified as hippies, and many had no apparent movement association. It was almost impossible not to be aware of the social shift that was taking place in the late 1960s and this awareness had an impact on people whether they thought of themselves as a participants in social change or not. Inevitably, a greater number of students became attuned to their position within student politics. Jim Harding believes that it was student activists themselves who educated the larger student body and convinced them to take student politics more seriously. He claims that "initially you had the vast majority of the students from the 60's, playing bridge....who cares.... get my course done....get out of here. We started to challenge that in the SDU elections and afterwards. By 1969, three quarters of the student body were engaged in the university politics."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ On March 16th 1967 SFU president McTaggart-Cowan met with the faculty council comprised of administrators and professors, to decide how the Templeton Five TA's conduct should be handled. The ruling resulted in recommendations of reprimand but this was overturned by the SFU board that decided on suspensions. In response, two thousand students rallied over the course of two days, threatened a boycott, and sat vigil. The dismissal was over-turned. As well, the election of the radical SDU student council was supported by the majority of the SFU students who voted, and afterward, the initial decision for the students to support the sit-in that began June 4, 1968 was met with a majority of student support. After a student council composed of political activists with clearly defined demands was elected, they proposed that a week-long boycott of classes begin if demands were not met by noon on May 31, 1968. Initially, the student body voted to pass the moratorium on classes. However concerns regarding irregularities in the vote results were voiced at the mall rally. Lawyer Harry Rankin advised that a two-thirds majority was advisable for such a motion to pass. The majority of students agreed with Rankin and as a result, the referendum, which received only 58 per cent in favor, failed.

¹⁴⁰ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

Making sense of the 1960s at SFU is often approached by trying to highlight the intersection between radical events and movements. But individual politics were complex, and student engagement was determined by individual need or conviction regarding an array of issues: for daycare, student self-governance, housing, fair transfer credits from the colleges, broadly defined social change, and women's rights. All of these movements required collaboration in order to be actualized. But what can also be seen at SFU is that organized collaboration was fragile and often fleeting. The 1960s might be better understood by considering the intersection between broad ideals that were shared amongst individuals, groups, and social movements. For example, the 1960s women's liberation, anti-war, gay rights, anti-poverty, civil rights, birth control and abortion rights, daycare, and student movements all shared the idea that the world could and should be a better place. The SFU Family Co-op thought the world should be a better place for parents, children, and society. Although this mission was actualized by individuals focused on a common goal, people's interests overlapped with multiple concerns. For example, at least a few of the women involved with the Family Co-op were also members of and committed to the Women's Caucus and the SDU. Overall, making the world a better place was a common goal that motivated change and inspired a social shift. Greco adds that the 1960s "was more about changing rules because that seemed to be the only way to change the world ... we were protesting the things that we could see as being wrong. We had to find better ways of doing things."¹⁴¹

The commitment of the daycare activists to making a better world for parents and children was an ideal which motivated their activism, compelled dedicated political activity and as the next chapters will demonstrate, sustained the SFU daycare through turbulent and divisive transitions. Among the 30 or more original daycare Co-op parents, a handful were self-identified radical activist leaders, but most were not. Daycare parents shared a sense of identity and commitment to creating a collaborative and accessible daycare open to all. Roberta Lexier borrows Stuart Hall's discussion of identity to stress that "each individual is comprised of a number of 'selves' or identities. Movements, or "historical moment groups" have shared characteristics or positions despite divisions based on "class, gender, or race."¹⁴² In the beginning, the daycare parents were not a

¹⁴¹ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

¹⁴² Lexier, "How Did the Women's Movement Emerge from The Sixties Student Movements," 2. See also Appendix B.

cohesive group following the same “rebel road” or same sense of political identity, but they were willing to unite as a group of SFU parents pioneering a new movement, and stand their ground for campus daycare even if that entailed radical action. Many of the SFU Family daycare parents were politically left leaning but they only stepped forward to act radically and risk repercussions when they were desperate to provide their children with on-campus daycare. Judith Butler points out that “all identities operate through exclusion through the discursive construction of a constitutive outside.”¹⁴³ For the SFU daycare parents the oppressive campus administration represented the “outside” as a dominating force to be challenged and reckoned with. The need for daycare was the common denominator that motivated parents to act radically on an emergent “rebel road.”¹⁴⁴

In conclusion, this chapter has emphasized that there was a demand for campus daycare from the opening of the university, although the university administration was reluctant to acknowledge that demand. This chapter also underscores that the student, women’s liberation, and daycare movements at the university worked concurrently but that each movement was propelled forward by individuals devoted to effecting meaningful change with a specific motive and desired result. Unlike previous histories of the establishment of daycare at SFU, the oral histories completed for this dissertation reveal that most of the activists were motivated not by participation in either the student movement or by women’s liberation groups. In fact, the Women’s Caucus was initially more concerned with abortion rights than with access to childcare, and their later recognition of the central importance of childcare may have been influenced by the already existing SFU daycare. By the summer of 1968 a number of social and political movements at SFU blossomed, creating a frenzy of activity and organization that would crescendo over the next few years and leave SFU with a radical reputation even though that reputation was the legacy of a few activists, sometimes backed by the large student body. One of the blossoming student movements pertinent to this thesis was the SFU daycare movement and the next chapter will detail the early days of an ad hoc Snake Hill childcare service that paved the way for the Family Co-op daycare.

¹⁴³ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter* (London: Routledge, 1993), 15.

¹⁴⁴ Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s*, 307.

Chapter Two

The Early SFU Daycares: Snake Hill and The Family Co-op Daycare

“What we did was typically SFU at the time and just went under the radar. Enough of this let’s take 10 years making formal petitions.” Gini Shaw interview, April 9, 2016

“Until we got the [SFU Family Co-op] going we helped each other out. We had the kids with us a lot up there [at SFU] and managed the best that we could.” Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

There were two “first” daycares established at SFU in the 1960s. The informal (and largely forgotten) Snake Hill daycare functioned from approximately 1966 to 1968 and the Family Co-op operated from 1968 into the early 1970s. Both of the early SFU childcares claimed and occupied unofficial space in the Academic Quadrangle student lounge. Therefore this chapter challenges the accepted chronology of daycare at SFU declaring that the daycare was started by a group of mothers needing daycare in the summer of 1968. The SFU Snake Hill childcare laid the groundwork for the second daycare, the more organized and official Co-op Family, which emerged after the June 1968 sit-in. In both cases, the daycare operated by occupying space without the approval of the SFU administration. These two early daycares pioneered a movement that focused on the needs of student/parents for excellent and co-operative daycare. The transition from Snake Hill to the Family Co-op laid the groundwork for several years of conflict and negotiation between daycare parents and the university administration. The Family Co-op parents initially attempted to establish a co-operative and non-hierarchical daycare model and wanted the administration to financially and materially support this vision. The university administration was reluctant to admit the need for daycare on campus but was worried about evicting the students from the space, especially in a time of student activism, protest, and unrest.

Snake Hill

In popular and academic memory, the SFU daycare is remembered as beginning during the June 1968 sit-in of the SFU board of governor's meeting-room. Current historical literature mentions Gini Shaw (aka Gini Yorke) as the daycare founder during that time. But oral histories of this period reveal a more complicated story. As Shaw told me: "The press doesn't always report correctly." Shaw was the organizer of an early SFU childcare, "before the one that's recorded."¹ Prior to June of 1968, SFU students participated in an unofficial childcare. Dave Yorke, Gini's ex-husband, referred to the early daycare or childcare as Snake Hill, named by a young child who thought the stairs above the daycare looked like a snake. This thesis will therefore refer to the pre-June 1968 daycare as Snake Hill, a name that was eventually favoured by 1973 as preferable to the Family Co-op title.

In the 1960s, access to daycare was not considered a right and the fight for daycare was a hard-won battle that continued at SFU and elsewhere through the 1970s and beyond. Universities at this time did not provide on campus daycare for students, and in fact SFU was the first campus to do so.² Even in the United States, campus daycares were not common in this period. Historian Ruth Rosen remembers that one of her best friends at Stanford University mounted the podium and received her PhD degree in 1972 while holding her infant daughter. Pinned to the baby's back hung a sign saying "Why Doesn't Stanford Have Childcare?" Rosen writes that "hundreds of activists, like myself, sat for years on committees that never seemed to convince universities that women students, staff, and faculty required child care."³

Compared to what was happening elsewhere, Gini Shaw's Snake Hill parent directed childcare that began at SFU in approximately 1966-68 was the beginning of what would be a radical advancement in daycare provision." Because Snake Hill daycare was informally organized by Shaw, the archival record on precisely when it

¹ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

² I spoke with the present director of UBC Childcare Services, who confirmed that its daycare began operations in 1969 (a year after the Family Co-op started) in a WW II army hut, providing service for a 3–5 year old daycare group named Acadia. From the beginning UBC daycare differed from the SFU daycare because at UBC parents could perform duty time or pay for duty time exemption. The Family did not allow for paid exemption.

³ Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How The Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin, 2000), 208.

began remains unclear. But oral histories with several of its founders help to locate its emergence in approximately 1966. Although Gini Shaw and Dave Yorke cannot remember exactly when the Snake Hill childcare began, they do know that it was before the Family daycare was established.⁴ Student/father Jim Harding was at SFU in 1967 and at that time he relied on Snake Hill to care for his son. Dennis Roberts, editor of *SFU Week*, writes that Shaw was working to establish a daycare as early as 1966. Whether Shaw was simply petitioning for childcare or actually running a childcare in 1966 is not known. Perhaps the beginning of Snake Hill is vague because it was born largely under the university's radar and was only loosely organized. "I don't think that anyone really took note of the daycare that I was involved with."⁵ Shaw remembers that there were 20 to 30 kids involved at that time. "We'd show up [at the childcare space]...they'd have their kids and we'd figure out who was going to stick around and the day would carry on. It was incredibly loosey goosey, but it seemed to work."⁶

Shaw was majoring in Education (she later became an elementary school teacher) and as a result, she was focused on establishing a daycare even though she did not have children at the time. Shaw also became friends with many of the older students at SFU, some of whom had children. She was passionate about women's conditions and social and political equality. This is evident in an article she wrote for *The Peak* where she argued that single mothers "have to pay for their crime by living on below-subsistence welfare payments and be subject to continuous inspection and the 'get-off-your-ass . and . do. something—for yourself' line. Either that or beg, borrow, and cajole all they can to support their family and put themselves through university." She criticized the fact that the "government isn't willing to support women as they get university training that will enable them to support themselves."⁷ She further explains that "what we did was typically SFU at the time and just went under the radar. Enough of this let's take 10 years making formal petitions. I got to know one of the security people up there who was very pleasant and told me on the QT that if we were to set up the daycare under the stair, [across from the rebellion garden], that no one would probably notice. So, I talked to the women who were involved and we decided that we would do

⁴ Barbara Misztal writes that the accuracy of memory "is supported by others remembrances." Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Philadelphia: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 53.

⁵ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *The Peak*, July 17, 1968, 6.

that. People showed up and left their kids and came back and got their kids.”⁸ As a result of Shaw’s initiative, the first SFU childcare named Snake Hill was located in the south west Academic Quadrangle in the same location where the Family would locate after the June 1968 sit-in.⁹ The location was the same but the unofficial childcare named Snake Hill became officially announced, formally organized, and demarkated, with permanently located equipment and supplies and for the most part, a new membership. Snake Hill was soon renamed the Family, or Family Co-op, the Co-op Family, or simply the Co-op.¹⁰

Snake Hill has been largely forgotten because there is no formal documentation or correspondence in the archival record about it. However, a few popular sources do make reference to this early daycare. *SFU Week* editor Dennis Roberts critiques Diane MacDonald’s *SFU Daycare History* when he writes: “The book makes no reference to women such as Gini Yorke, who tried to organize daycare around 1966 or 1967.”¹¹ An article by Beverly Gibbs in a May 1969 edition of *The Peak* noted that during the occupation of the university’s board room in June of 1968, “the occupiers innovatively suggested that the board room space be used by an education student and organizer, Gini Yorke, who had been working for some time to get space from the university for a nursery.”¹² Even though the early record of Snake Hill is sparse, oral histories affirm the importance of this early childcare centre to many people. For example, Jim Harding enrolled in the fall of 1967 in a doctorate program in the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA) Department to study with Tom Bottomore. In a firsthand account of Snake Hill, Harding said, “I arrived [at SFU] in the process of separating. My wife was enrolled in library science at UBC, I was at SFU, and we parted ways.” Harding cared for his two year old son at SFU during week days. “There was no daycare at UBC. Until we got the [SFU Family Co-op] going we helped each other out. We had the kids with us a

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Snake Hill operated from approximately 1967 to June of 1968 and the Family Co-op operated from June of 1968 to 1973 when it was named the Burnaby Mountain Day Care Society. Throughout the location remained the same.

¹⁰ *The Peak*, June 12, 1968, 6.

¹¹ Dennis Roberts, “History of campus daycare notes concern for quality,” *SFU Week*, (July 24, 1980), 3. Neither Gini Shaw nor Dave Yorke remember exactly when Snake Hill began operation but 1967 is a close approximation. Prior to and including 1967 Gini Shaw regularly petitioned for daycare space in letters to the administration and at SFU Board meetings.

¹² *The Peak*, May 21, 1969, 6.

lot up there [at SFU] and managed the best that we could. We must have dropped our kids off because people were taking care of kids while others were teaching or taking classes. There was an informal thing going on before the actual [Family Co-op] space was liberated.”¹³

As Snake Hill transitioned into the more official Co-op Family there was internal discord among the parents and leaders involved. Shaw remembers that “it wasn’t very long before a number of the mothers got very angry with me because I was accused of being an elitist. It was quite hurtful actually. I was yelled at and told I was keeping secrets. I wasn’t up to a big fight so I just went and got all the files and brought them out and handed it to the mother who was yelling at me and that was the end of it for me.” That was “the end of direct involvement.”¹⁴ As this chapter will demonstrate, the June 1968 Family daycare adopted a philosophy and organization that discouraged individual leadership, and this likely accounts for Shaw’s conflict with the Family parents. Shaw therefore does not consider herself an organizer or director of the Family Co-op that began in June of 1968. Just after the June 1968 sit-in, Shaw stepped back from the Family. “It’s not that I didn’t support the daycare. I just wasn’t involved anymore.” Shaw graduated from SFU the end of 1968 and then pursued a career as a primary school teacher. “If I had known I was going to be staying on I would have called for a meeting and said let’s sort this out but I knew I wasn’t coming back and I wasn’t prepared for a melodrama at the time.”¹⁵ When asked why she wrote an article in *The Peak* in September 1968, asking for help and toys for the newly formed Family Co-op daycare she replied: “I probably wrote the article because somebody told me they were short of toys.”¹⁶ Shaw continued to support the daycare through some correspondence and applications for funding and she remained committed to the SFU daycare and to improving the life of families. From the beginning she understood her involvement as

¹³ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

¹⁴ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

part of a commitment to what she considered doing the right thing for children, women, and families.¹⁷

June 1968 Student Sit-in and the Beginning of the Family Co-op

Although the establishment of Shaw's Snake Hill was an answer to the immediate requirements for childminding on campus for some, it was informal and therefore unknown to many parents in need of childcare. There was a need for a daycare that was not "loosey goosey" or tenuous but one that was officially announced, positioned, and ready to function. The Family Co-op that organized during the week of the June 4th 1968 sit-in moved to exactly the same Snake Hill informal babysitting location in the Academic Quadrangle student lounge next to the cafeteria. What had changed by 1968 was the acknowledged need for official and permanent campus daycare as the newly elected radical council, predominantly SDU members, helped create a political shift on campus. With new student activist leaders came political momentum amongst the student body. SFU parents acted with a new sense of empowerment by confronting the university administration and taking charge of their family's needs. Klandermans argues that within political movements, "the first crossroad separates those who do nothing and those who take some action. The next separates those who take individual action (e.g., contacting a politician or writing a letter to the editor) from those who take collective action (e.g., taking part in a street demonstration or a strike). Finally, those who take collective action might take part in non-contentious action (e.g., a peaceful demonstration or a petition) or contentious action (e.g., a site-occupation or violent confrontations with the police)."¹⁸ The need for campus daycare was realized first by Gini Shaw who took individual action, and later by parents who were willing to directly challenge the SFU administration and the BC government and take "contentious action."¹⁹

¹⁷ Shaw was passionate about women's conditions and criticized the fact that the "government isn't willing to support women as they get university training that will enable them to support themselves." *The Peak*, July 17, 1968, 6.

¹⁸ Bert Klandermans, "Motivations to Action" in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, eds. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The daycare began after the SDU organized a sit-in during June 1968. Jim Harding helped organize the sit-in as first vice president of SDU. He remembers: "The sit-in escalated. We started the sit-in the admin building and just worked our way up. It was pretty spontaneous. I think we caught them off guard. We started the sit-in as members of SDU, thinking that we shouldn't be landlocked with student politics through the electoral system. If we had agendas there were other ways to change the institution. In a sense it was direct action and non-violent. There was no property damage. We had to make demands."²⁰ The SDU made eight demands, the majority of which were about student and faculty control of the Board of Governors, student representation on Senate, and the democratization of various university administrative offices.²¹ While one of the demands made by SDU students at the June 1968 sit-in was also for an on-campus daycare, this was an offshoot of the ad hoc action by SFU SDU members and was not the primary focus of the action. During the sit-in, an SDU spokesman stipulated that the sit-in would continue despite the daycare's success or failure to acquire space. Reflecting their belief in including children in their daily lives, some of the students and faculty brought their children to the demonstration. Marcy Toms was also at the sit-in and remembers that it "lasted more than one day and a lot of people stayed overnight,

²⁰ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

²¹ Minimum demands set by students: *The Peak*, June 4, 1968, 6.

On Thursday May 27th an emergency mass meeting of students made the following demands to be met if a strike is to be diverted.

1. Abolition of the Board of Governors as presently structured, to be totally restructured giving the students and faculty majority control.
2. Restructuring of the Senate so that it is totally representative of the students and faculty only. This would then become the major decision-making and legislative body of the university.
3. Abolition of the office of President and Chancellor as presently constituted and reestablishment of such offices as deemed necessary on an elective basis by students, faculty and staff.
4. All administrative official's appointments will be ratified by Senate as restructured.
5. Automatic due process in matters of hiring and firing must be instituted immediately. This involves academic tenure, open hearings on alleged inconsistencies and infractions of persons rights etc.
6. Democratization of the department structure along the lines of the CAUT report, instituting the principle of rotating chairman with term appointments.
7. Public representatives on the Board of Governors to be appointed either by community organizations such as the BC Federation of Labour, BC Federation of Teachers, BC Council of Churches, Canadian Council of Arts and Sciences, BC Civil Liberties Union, and/or by the public.
8. A committee to be struck for faculty and students in equal numbers, chaired by a representative of the CAUT to supervise the implementation of the demands we make to the administration.

sleeping under tables in the Board of Governors meeting room. People came in and out of the room. I don't think anybody stayed in there for the whole time. It wasn't barricaded and you could come and go. Nobody called the cops, and nobody was upset really."²² The sit-in was intended first and foremost to result in the SFU Board of Governors acquiescing to the eight SDU demands.

By the beginning of the June 1968 sit-in McTaggart-Cowan had stepped aside as SFU president, relieved of his powers by the SFU Board of Directors.²³ Archie McPherson, a geography professor, came forward to act as an interim president. Jerry Zaslove remembers McPherson at that time as a non-controversial choice who was "there to promote negotiation and committee structure."²⁴ To make the peace among the students at the sit-in, McPherson agreed to a daycare when he was approached by the parents present. He possibly acquiesced knowing that his appointment as interim president was temporary. McPherson suggested that the daycare organizers contact the Department of Space and Usage at SFU for an appropriate location. McPherson would likely have made this suggestion knowing that space at SFU was in short supply, vigorously competed for, or simply non-existent. McPherson's suggestion to apply to the Department of Space and Usage was ignored and parents immediately returned to the original Snake Hill location, where an informal childcare had already been established, and claimed the location as their own.

The June 1968 sit-in marked a significant change for children and parents at SFU. The easy-going Snake Hill childcare was about to become the Family Co-op daycare. Kilian Ermachild remembers the June 1968 sit-in only vaguely. She recalls that she was there with her daughter but didn't stay the night. However, the early days of the Family Co-op remains vivid in her memory. "There were faculty wives in the group of early daycare co-op."²⁵ Kilian remembers that one of the wives was in the Women's Caucus with her. This familiarity wasn't the norm as most of the Family Co-op did not know each other prior to the daycare opening. In a 1969 article Kilian Ermachild wrote: "We did not know each other when we began. We began to act together in the way that seemed simplest and most human and then began to be committed to that way of acting

²² Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

²³ See Appendix A, Duff Berdahl and CAUT

²⁴ Jerry Zaslove interview, March 31, 2016

²⁵ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

and to articulate its meaning.”²⁶ During the early Family Co-op days people spontaneously turned up. Harding remembers that families “came out of the woodwork. Because a lot of people had been managing differently. Some people weren’t doing what we were doing bringing our kids to campus. Some people probably had extended families or friends off campus. There was no assessment. So, there were even more [families in need of daycare] than we [who had been using Snake Hill] realized. It was immediate how quickly the kids were there. The daycare was servicing a much broader group of people than those involved in the activism.”²⁷

Within two weeks of occupying the daycare space, Gini Shaw wrote a letter dated June 27, 1968 on behalf of the Student Society Day Nursery Committee to William DeVries, the Director of Physical Plant and Planning at SFU. This letter was the last correspondence from Gini Shaw and the first and last mention of the Student Society Day Nursery Committee. A June 1968 editorial in *The Peak* stated: “As a result of this sit-in, a temporary nursery committee has been set up.”²⁸ Perhaps the name Student Society Day Nursery Committee was the official name of the “nursery committee” that preceded the Family Co-op for only a matter of days or weeks before it was dismissed. This letter signed by Shaw was likely what instigated the hurtful conflict with the daycare parents when they called her elitist. Shaw had acted independently for years as a daycare advocate and originator of the drop-in daycare. Writing a letter and signing her name was no doubt a routine matter for her. However, this self-reliant attitude was not what the new daycare envisioned, and Shaw’s initiative may have seemed controlling. Melody Kilian reflected: “We began the Family without a real leader or executive or steering committee or supervisor. We soon realized that not only did we not need one, but that the election or appointment of one would destroy something about what we are trying to do.”²⁹ The new daycare wanted to act as a family based on principles of co-operation. The Family could ideally rely on each other rather than on an institutional framework for daycare. The Family was based on an idealistic vision of caring and working together collaboratively with the common goal of raising strong, independent,

²⁶ Melody Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People...or the louis riel university family co-op,” in *Women Unite* (Vancouver: 1969, repr. Toronto: Canadian Women’s Educational Press, pg. 90-99, 1972), 95.

²⁷ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

²⁸ *The Peak*, June 12, 1968, 6.

²⁹ Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People, 96.

and empathetic children. This desire for collaboration reflects larger trends in the New Left, which also emphasized participatory democracy. Myrna Kostash claims that within SUPA "there were no designated leaders, for leadership means authority and authority means people with a vested interest in maintaining their power over others...the group would discuss until there was unanimity or consensus of thought so that a decision taken would reflect the feeling and idea of every person present."³⁰ This philosophy may have seemed like a solid foundation to build a strong daycare co-operative, especially to people like Jim Harding, who was a founding daycare parent and also politically active in SUPA.

Shaw's final correspondence on June 27th 1968 requested that the SFU administration acknowledge and approve of the daycare space, and consider the construction of an external prefabricated building. William DeVries, the director of SFU's Physical Plant and Planning, responded on July 4, 1968 advising the nursery was approved for the months of July and August only, providing that a list of requirements was satisfied. Among the list, the SFU administration requested that the daycare acquire a government license to operate the nursery, that the nursery be staffed with trained personnel, and that the nursery would abide by all government regulations. The letter also questioned the actual need for a daycare or daycare space. DeVries mentioned that the prefab building that Shaw requested should detail the "length of time to be located on site" and adds that such a structure might be "quite possible provided that there is a need for such a use."³¹ This list of requirements in DeVries' letter was the foundation of frustration and conflict that would persist until 1973. The daycare could not acquire a government licence to operate or abide by government regulations because the "liberated space" did not have running water, washrooms, a kitchen, or regulated daycare equipment. Furthermore, the daycare parents were committed to a co-operative parent operated daycare facility without expert advice or intervention, and this

³⁰ Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home: The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1980), 8. On participatory democracy see Carol Mueller, "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy,'" in 1965 eds. Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, Barbara Woods, and Broadus N. Bulter, *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 51-70; Francesca Polletta, *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Tom Hayden, *Inspiring Participatory Democracy: Student Movements from Port Huron to Today* (New York: Routledge, 2016)

³¹ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from Wm, DeVries, Director, Physical Plant and Planning, to Gini Yorke, Student Society Day Nursery. 4 July 1968.

perspective ruled out the hiring of trained personnel. Despite DeVries' August deadline, the daycare parents had no intention of vacating their space at the end of August unless a more suitable space was found.

With this early correspondence a line had been drawn between parents and the administration. The daycare parents understood that they must stand firm as a united group. For the next 20 months all correspondence from the Family Co-op was signed as a collective or it was not signed at all. There was no individual or executive in charge or available for negotiation with the SFU administration or any other official body. The Family Co-op remained non-hierarchical and unapproachable except as a collective entity and this mode of operation remained the rule until late in 1971.

Any questions that remained about the need for a daycare should have been answered after the first summer of its successful operation. An August 1968 letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative was sent to the president's office. The letter explained "the daycare service provided care for 59 children the past summer [within a month of opening] as a spontaneous response to our own pressing needs."³² The summer program for school aged children was in development the first summer of its operation, with the help and involvement of students, faculty and staff. The school aged children were allowed to use the library, the pool, and the Modern Languages Department tape room, with the help of volunteers. Early correspondence from the Family Co-op states that the daycare and summer program was necessary, "illegal, unlicensed, and worked beautifully to fill that need."³³ The Co-op was also unsupervised, unincorporated, unfunded, and without an elected executive or co-ordinator for the university administration to address. Consequently, this letter from the Simon Fraser Co-op Family was unsigned. The letter stated further that there was future planning underway for an expanded summer program for school aged children in the summer of 1969. The Family had no intention of vacating their space or abandoning their vision of establishing a permanent campus daycare. However, like Shaw's June letter, the August letter asked the university for an improved and permanent daycare structure. The occupied and inadequate daycare space would remain a problem for daycare parents, children, and the administration until 1977.

³²SFUA. General, Daycare fonds 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative, sent to the president's office. 14 August 1968.

³³ Ibid.

The correspondence from the Family and the preparations for new programming display the extensive research that was undertaken by the Family during the first few months of operation. The Family understood the space requirements detailed by Burnaby Municipal Hall, including the correct heating and temperature advisable for a daycare, as well as the safety and hygiene standards expected for a daycare. The letter states: "We are fully cognizant of the legal requirements for such centers and are in contact with relevant people," and they proceeded to inform the SFU administration of these requirements.³⁴ The Family collectively committed to becoming licensed by the B. C. Welfare Institutions, and also to incorporate as a non-profit society, as long as the SFU administration would provide adequate space for a daycare service for the university community.

Yet the administration at SFU remained condescending and unconvinced that such a daycare was necessary. On September 23, 1968 an internal administrative document from SFU administration was circulated by A. Smith, the SFU assistant to the president. It claimed that the "student sit-in in the Board Room this summer transformed itself on and off into a 'day nursery' and a few children were actually produced."³⁵ This scornful and condescending statement referring to "a few children" ignored the much larger number of 59 children cared for over the summer months. The document also states that "the students who were really (apparently) serious about such a facility set up shop...and scrounged what equipment they needed."³⁶ This sarcasm displayed a lack of support that was apparent throughout the document. The document states further that the problem is that "the 'Simon Fraser Co-operative Family' have asked for three things: Approval in principle of the need of service they wish to provide in a day care centre; Space for a permanent day care centre; Permission to stay in the present spot until alternate, temporary or permanent space is found."³⁷

Smith's letter indicates that the university was less concerned with providing space for childcare and more concerned about how they would look to the public if they

³⁴ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative, sent to the president's office. 14 August 1968.

³⁵ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter distributed by A. Smith, the SFU assistant to the president, to the SFU administration. 23 September 1968.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

were seen as being “anti-family” or “anti-child.” Smith insisted that “We know very little about this Family. Mrs. Yorke is a reasonable and determined young lady...the rest of them are likely, as is Mrs. Somers, older mature students who could rally considerable support for their cause not only from the radicals but from the graduate student organization and from the Student Council. Mrs. Somers is also obviously an activist in the local community and could raise considerable hell from that end if she is put down up here. Generally it would be tough to be against motherhood, children and such a thing called the ‘SFU Co-Operative Family’.”³⁸ Smith was obviously worried about the fallout from any dealings with the Family Co-op and his reference to familiar names like Mrs. Yorke (Shaw) and Mrs. Somers as individuals to appeal to was a thing of the past, as the administration would soon find out.

Smith’s internal document then listed the “options” available to the administration in dealing with the daycare. The first option was for SFU to simply deny any need for on-campus daycare: “We say no to the whole thing.”³⁹ The second option acknowledged only a small and limited need for daycare services: “Endorse the fact of a limited need for such a service but toss them out of present space...”⁴⁰ Smith’s third option offered a slightly larger university commitment: “Endorse in principle and try to find them new temporary space which enables them to meet the health laws and receive a licence.”⁴¹ This option acknowledged that a license in the Academic Quadrangle south western corner would be impossible to obtain. Smith also included a passive fourth option: “Endorse and support their existence in principle. Let them stay where they are and just ignore the health regulations (we ignore other municipal stipulations).”⁴² Options 2, 3, 4, stressed that the incorporation and financial self-sufficiency of the daycare was imperative but that the university would help with space. Smith was inclined to support the fourth option because the daycare already occupied the only available space and he was concerned with the reputation of the university if they acted to dislodge the already existing program. He argued: “If we throw them out it will become another issue, and a most unusually difficult one for us. No one is complaining about them and they are led by

³⁸ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter distributed by A. Smith, the SFU assistant to the president, to the SFU administration. 23 September 1968.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

a person who could make plenty of embarrassing trouble both on and off campus.”⁴³ In closing, Smith suggested that a recommendation “to the Board that they approve the use of the University’s name for the incorporation of the Co-Op.” However, he suggested that if “the student society complains, which is highly unlikely, then we throw them out.”⁴⁴ The SFU administration was clearly nervous about “another issue”: especially one of their own creation. The radicalism on campus with issues like the boardroom sit-in, the Templeton Five action, and the CAUT boycott, had left the taxpaying public and the BC government critical of the new university.⁴⁵ The radical activism and the response by the administration resulted in a potential threat to university funding and expansion, and inevitably reflected on the authority of the university administration. Clearly the administration was not happy about the Family Co-op but lacked a concrete solution to shutting-down the operation.

In the meantime, there was no indication that the Family Co-op was interested in abandoning their space. A forward-looking group of parents planned for the future and advertised to the campus community that the “SFU Co-operative Family will continue to care for the preschool children of students during the Fall Semester. Located in the South corner of the Student Lounge the Family Room will be open 8:30–5:30 Monday through Friday.”⁴⁶ Most of the people interviewed for this dissertation recall that most of the parents with children in the daycare were also students at SFU, though some remember that a few faculty wives were also involved.⁴⁷ They were united by their vision for excellent childcare that would challenge the social paradigms associated with daycare in the 1960s, as well as Cold War models of family life.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ SFU conflict increased in 1968 with a contract dispute involving professor Kenneth Burstein, which was exacerbated by SFU president McTaggart-Cowan and the involvement of Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) representatives. (See Appendix A for a detailed description of events.)

⁴⁶ *The Peak*, Sept. 11, 1968, 3.

⁴⁷ Melody Kilian Ermachild remembers a couple of faculty wives involved in the early Family. She remembers that a psychology professor was involved but cannot remember her name. She also remembers a couple who now live in Toronto. I think this couple was the Sperlings. I spoke with Jerry Sperling (an SFU PSA professor in the 1960s). Although he was not significantly involved with the Family, his wife Linda was. Unfortunately Linda has passed away. Ermachild, like Harding, remembers that a surprising number of people (most of them single mothers they had never met before) came forward to join the daycare. After 1970, enrolment priority was given to student/parents first and by this time waitlists were growing in number.

With the founding of the Family Co-op, SFU student parents had established a public daycare that was located on campus and that complied with their childrearing vision as collaborative and co-operative. After this moment, the SFU administration was forced to respond to an actual functioning and already existing daycare rather than simply a request or proposal. There was no need to strike a committee, investigate options, or research legalities or cost effectiveness. The administrative imperative to delay, sidestep, frustrate, and disapprove had been successfully challenged by the established of the daycare. An innovative and forward-looking group of parents had acted at a grassroots level, making the daycare a reality. Social movement scholars Porta and Diani argue that sometimes “the only resource available to the poor is mass defiance.” The SFU daycare grassroots movement can be understood in this tradition of “mass defiance”; parents continually occupied private space and ignored requests to conform to university and government standards.⁴⁸ The following chapters demonstrate that this initial defiance would continue as the university administration and the daycare parents struggled over the daycare’s location, staffing, funding, and licensing.

The June 1968 sit-in was an important turning point in SFU history and a significant advancement for the daycare movement on and off campus. Nevertheless, despite this “significant victory,” the early history of the daycare is only briefly alluded to by historians and almost entirely forgotten by the university. Perhaps this lack of memory or acknowledgement is because histories of social activism in the 1960s, with the exception of the women’s liberation movement, often prioritize activism where men dominated and women assisted. It follows that histories of the sixties tend to focus on the often dramatic masculine action of the civil rights, student, anti-war, or other movements. Movements for daycare have not been included in these histories and are often relegated to a footnote to the histories of the women’s liberation movement. Mary Toms suggests this might be the case when she claims that “the daycare focus, the focus on kids and women wasn’t quite as traditionally exciting or traditionally regarded as important as something that included and was dominated by men.”⁴⁹ Similarly,

⁴⁸ Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 146.

⁴⁹ Marcy Toms interview, March 24, 2017

Harding argues that “the daycare wasn’t talked about in the mainstream as a significant victory but it was.”⁵⁰

This chapter has detailed the earliest history of informal daycare on campus, known as Snake Hill, and then detailed its transition to the more formalized Family Co-op daycare in 1968. This shift occurred amid student unrest on and off campus. The daycare grew from the already existing Snake Hill, but the demand for a better organized and more accessible service grew from the 1968 SDU led sit-in. The demands of the student parents and the initial response of the SFU administration help illuminate the internal structure and philosophy of the Family. The parents hoped to build a co-operative and non-hierarchical organization that was open and accessible to the campus community. This philosophy, as the following chapters will show, was difficult to put into practice and sustain as the daycare moved towards formal licensing and staffing. The friction between the SFU administration and the Family is also obvious in the aftermath of 1968. Even as the Family settled into what they claimed was permanent space and tried to set down roots for the long term, the university passively and cautiously discouraged a permanent daycare structure. It should be noted that it may have taken the ongoing presence of little children on campus for the SFU administration to come around to thinking about university as part of the community, rather than as an elite refuge for select intellectual engagement.

⁵⁰ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

Chapter Three

Parents, Children, and Friends of the Family

“We were too nice of a picture. I think the last thing that they wanted was to be seen dragging all these women and kids out.” Melody Kilian
Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

“So this was the administration coming down heavy handed on these poor little tykes. They kept sort of staying back but then they would push and threaten about you’re not doing this and you’re not doing that.” Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

This chapter analyses the philosophy, politics, and motivations of the daycare parents and looks at how those politics inspired the creation of the Family Co-op in a Cold War era that discouraged such thinking and action. Many of the Family Co-op parents were involved in or influenced by the New Left politics that propelled campus activism. Inspired by 1960s movement activity in organizations like SUPA and SDU, the daycare organized co-operatively by consensus building, and developed a non-hierarchical approach to childcare. Amid innovation and adaption by the Family, what becomes apparent is the SFU administration’s desire to maintain power and control especially when confronted by new ideas and student defiance. Compromise and accommodation would be required by all parties involved in the daycare.

Daycare on Campus

The founding members of the SFU Family Co-op are remembered in a variety of whimsical ways that warrant subsequent analysis. Some remember the daycare parents as countercultural “hippies” because of the way they protested and the way they created the daycare. The informal childcare arrangements that preceded the Family Co-op, the boardroom sit-in to which parents brought their children to hang out or sleep-over, and the relaxed way that the parents approached parenting, was uncommon at the time. For example, Joyce Branscombe, who became the senior manager of the SFU Daycare Centre in the 1980s, remembers that SFU childcare programs were unique because of the degree of parental involvement and the culture in which the daycare was constituted.

Of the daycare she said “I’d never worked with such empowered parents in my life before. The parents were either in an academic career or enrolled in an academic program.” She reflects that in the beginning “there had been a great deal of resistance [to the childcare society]. This facility got started when [these] people truly believed they could control their children or should control their children’s lives and their education and they had a great deal at stake in directing the care of their children. The hippie element of the parent group that were initially involved in SFU was very powerful.”¹ When asked to respond to Branscombe’s interview, Kilian Ermachild was thoughtful. She pensively replied: “We were kind of hippies but we were the hardest working hippies ever, going to school and studying and writing our papers and writing our thesis and trying to take care of kids and change the world and end the war.”² Hippie was a generic and often disparaging word that was used by media commentators in the 1960s to refer to the hundreds of thousands of young American and Canadian youth who became part of the counterculture. During this period, many mainstream commentators and university administrators saw ‘hippies’ as individuals or groups “who fit a particular description as young, long-haired..... listless, and unhygienic sorts.”³ Scholars of the period show how the term “hippie” was associated with drugs, music, sex, and counter cultural lifestyles.⁴ Historian Michael Boudreau argues that “to be young was to identify with this counterculture and to embody a sense of alienation.”⁵ Yet many people did not identify with this characterization and pushed back against the negative reaction to hippies by

¹ SFUA. Joyce Branscombe taped interview, F 149-5-0-0-0-1. March 1998.

² Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

³ Ron Verzuh, *Underground Times: Canada’s Flower Child Revolutionaries* (Toronto, Ontario: Deneau Publishers, 1989), xiv; Erika Dyck, “The Psychedelic Sixties in North America: Drugs and Identity,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 49. Marcel Martel adds: “By depicting hippies in very negative terms, the RCMP was able to describe them as a threat and argue against their cultural, social, and political demands on the grounds that this was necessary to preserve society as it was.” Marcel Martel, “‘They smell bad, have diseases, and are lazy’: RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties,” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 90, no. 2 (June 2009), 1.

⁴ Ron Versuh thought that the hippies were radically political even though the New Left sometimes saw them as simply grooving and “peacing out.” Verzuh, *Underground Times*, xii. See also Joe Davie Brown, *The Hippies* (New York: Time, 1967), 11. Michael Boudreau “The Struggle for a Different World’: Gastown Riot in Vancouver” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, 120. On hip identity see: Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press), 2011.

⁵ Boudreau, “The Struggle for a Different World,” 120.

established authorities.⁶ People who looked like “hippies” could be students, back to the earth people, artists, or labourers. Many students dressed to varying degrees like hippies and wore their hair long. It is little wonder that Kilian Ermachild became thoughtful when asked to respond to Branscombe’s interview. Kilian Emachild doesn’t accept the label hippie any more willingly than Shaw agrees to her historical accreditation as founder of the Family Co-op. It is easy to draw a connection between politically active and even radical daycare mothers and assume that consequently they must be part of a women’s liberation movement or the counterculture. But these assumptions often contradict how individuals saw themselves, or how they understood the politics driving their activism. The anti-establishment politics of the counterculture was reflected in other movements that wanted to effect change, like the daycare movement, but that did not mean that the membership in these movements thought of themselves as hippies or members of the counterculture.

The happiness and sense of community within the Family was often fraught with apprehension about desperately needed childcare and that concern drove their activism. Before the formal Family Co-op began in June of 1968, people coped with a lack of affordable daycare, and often inadequate babysitting service off campus.⁷ Greco remembers: “I have a niece and a nephew who went to a daycare that was a living room with a television and the kids sat there all day. They called it a daycare and they paid for it that way.”⁸ Shaw recalls that “the women and men involved in the early daycare were desperately in need of childcare for their children and for themselves.”⁹ Shaw’s perception contrasts with the one big happy “Family” daycare image. Many students struggled, or even accepted substandard care for their children because the choices

⁶ People did not identify with social labels readily. “The people thronging Love Street [Kitsilano’s 4th Avenue] did not consider themselves part of an organized movement, and very few referred to themselves as hippies.” Daniel Ross, “Panic On Love Street: Citizens and Local Government Respond to Vancouver’s Local Hippie Problem, 1967-1968,” *BC Studies, The British Columbian Quarterly*, no.180 (Winter 2013/14), 22.

⁷ “Evidence that owner-operated “Mom and Pop” operations may be the least safe places for children flies in the face of much commonly accepted wisdom. Most critics of commercial care reserve their harshest criticism for chain, franchised care, and tend to be less concerned about single-owner centres. Evidence suggests this criticism should be precisely inverted: in the strictest terms of quality, chain day care is not the most troubling.” Susan Prentice, “The Business of Childcare: The Issue of Auspice,” in *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Larry Prochner and Nina Howe (Vancouver: UBC Press 2000), 281.

⁸ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

⁹ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

were so limited. Kilian Ermachild explains that prior to the SFU Family Co-op daycare starting the childcare arrangement for her daughter was not ideal:

My little girl went to this perfectly horrible woman, in my neighbourhood, near my little apartment.... I later found out [this woman] was pretty mean but it took me awhile to figure it out. She had a bunch of kids of her own. So, [when] the daycare opened I took [my daughter] out [of that situation] and it was like a miracle. It was so wonderful to bring her with me, to be able to check in on her during the day and go back and study. Before I could never stay on campus and make friends or go to the library or do anything. I was like a taxi with the meter running.¹⁰

Off campus daycare was often of poor quality. Without daycare on campus there was a long drive down the hill and then to the babysitter to unite parents and their children at the end of the day. "When the baby was with the babysitter, the minute my class was out I got [my daughter] and went home to study. And then when the [Family Co-op] daycare opened that's when I could stay on campus and that's when I blossomed as a student."¹¹ The need to be closer to their children on an isolated campus and have their children cared for in an environment designed by parents who were student citizens within the university community motivated SFU parents to act. If this meant confronting the social paradigms associated with daycare in the 1960s, as well as challenging Cold War models of family life, and if this entailed experimentation, innovation, and forging new methods and approaches, then so be it.

Co-operative and Participatory Childcare Designed by SFU Parents

By September 1968, the SFU Family daycare was well established and organized with parents working and agreeing on foundational principles. Harding remembers the daycare started by agreeing to a common philosophy and goals regarding childcare and family. "The daycare was a non-conflicting group. It ran very well and we all enjoyed each other and each other's kids. There weren't a lot of high rollers, entitled middle class, or professionals who wanted to make sure their kid got everything. There really was a communal care ethic."¹² This approach to childcare challenged a

¹⁰ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹¹ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹² Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

number of postwar trends discussed in the introduction. The emphasis on cooperation and parental participation challenged the belief that parents should cede authority to professional “experts.” And the emphasis on the participation of fathers challenged beliefs that women were the ‘natural’ caregivers and nurturers of children. Kilian Ermachild recalls that in the daycare, “Our working theory was about social democracy and participatory democracy.”¹³ She remembers that the Leftists in her generation were not much attracted to the values of the Old Left, by this time associated with the authoritarianism of the Soviet Union:

We younger people were not attracted to the USSR or to Imperialism/militarism/colonialism. We were learning to be anti-colonial, pro-liberation struggle, anti-Apartheid, etc. We wanted horizontal structures that included everyone, consensus decision-making, equality for women’s voices. We wanted the children to also have agency, be respected as people. Our generation had a whole new ideal. It was this egalitarian ideal to include more people and not have these big structures and lack of freedom. If you translate that into the daycare then you have a co-operative where everyone participates equally, and the children are raised to be these new type of people, with much more autonomy, and creativity, and unstructured time.¹⁴

Daycare founders like Harding and Kilian Ermachild remember that the majority of the Family Co-op parents were single mothers. Single mothers enrolled in university studies were not a common demographic in the 1960s, especially when daycare was scarce.¹⁵ Women, students, and mothers at SFU who challenged the status quo and formed a daycare co-operative acted out of need, but they also proceeded from a conviction that social change was necessary and possible. With postwar peace and mainstream affluence, a better educated and youthful baby boom generation was eager

¹³ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹⁴ Melody Kilian Ermachild email correspondence, August 18, 2016

¹⁵As underscored the introduction of this thesis, single motherhood was shameful and strongly disapproved of in the 1960s. “The image of the unwed mother as a ‘moral lawbreaker’ changed in the 1960s to the unwed mother as a social problem.” Susan Crawford, “Public Attitudes in Canada toward Unmarried Mothers, 1950-1996,” *Past Imperfect*, 6, (1997), 111-132. “Only 9 percent of children lived with single parents in the 1960s.” Paul R. Amato, Sarah Patterson, and Brett Beattie, “Single-Parent Households and Children’s Educational Achievement: A State-Level Analysis,” *Social Science Research*, 53 (September 2015), 191-202. See also: Statistics Canada, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015002-eng.htm> Johnston notes that at SFU In 1965, “62 per cent of those attending were male and 38 per cent were female.” Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 117. It is unknown how many single mothers attended SFU in the 1960s but of the 2500 students enrolled in 1965, there were 950 women and only a fraction would have been single mother/students. In the 1960s less than 10 percent of households were headed by single parents overall and less than 20 percent of high school graduates attended university.

for social reforms and this meant challenging the status quo or established order. This is what parents and more specifically women at SFU did when they pursued higher education and began the fight for campus daycare. In the 1960s women entered university in unparalleled numbers and this influx was supported by contemporary feminist philosophers and writers. While women were not raised to express or form strong opinions on matters outside of the home unless it echoed agreement or support of their fathers or husbands, what emerged during the late 1960s, particularly among a better educated baby boom population, were women who independently challenged the status quo, expressed their opinions, and were thus considered by mainstream society as radical. Yandle remembers: "When I graduated from high school, although I wanted to go to university, it never for a moment crossed my mind that I wouldn't be a house wife...that I would get married and have kids. Well, people graduating in 1969 didn't think that. In the back of their minds they may still have had the Cinderella complex, but yes it was a wildly different period of time."¹⁶ Women at SFU were influenced by this "wildly different period of time."

It is not surprising that single fathers were also present in the Family Co-op. More surprising and even more radical, perhaps, is that the Co-op made space for the participation of men and women who were childless. In doing so, they challenged the tight boundaries around who was considered "family" and argued for a space in which a diverse range of people could actively and collectively help raise and nurture young children. The August 14, 1968 letter sent to the President's Office stressed that single mothers, single fathers, and men and women without children were active in and involved in the Family:

Some of the men in the Family are student fathers, for whom the financial participatory advantages are primary, just as for the student mothers. Many of the men and women in the Family are students who have no children of their own but who are friends of the Family's children, and therefore part of the Family. There are not many legitimate channels for the open expression of affection in our culture. Men in general are cut off from the process of child raising, and certainly from usual daycare arrangements. The Family provides an opportunity for men to participate in our collective growth. The men and the children benefit alike.¹⁷

¹⁶ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

¹⁷ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative, sent to the president's office. 14 August 1968.

The daycare fathers were forerunners in the mission to breakdown traditional paternalistic norms that excluded men as nurturers and caregivers. As historian Sonya Michel writes, “in seeking to transform the way in which young children are reared, feminist child care advocates inevitably challenge fundamental social values and cultural traditions.”¹⁸ The daycare parents contested established paradigms about expertise, nuclear families, and gender roles as they tried to create an alternative and co-operative movement. The SFU daycare challenged Cold War norms about gender and caregiving, and by constructing an unconventional and co-operative establishment, the Family was unavoidably political.

The need for daycare at SFU, or any other post-secondary institution, is established when students, faculty, or staff give birth or parent children. As daycare advocate Susan Prentice argues, childcare should be about “community-building, citizenship, and entitlement,” and accessible childcare should be “seen as a right much like health care and education is the right of all Canadians.”¹⁹ The powers that defined standards of normative gendered behaviour in the postwar era were also the forces that discouraged the concept of daycare. These Cold War values about gender and family life were larger issues that were challenged by SFU students, the feminist movement, and the daycare movement. Yandle remembers:

There was tremendous pressure on women to stay at home and there was all sorts of sanctions against women who went to school or went to work. There was a lot of emotional blackmail. You were made to feel guilty if you weren't at home with your kids. That persists even to this day. There is that sense if your children are really young, you really really should be at home. To have a daycare in a university was an acknowledgement of the fact that there were people there, especially women, who were entitled to be there, even though they had children. So in that sense that was a breakthrough.²⁰

SFU student/parents rebelled against the negative stigma that was attached to daycare and that prevailed into the 1960s. As well, student/parents defied socially powerful actors like the SFU administration which opposed campus daycare, and the administrative and bureaucratic standards imposed by off-campus authorities like the fire marshal and child welfare representatives. Their motivation was a fundamental desire to

¹⁸ Sonya Michel and Rianne Mahon, *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 333.

¹⁹ Susan Prentice, “The Business of Childcare,” 288.

²⁰ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

make life better for parents and children. The founders of the SFU daycare acted as radically as their need for change dictated. Hard-won daycare victories benefitted mothers, fathers and their children. This was ultimately possible because the daycare founders had strong convictions as a group and with the establishment of the SDU, the student body started to act together for political change, and with consciousness raising, women began to unify and support each other.

Mothers, fathers, and the Co-op Family friends experienced a new vision of parenting and caregiving through participation in the daycare. Beginning in the 1960s, feminist theorists in particular drew on criticisms of the alienation of the nuclear family model in order to propose new ways of childcare. While some of that critique of gendered, nuclear family models was shared with the New Left, feminists were particularly concerned with the subordination of women within traditional family structures. The August 14th 1968 letter to the President's Office from the Family states:

The Simon Fraser co-op is an experiment in a new kind of family—an experiment in collective responsibility and affection. It is also an experiment in the growth and maintenance of an informal, 'grass roots' organization. The Family grew spontaneously in response to a need. Its form and structure change daily and weekly, and the children remind us hourly of what spontaneity is. For two months we have run a democratic Family, each one doing his part to keep it going.²¹

Kilian Ermachild's participation in PSA department consciousness raising seminars, her involvement in the SFU Women's caucus, and her life as a single mother inspired her to think and write about the difficulties associated with child raising and how those difficulties intersected with larger structures of oppression and alienation. In an undated article titled "Daycare," likely released between September 1968 or early 1969, she drew on feminist and socialist theories about gender roles, paid labour, and exploitation to explore problems in the structure and functioning of the nuclear family. Kilian Ermachild would have been an active member of the Family Co-op, SDU, and Women's Caucus by this time:

We must remember that it has been only a very short time that the family has taken the form that we find so normal. In almost every society before industrialization people lived in far more extended groups than the mama-papa-baby unit we now know. It has only been since factories and offices became men's work places, requiring them to group around them in small

²¹ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative, sent to the president's office. 14 August 1968.

units and breaking down the extended family that people have lived so isolated, cooped in tiny apartments or deadly commuter suburbia, the children isolated with only those two people. And upon examination, we must say that this form of living together and raising children has been a dismal failure and particularly stunting to the mother who is isolated, crippled, and alienated from previous activities and friendships and sources of stimulation she knew before.²²

Other women referred specifically to the isolation and alienation of motherhood. Gini Shaw recalled the women at SFU who shared babysitting before the establishment of the Family. “The women I worked with I remember as being really desperately strung out mothers. They really needed help.”²³ The unsigned August 14th letter sent to the SFU administration attests to the same concerns about loneliness and alienation. “Some of the women in the Family are wives of students, staff and faculty. For these women the Co-op serves to prevent the isolation from university social life, group and inquiry which is so often experienced by adult students with families off campus. For university wives, the time spent with the Family is time away from the neurosis-causing boredom and vacuity of the home and a chance to participate in the campus lives of their husbands.”²⁴ Daycare was a way to break down the isolation experienced by many women in the postwar nuclear family model.

With a newly established Family Co-op daycare successfully occupying space in the Academic Quadrangle, the parents continued to organize and to philosophically agree on new models of care provision. The sixties marked an era of social and philosophical change that challenged postwar standards of family and childrearing. In the 1960s some parents were influenced by non-traditional education methods and by newer trends in education which emphasized creativity, exploratory play, and non-hierarchical relationships with educators. This philosophy stood in sharp contrast from mainstream ideas about proper education of children.

Philosophies of creative and non-hierarchical childrearing were developed in reaction to mainstream practices of education in the Cold War era and were especially concerned with the mass automatization of children’s education. Children in the Cold War era were taught to be orderly and attentive, while responding to rote methods of

²² SFUA. Women’s Caucus papers fonds, 1970, F 111-2-0-1-0. Melody Kilian, Daycare. 1969.

²³ Gini Shaw interview, April 19, 2016

²⁴ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter from the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative, sent to the president’s office. 14 August 1968.

memorization and repetition. Failure to comply with classroom rules and expectations could result in corporal punishment. Provincial approaches to education in this period grew from a 1960 Social Credit government royal commission appointed by the Social Credit government. Named the Chant Commission, the commission was asked to study BC's education system in response to a general feeling by the Social Credit government that education in North America was 'soft' and not equal to the challenge posed by the scientific advances made by Russia in the 'Sputnik' era. Chant recommended a return to the 'puritan ethic' in education, developing the view that youth should be educated to serve a useful function in society, in contrast to the permissive approach based on free choice in the selection of studies to develop the talent of individual children to the fullest.²⁵ Conversely, in January 1971, correspondence with Community Care Licencing and the SFU administration states that the Family daycare kept a "totally free atmosphere where the child was allowed to run up and down at his own discretion."²⁶ This non-structure was still in force by November 1973 when an internal memo to the daycare membership stated that within the BMDCS there is a "given" that there exists "both the concept of a generally open and free flowing environment for our children and the idea that parents have a right and a responsibility to be actively involved in the day to day operations of the society."²⁷ The Family parents wanted their children to create and explore, free of educational impositions that dampened curiosity or spontaneity.

The Family educational structure may have been a reaction to the functionalist approach to education that the Social Credit government had adopted. Progressive educators and psychologists like John Dewey, Jean Piaget, B.F. Skinner, A.S. Neill, and Eric Fromm no doubt influenced the childcare philosophy of the daycare parents, many of whom were students of education, philosophy, or enrolled in the Political Science, Sociology, and Anthropology departments at SFU. Dewey innovated twentieth century educational theories by claiming that the school room "with its rows of ugly desks placed in geometrical order" is based on "old education.....made for listening" or passivity rather

²⁵ Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 42.

²⁶ SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter to Mrs. Maycock from Chris Petty and S.P. Viswanathan per the Family Co-op. 8 January 1971.

²⁷ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 2), F 229.0,0,0.2. memo from Anna Benoit and Hank Benoit, to BMDCS membership. November 1973.

than for construction and creation.²⁸ Skinner believed in freedom without punitive repercussion. He argued that “in spite of our supposed love of freedom, most of our practices in government, education, psychotherapy, and industry are still heavily punitive.”²⁹ Skinner encouraged learning environments that encouraged good behaviour and eliminated the need for punishment. Erich Fromm also weighed in on behaviour modification, not by eliminating punitive exercises but rather by behavioural manipulation that required an understanding of the social character of a culture. He argued that “if parents really wish that their children be not only successful but also to be mentally healthy, they must consider as essential those norms and values that lead to mental health and not only those that lead to success.”³⁰ Piaget was a psychologist interested in the developmental stages of children. He advocated for exploration of childhood “intellectual development in its creative spontaneity, without distorting it by a priori assumptions drawn from our experience with adult thought.”³¹ But in comparison to Dewey, Fromm, and Piaget, A.S. Neill was one of the most radical and progressive educators of his time. He was the founder of the Summerhill School, an experimental institution that encouraged children’s freedom and self-governance without adult coercion. He argued that “a child is innately wise and realistic. If left to himself without adult suggestion of any kind, he will develop as far as he is capable of developing.”³²

All of these arguments about respecting children’s autonomy and creativity in a non-hierarchical learning environment influenced the educational philosophies of the Family. Harding recalls that “there was a lot of incredible writing about creativity as well as intellectual and social development of children based on a different model than the model that had become quite dominant in the North American nuclear family.”³³ As a psychology professor at Lakehead University, Harding “tried to get people to de-compartmentalize their life so they would not see their children as a burden. That was an

²⁸ John Dewey, *The School and Society* (1900, repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 34.

²⁹ B. F. Skinner, “Freedom and Dignity Revisited,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1972, 29.

³⁰ Erich Fromm, “The Influence of Social Factors in Child’s Development,” Erich Fromm, n.d. accessed, June 2018 <http://etype5.pagesperso-orange.fr/NewFiles/fromm.html#child>

³¹ John H Flavell, *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget* (Princeton, N.J., Van Nostrand, 1963), 3.

³² Alexander Sutherland Neill, *Summerhill A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (New York: Hart 1960), 4.

³³ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

undercurrent in the 60s.”³⁴ Kilian Ermachild’s 1969 article “Children Are Only Littler People,” developed this argument with a specifically feminist perspective. She argued that “it seems to me that our problem in Women’s Caucus is not only how to prevent unwanted children but also how to create the possibility of wanted children for ourselves. How can we have babies in a society that makes babies burdens to everyone, particularly to women, and at the same time not lose our ability to work effectively to destroy this inhumane system?”³⁵

Kilian Ermachild’s approach echoes current feminist arguments that reproductive justice encompasses the right to have children in society that values and nurtures those children as well as the people who care for them. She challenged women’s liberation groups to “strive to have adequate child care facilities provided wherever women need them, and most especially to those women who need them the most. There should be child care centres in every neighbourhood, in every place of work, whether factory or office building, where numbers of women are employed, and in every college and university.”³⁶ Kilian’s concerns are best understood in the framework of a “reproductive justice” model, explained by scholars and activists as “the human right to maintain personal bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and sustainable communities.”³⁷ Reproductive justice moves beyond the single issue of abortion rights to advocate for a broadly focused liberation of women’s choices supported by society.³⁸ To achieve reproductive justice, there must be a dismantling of social inequities and power structures, and an acknowledgment that individuals are interdependent members of families and communities that rely on each other to provide healthy environments. This was the ideal that some feminists and activists believed that women’s groups should strive for, but as detailed in chapter one, the SFU WC was initially focused on how to prevent unwanted pregnancies rather than on how to raise wanted and loved children. The idea that all individuals are

³⁴ Ibid. “The distressing fact is, that in our society children are a burden, and chiefly a burden to women. It is a society that provides very poorly for its own Young.” Melody Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People...or the louis riel university family co-op,” in *Women Unite* (Vancouver: 1969, repr. Toronto: Canadian Women’s Educational Press, pg. 90-99, 1972), 93.

³⁵ Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People, 93.

³⁶ SFUA. Women’s Caucus papers fonds, 1970, F 111-2-0-1-0. Melody Kilian, Daycare, 1969.

³⁷ Sister Song, “Reproductive Justice,” Sister Song: Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective, accessed, May 2018. <https://www.sistersong.net/reproductive-justice/>

³⁸ Shannon Stettner, Kristin Burnett, and Travis Hay, “Introduction,” in *Abortion History, Politics, and Reproductive Justice After Morgentaler* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 16.

interdependent and part of families and communities was rejected by SFU administration when they denied the establishment of campus childcare for the children of students or university employees. The SFU Family daycare parents challenged this rejection of their philosophy as parents who “came together to take common action to satisfy their needs.”³⁹ The Family understood the university as a power structure erected to satisfy the needs of an industrial capitalist society and thus biased towards regulation and administrative control.

Clearly, freedom, spontaneity, creativity, and self-development without adult interference or punishment was the progressive formula that knowledgeable open-minded parents, like members of the SFU Family, wanted for their children’s education. Years later, the Family was remembered as a group of “empowered parents” who had “a great deal at stake in directing the care of their children.”⁴⁰ The Family was focused on raising “these new type of people, with much more autonomy, and creativity and unstructured time.”⁴¹ Harding concedes:

My background in child psychology was probably having a little bit of influence on how I was thinking. The Montessori philosophy was in the background and there was a free school starting out of Toronto and there were people around trying to initiate alternatives for early childhood development. Part of the shift in the sixties was to a libertarian- socialist, humanitarian, tradition, attached to more left wing socioeconomic policies. Government policies in and of themselves don’t create alternatives. By the time kids go to school most of their fundamental brain and emotional development has happened. So, if you want humans to have more of a socially positive interpersonal approach, and if you are challenging the Hobbesian notion that we’re all instinctively greedy and selfish, then where better to start than with early childhood. The libertarian movement at that time was very much communitarian.⁴²

Harding and Kilian Ermachild held similar views about the importance of valuing children and integrating them into the larger community. Harding believed that “children were able to participate and they were not pre-human disruptive problems...Children were part of the community and they should be part of the student movement. They should be part of the university community.”⁴³ Clearly, many people in the early Family

³⁹ SFUA. Women’s Caucus papers fonds, 1970, F 111-2-0-1-0. Melody Kilian, Daycare. 1969.

⁴⁰ SFUA. Joyce Branscombe taped interview, F 149-5-0-0-0-1. March 1998.

⁴¹ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁴² Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

⁴³ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

Co-op were philosophically in agreement with this approach. Kilian Ermachild remembers: “We were smart and creative and we did everything you could do with kids. I think that we were likeminded. We were all university educated people.”⁴⁴

The daycare from the beginning was committed to a non-hierarchical and co-operative structure. When the Family Co-op began, “some students needed to leave a child in the Family room only for a few hours per week, others needed child care nearly full time. Some students had two children, some only had one. No one could predict his or her schedule rigidly.”⁴⁵ Each parent involved in the daycare committed to a four and a half hour shift each week with another parent, regardless of how many hours they left their children in care. Exchanging shift time by paying another parent, or trading with another parent, was unwaveringly discouraged. Kilian Ermachild admits that some of the parents were more available and giving of their time than others and this was an internal problem that had to be resolved. She remembers that one of the daycare policies that the parents agreed on to foster independence in the children was that parents should say goodbye to their child when they dropped them off, and then just go, and let another parent comfort the child. “No lingering and tears because the parent on duty was there for the child and the child would soon realize this.”⁴⁶ After a period of adjustment, parents believed that the children became more trusting of the other parents, shared well with each other, and displayed an uncommon confidence and sense of independence. For the daycare parents the Family Co-op was the answer to their pressing need for childcare and as inconvenient, inadequate, and contested the occupied space remained, it was nevertheless theirs.

Accommodations and Compromise

For the parents in the Family, the daycare provided a sense of creative educational possibility as well as a much-needed service. For the SFU administration, the daycare was potentially a source of trouble. Some of the daycare parents were known as student radicals. The non-structure of the daycare in particular was problematic for the university because there was no single person in charge to appeal to

⁴⁴ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁴⁵ Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People, 94.

⁴⁶ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

or negotiate directly with. When the Family Co-op asked the university for approval to operate in principle, the university responded with a long list of conditions that were impossible to meet because the daycare space itself was inadequate. The administration was especially concerned by the loose supervision of the children and this concern became more apparent within the first year of operation. A July 21, 1969 Memorandum to Mr. George Suart, Vice President for Administration, from William DeVries, Director of Physical Plant and Planning, reveals this concern with supervision at the daycare, and the potential liability for the university:

Mr. Devenyl has advised me that at a number of times he has seen very young children wading and jumping around in the Reflection Pool. He also mentioned that it was not very clear whether or not they were properly supervised. The university has taken a laissez-faire attitude for so long with regard to the day Care Centre that it almost appears that the Day Care Centre is an accepted fact. If so, should there not be proper supervision of the children. Is the university protected in the event that something should happen?⁴⁷

The Family's vision, according to Harding, was of "children growing up freer and self-governing and not under patriarchal rule."⁴⁸ Consequently, the Family Co-op children were allowed to be independent and were often left unsupervised. The children felt themselves to be a part of the university, and often ventured out into the mall unattended to listen to music or wandered off to explore the outdoor wading pool. DeVries was correct in assuming that the daycare was an "accepted fact," but this did not mean that the university had no concerns about safety and liability. The SFU administration's concerns about the children's safety would remain throughout the founding years of the daycare because there was no fenced-in play area or even a playground for the children until 1972, when a group of students from the Faculty of Education built the daycare a wilderness landscape playground.

By the fall of 1968, the daycare was still functioning on shaky ground. But it was likely allowed to operate because the university administration was already distracted by what would turn out to be another year of radical political disorder at SFU. The political disorder at SFU preoccupied the governing body of the university and it likely drew the

⁴⁷ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Memorandum to Mr. George Suart, Vice President, for Administration from Wm. DeVries, Director of Physical Plant and Planning. 21 July 1969.

⁴⁸ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

disapproving gaze of the SFU administration away from the daycare occupation. In November 1968 the SDU protested how transfer credits from British Columbia colleges did not articulate to equal credits at SFU. Students transferring into SFU in their third year were not necessarily given academic credit for their courses taken elsewhere. In response to these criticisms, “nearly 180 students, led by campus members of the SDU occupied four floors of the administration offices, still located in the library building.”⁴⁹ After fifty-four hours of occupation SFU Chancellor Strand called on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to clear the building and arrest the 114 students still remaining. “Altogether, over one hundred unarmed police officers were on the scene; and they achieved surprise by blocking off the road to the university while Vice-President Stuart cut off both pay phones and regular phones in the occupied building.”⁵⁰ This occupation was a radical action that had repercussions for the occupiers and it awakened further student, public, and government reaction on and off campus.

Possibly due to this November protest and the university response, very little is documented regarding the daycare in the fall of 1968 and through the spring of 1969. There was a great deal of posturing and stalling over the first year of operation between the Family Co-op and the SFU administration. “I remember us as defiant,” says Kilian Ermachild, “and with the attitude that if they did not want us where we were, they should find and support another space.”⁵¹ The Co-op continued to be noncompliant with the administration’s requests for official licencing and structure but was still allowed to function without interference. However, the Family knew that this non-compliance would have to end, although they hoped that day would come later rather than sooner. While the Family wanted to continue a creative and non-hierarchical education approach, they also wanted improved facilities. They knew that better accommodation and more stable funding would probably require official university recognition and an official licence to operate. And to receive a licence, they knew that they would have to adhere to specific sets of government and university regulations.

The archival record shows that no matter how much individual Family members might wish to maintain their co-operative approach, they had begun to consider the

⁴⁹ Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 282.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁵¹ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

steps toward regulation and incorporation by 1969. By February 1969, the daycare parents agreed to begin the process of incorporation.⁵² The Family was contemplating contacting Mrs. Maycock, a British Columbia Department of Human Resources consultant with the Welfare Institutions Licencing Board (WILB), Daytime Services for Children, about the steps for licencing. This contact was likely made because by July 1969, after the daycare had been in operation for over a year, a letter from the BC Department of Social Welfare was sent to Ken Strand, SFU's acting president. The Department of Social Welfare asked for 12 improvements before Burnaby could approve the licencing. These included both large and small-scale interventions, including an exit sign; second egress to the outside; more supervision of public washrooms use; improved drinking water facilities; improved sanitary service of milk and juice; cots and mattresses for rest periods; clean linen and bedding; limiting child-care to pre-school children; provisions for hanging up clothing; proper storage; and clear regulations on the number of children being cared for, especially in the eight to ten years of age category. These older children in the daycare were actually the children of students or siblings of children in the daycare who were off school for statutory or summer holidays, and whose parents had no other available childcare. As mentioned earlier, in the first summer of operation, the daycare enrolment totaled 59 children. The number of improvements needed to the physical space, as well as the level of staffing needed to properly regulate the teacher-child ratio, would require extensive university funding.

About the time this letter was sent to Ken Strand, Melody Kilian wrote the article "Children are only Littler People." At this time the daycare was operating much as it had in June 1968 but as Kilian's article attests, there were already problems that the daycare knew it would have to address. She writes that within the non-hierarchical daycare, it "has been surprisingly easy to maintain the structure. We communicate via a bulletin board and telephone calls. The only person with any specialized job is the mother who collects \$1. per week for juice, crackers and supplies. There is no division of labour at all. People do the work for which they are best suited."⁵³ But Kilian Ermachild's article

⁵² In a November 10, 1970, letter, C. J. McGilvery director of SFU Student Affairs wrote an early chronology of the Family and sent it to Chris Petty who represented the Family by November of 1970. Many of the documents that McGilvery mentioned cannot now be found but nevertheless briefly annotated. SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter, C. J. McGilvery to Chris Petty. November 1970.

⁵³ Kilian, "Children Are Only Littler People, 97.

reveals that even as the daycare struggled to retain this non-hierarchical structure, there were consequences for non-compliance with SFU's administrative demands:

In order to operate legally we must become licensed as a day care centre under the BC law. This requires that we hire a licensed supervisor. We don't want to do that. We must also incorporate as a legal society. In order to do that we must elect officers, write a constitution and set rules. We do not want to do this, so we have negotiated with the government licensing agent for 10 months and hope to become licensed as we are, as an experimental project. The administrators are unhappy with our lack of legal status and want us to incorporate and become an ancillary service of the university, under their hegemony. The BC Welfare offers us \$1. per day per child if we will hire a licensed supervisor. No one will give us money without officers responsible for it, although we did get \$500/ for toys from Students' Council as a club. We would rather do without money than change our structure. If we suddenly had money to spend, some people would have to decide how to spend it, would have to sign cheques, and our roles would have to become more specialized anddistort our working together.....while working through money and rules.⁵⁴

After writing this article and graduating from SFU, Kilian Ermachild left Vancouver after the summer of 1969 to work in the United States. That fall, the daycare started a slow transformation towards regulation and licensing, much to the chagrin of many parents. *The Peak* article by Ros Pickett in September 1969 reiterates much of what Kilian's article covered but clarifies certain administrative particulars, as well as developments within the daycare. Pickett pointed out that the Co-op had to elect officers and develop a written constitution before it could access money from BC Welfare and receive a licensed supervisor. His article reflects some of the conflicting feelings within the Family. Clearly some parents were finding it difficult to meet the time commitments required to keep the daycare running on a voluntary and co-operative basis. Yet hiring staff and supervisor risked "contaminating" the vision of the Family. Pickett argued:

A licensed supervisor would relieve some anxiety when faced with insufficient parents to fulfill the schedule requirements. Also, once licensed and incorporated, the co-op would receive recognition and charitable benevolence from SFU administration. (In view of the present situation at SFU, this appears to be a blessing we are fortunate to be denied!⁵⁵) This particular hurdle has been crossed by charging a fee for the care of children - \$15.00 per month per family—and using these funds to hire a supervisor independently. So far, the co-

⁵⁴ Ibid. 98.

⁵⁵ By September 1969 the PSA department at SFU was involved in what would be a five week student strike.

op remains unlicensed, unincorporated, and thus escapes the worst of institutionalized contamination.⁵⁶

On August 7, 1969 a memo from Lolita Wilson to L. Srivastava, Vice-president Academic, advised that “the Day Care service as exists be discontinued (as it does not meet licencing requirements and group has done nothing to meet requirements in 1 year).”⁵⁷ Wilson suggested dismantling the current daycare and moving it to a more suitable space, such as a trailer or the proposed University Union Building. The Family must have been aware of Wilson’s position because the following month, a response from the daycare affirmed their commitment to comply with provincial regulations. Dean Wilson jumped at this concession and arranged a meeting between the Burnaby and Provincial Welfare Department and representatives of the Day Care Centre. At the meeting, requirements for operation within the law and eligibility for licencing and government grants were identified. The daycare agreed that an application for a licence would be submitted to the Provincial Child Care Department who would then initiate inspection by the municipality. By October 7th, “Wilson met with a representative of the Day Care Centre and with the Building Inspector, Fire Prevention Officer, and Public Health Officer for the Municipality of Burnaby. Municipality will advise of specific adjustments needed before a licence can be granted. Maximum number of children now 25 with suggested changes.”⁵⁸ Despite ultimatums, demands, and good intentions, it would be over a year before the Co-op significantly complied with demands.

There was not a great deal of correspondence between the daycare and the administration in the summer or fall of 1969 and that may have been due to the continuing political conflict at SFU. In 1969, the conflict within the PSA department ended in a five-week strike that started in September 1969 and involved professors, teaching assistants, and students. The strike disturbed the university at all levels until the conflict was controlled late in 1969. As was the case leading up to the June 1968 sit-in, the administration was determined to control the hiring and firing of faculty at SFU. Faculty, backed by Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) and generally supported by students, sought to rectify their lack of power in hiring and contractual

⁵⁶ *The Peak*, Sept. 17 1969, 16.

⁵⁷ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Memo from Lolita Wilson to L. Srivastava, Acting daycare President. 7 August 1969.

⁵⁸ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Document describing L. Wilson’s meeting with municipal officials, 7 October 1969.

negotiations. Within the PSA Department, professors sought to democratize internally by giving students parity through joint student/professor committees that would consider the tenure, contract renewal, and promotion of professors. The SFU administration had considered allowing interdepartmental committee involvement in professors' teaching assignments and had initiated departmental participation but not with student representation or veto power.⁵⁹ The PSA Department philosophy that education should be "grounded on the participation and control from below and designed to serve the needs of the people of British Columbia" was an added irritation to an administration that believed the university was an elite organization established to serve the needs of the professional and business community.⁶⁰ PSA professor Mordecai Briemberg argued that "the same people who control the university also control the major businesses in the province" and they use the same tactics of control that they use against the labour movements.⁶¹ The administration's rejection of student involvement and their refusal to renew the PSA teaching contracts of Kathleen Aberle and John Leggett in the spring and summer of 1969 simply fueled the strike.⁶²

The PSA department had a reputation for radicalism and many of its professors and students were both Marxists and SDU members. Loney saw the radical student faction as the vital force in fueling the strike:

The counter-revolution [at SFU] thought that if they could chop the head off the Political Science, Anthropology, and Sociology Department then they would stop the rot. There was a condescending assumption that somehow without the radical faculty the students would settle down and see sense. Whereas the faculty in many ways were being dragged along by the students rather than vice versa. In my view the faculty were not the instigators and leaders, it was the graduate students and some of the [other] students who were the instigators and leaders.⁶³

⁵⁹ Although the student body supported the demands of the faculty, the faculty did not support or negotiate with the students until after the June 4, 1968 sit-in. (see Appendix A)

⁶⁰ *The Peak*, July 16, 1969, 3.

⁶¹ Mordecai Briemberg interview, quoted in, Ian Milligan, "Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward-Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University," in *BC Studies: The British Columbia Quarterly*, no. 171 (Autumn 2011), 81.

⁶² Johnston, *Radical Campus*, 309; Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 289; *The Peak*, May 28, 1969, 1. and, July 16, 1969, 1.,

⁶³ Martin Loney interview, August 9, 2016

The strike was led by nine PSA faculty members and supported by many of the department's students. The strike was ended by a provincial Supreme Court injunction that restricted "unlawful picketing, coercion, and intimidation" and persuaded striking students not to persist.⁶⁴ Ultimately, the university fired twelve teaching assistants and suspended eight PSA professors. Some of the professors, such as PSA department head Mordecai Briemberg, established the Community Education and Research Centre (CERC), in downtown Vancouver.⁶⁵ But the aftermath for many was devastating and the professional and emotional fallout from the strike continued through several more years of dismissal, contestation, review, and CAUT censure.

The upheaval involving the PSA strike at SFU took the focus of the administration off of the Family Co-op and its problems. In the midst of this larger political turmoil, the Family slowly and gradually moved toward a new model of practice. In the fall of 1969, Mary McNay, a Family parent, and her partner Mick, volunteered to be unlicensed daycare administrators or supervisors. The first time Mary McNay acted officially in this capacity was in November 1969 when she presented herself as the daycare co-ordinator to Mr. J. Gills, Business Manager Oakalla Prison Farm, Burnaby. McNay wrote to inquire about a nursery school kitchen for the Simon Fraser Family Co-op. She was quoted a price of \$27.00 - \$30.00 with a 2 month delivery date. Consequently, she enclosed a purchase order along with a list of equipment the daycare would also like to have made.⁶⁶ This was a significant step forward for the Family, which prior to McNay, had chosen no leader or spokesperson to represent them or to sign correspondence. Although McNay was not a spokesperson, the daycare parents trusted her to act as an informal co-ordinator.

Although the daycare looked like a permanent institution to the Family, the administration appeared uncertain about its future financial commitment. A November 21, 1969 letter from George Suart, Vice-president for Administration, to Dean Brian Wilson, Vice-president of Academic, asks for assurance that it is university policy that there be a daycare centre and that it be in the current location, before he agrees to have

⁶⁴ Milligan, "Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward-Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University," 81.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁶ SFUA. SFU Archives, University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Mary McNay, daycare co-ordinator to Mr. J. Gills, Business Manager Oakalla Prison Farm, Burnaby. 10 November 1969.

a second egress (emergency exit door) put in. The egress was a condition for licencing that first appeared in the July 10, 1969 letter which specified changes before the municipality of Burnaby would give the daycare a licence. It seems that Wilson must have met with the SFU administration and reached a consensus to support a campus daycare going forward. By December of 1969, a letter from Suart to Wilson affirmed that they should plan one day care centre at the university to be approved temporarily in its present location.⁶⁷ They agreed to fix up the present location to suit the daycare but agreed that there should be plans for a future daycare centre in another facility. This was encouraging news for the daycare. Eighteen months after the sit-in and the emergence of the Family Co-op, two important administrators agreed that there should be a permanent daycare centre at the university. This endorsement came right after a politically tempestuous time on campus.

The fall of 1969 saw an important concession between the Family and the university administration. The Family had approved of Mary McNay as a volunteer daycare co-ordinator, and additionally, had agreed to operate within provincial regulations. SFU administration had agreed there should be one approved daycare on campus. The daycare seemed a certainty at least for the moment, although on December 31st 1969 a letter from the Chief Building Inspector, Chief Public Health Inspector, and Fire Prevention Officer from the Municipality of Burnaby to Dean Wilson stated that “a second egress has not yet been provided and if we can't get your co-operation on this matter, we will advise the Provincial Department of Social Welfare that health and safety requirements have not been met and that the Day Care Centre is operating in violation of Provincial regulations.”⁶⁸ The authorities wanted an emergency exit door provided for the daycare. However, as a compromise, the letter stated that an interim licence would be granted if the university agreed to a timeline for completion of a permanent facility that would meet all Provincial requirements. The granting of an interim licence would occur repeatedly over the next few years because the academic quadrangle daycare space would never meet all of the requirements for a properly authorized daycare.

⁶⁷ December 17th 1969 a memo from G. Suart to L. Wilson. SFU Archives F149.2.0.03

⁶⁸ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986. Letter from the Chief Building Inspector, Chief Public Health Inspector, and Fire Prevention Officer (Municipality of Burnaby) to Dean Wilson. F149.2.0.03 31. December 1969.

For the daycare to become viable, it had to satisfy the requirements of the Burnaby and Provincial Welfare Departments, the Provincial Child Care Department, the Municipality of Burnaby Building Inspector and Fire Prevention Officer, the Public Health Officer for the Municipality of Burnaby, the Community Care Facilities Licensing Division, and the BC Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement (Chief Inspector C.W. Gorby), not to mention the demands of the SFU administration. These departments and their terms were well known by the daycare parents. The Family's eighteen-month occupation of the AQ space, temporary approval from the administration, an interim licence to operate, and an emerging image as a "successful day care" centre were all steps forward for the Co-op. But there were still many obstacles to overcome.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the university administrative and governmental parties involved with the daycare displayed goodwill toward the daycare and a measure of tolerance for the occupied space. In the early part of the 1970s, the university administration held off externally imposed pressures exerted on the daycare from different government bodies with repeated apologies and assurances. At the same time, the university asked the daycare Family to supply information about their formal organization so licensing could go forward. The daycare was by now of interest to the university as a potential asset to the image of the university. The university protected the daycare but did so on the condition that the Family complied with university demands. That SFU was accustomed to holding off externally imposed pressures was evident when Alan Smith, the SFU assistant to the president, told the board to "just ignore the health regulations (we ignore other municipal stipulations)."⁷⁰ Ignoring authority in order to buy time was also a lesson learned by the Family. With different government bodies appeased, the Family continued

⁶⁹ The daycare problems at SFU may have been ongoing internally but externally, the co-operative daycare was seen as a *fait accompli*. The Family Co-op establishment looked like a model of success to the University of British Columbia (UBC). In November 1969 the UBC newspaper *The Ubysey* underscored the need for a co-operative daycare on the UBC campus. There was an existing daycare centre at Acadia that had started in 1969, but operated with enrollment and administrative difficulties. UBC daycare organizers had requested that the members of the Louis Riel House Daycare advise them about organizing a similar daycare to the SFU co-operative model. The article advertised a meeting and stated that, "people from the Louis Riel (SFU) Co-operative Day Care will be there to talk about their experiences with university and provincial authorities and to discuss other problems which have arisen in the process of building a now successful day care center." ("Info being gathered about need for day care Centre," *The Ubysey*, November 28, 1969, 2.)

⁷⁰ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter distributed by A. Smith, the SFU assistant to the president, to the SFU administration. 23 September 1968.

to ignore or stall the SFU administration with small concessions and promises until the spring of 1971.

The daycare continued to operate as a non-hierarchical co-operative until the fall of 1970 when the pressure to become licensed again began to mount. At that time, the SFU administration was still asking the Family Co-op if there was a formal organizational structure at the centre, or an elected executive available to approach for representation, information, and negotiation. There was not. For example, McNay unofficially represented the Family in a number of matters at this time, but she was a daycare parent who was not formally trained or licensed. By the fall of 1970 the daycare had occupied the “liberated” space for 27 months (2 years and 3 months) and persisted as an unsupervised, non-hierarchical, and collaborative operation. Although the daycare encouraged unstructured free time and self-directed play for the children, there were snack and lunch times when everyone was expected to sit down together, and parental participation in the daycare followed agreed on principles of education and a schedule of participatory hours. The people interviewed for this dissertation hold a number of explanations for why the university allowed that occupation to continue for so long.

Several interviewees strongly believe that the occupation lasted for so long because SFU simply could not risk any additional conflict during this period. The daycare was popular amongst students and enjoyed a fair degree of support. Shutting it down without providing an alternative may have sparked more student conflict and negative public reaction. Additionally, after several years of sit-ins, rallies, strikes, and dismissals of faculty and TAs, SFU had been criticized for its heavy-handed reaction to student protest. This fear of negative public relations may have been what ultimately protected the daycare from closure. Jim Harding claims:

The SFU administration may have wanted control of the daycare to run as part of their superstructure. They certainly weren't into power sharing. It might have been the first thing that actually challenged their morals when I think about it. I don't believe, in retrospect, that they could touch it. I think that if they had made it an issue, on top of all the other issues, that place would have blown up. I think we had such strong support because we were actually doing things that helped students. Ideologically and practically we had way too much un-tapped support.⁷¹

Martin Loney's memory of this period builds on this idea that the Family benefited from SFU's preoccupation with more radical protests:

⁷¹ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

The counter revolutionaries at SFU did not see the daycare as their primary objective. The administration was targeting a number of the professors among the PSA faculty. They may rightly have assumed that going after children and daycares is just a way to make yourself look silly but by going after faculty you might be able to strike the disease at its very roots.⁷²

Daycare parent Chris Petty explains:

I think they [the SFU administration] all realized that if the administration was heavy handed with the daycare at the time there was no way to win. They were just going to get a black eye about it because they were already heavily criticized in the community about how they were handling the [PSA] strike. So this was [going to look like] the administration coming down heavy handed on these poor little tykes. They kept sort of staying back but then they would push and threaten about you're not doing this and you're not doing that [but we thought] 'yeh well so what'?⁷³

Petty's reaction was part of the "mass defiance" that was used as a tactic from the beginning of the 1968 occupation.⁷⁴ Kilian adds a feminist perspective to this assessment of the relationship between SFU and the Family. Unlike the student protests at the university, which were led largely by young men and which involved demands for radical democratization of the university, the Family was built on the parent-child relationship. Despite longstanding beliefs that childcare was a woman's primary job, it was easier for the university to respond harshly to young activists challenging university authority than young parents asking for childcare while accessing higher education.

Kilian suggests:

The daycare was not shut down by the university because we were too nice of a picture. I think that the last thing that they [the administration] wanted was to be seen dragging all these women and kids out. We would have sat-in with the kids and said okay carry us out of here then. That would have been the worst PR for them. I always felt like we had the power because we were such a great cause and who was going to argue with it. There were plenty of people who thought 'if you wanted to go to a university then why did you have a baby?' I had a professor tell me that too. 'If you wanted to study you shouldn't have gotten pregnant. You shouldn't have had a baby.' They thought, 'why are you entitled to a childcare centre of all things.' The model was Oxford and all male universities.

⁷² Martin Loney interview, August 9, 2016

⁷³ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁷⁴ Donatella Della Porta, and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 146.

[Mothers at university and with children] was absolutely flying in the face of all that tradition.⁷⁵

By 1970, however, changes were in process at the daycare. Some of its most active members were graduating or moving away. Kilian Ermachild left SFU in the summer of 1969 and returned to the United States. Martin Loney also left SFU in 1969. Jim Harding left SFU in the spring of 1970 but his daycare involvement had ended a semester earlier in September of 1969; at that time the daycare had no staff or elected officials. This first group of founding parents were the ones strongly committed to co-operative and non-hierarchical structure, but most of them had left the university by 1970. The first group of parents had not hired any staff and they shared the work of caring for the children. Harding remembers that this work created “real solidarity among the parents.” He claims that “as far as we were concerned it was established and it [the daycare] was going to stay because there was a need for it. People who got involved after the first wave of us were clearly the ones who developed the infrastructure.”⁷⁶ While the daycare did have some parents coming and going with new registration or graduation, and children leaving as they went off to elementary school, the Family Co-op philosophy and structure remained remarkably consistent throughout the early years.

In conclusion, for over two years the Family operated while exercising their co-operative philosophical vision of daycare without financial support or undue interference from administrative officials at the university, the municipality, or the province. The daycare survived even as student protests continued around it. Some activists have suggested that this ongoing political disruption took the focus away from the daycare and allowed it to remain informal and unregulated for so long. However, without licenscing and official recognition, the daycare found it difficult to economically survive and by 1970, pressure to conform to regulatory mandates started to weigh heavily on the Family. By spring 1970 the daycare’s active defiance and refusal to meet specific demands for staffing and regulation were challenged by the university and various municipal departments, causing the daycare parents a great deal of internal friction.

⁷⁵ Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁷⁶ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

Photos

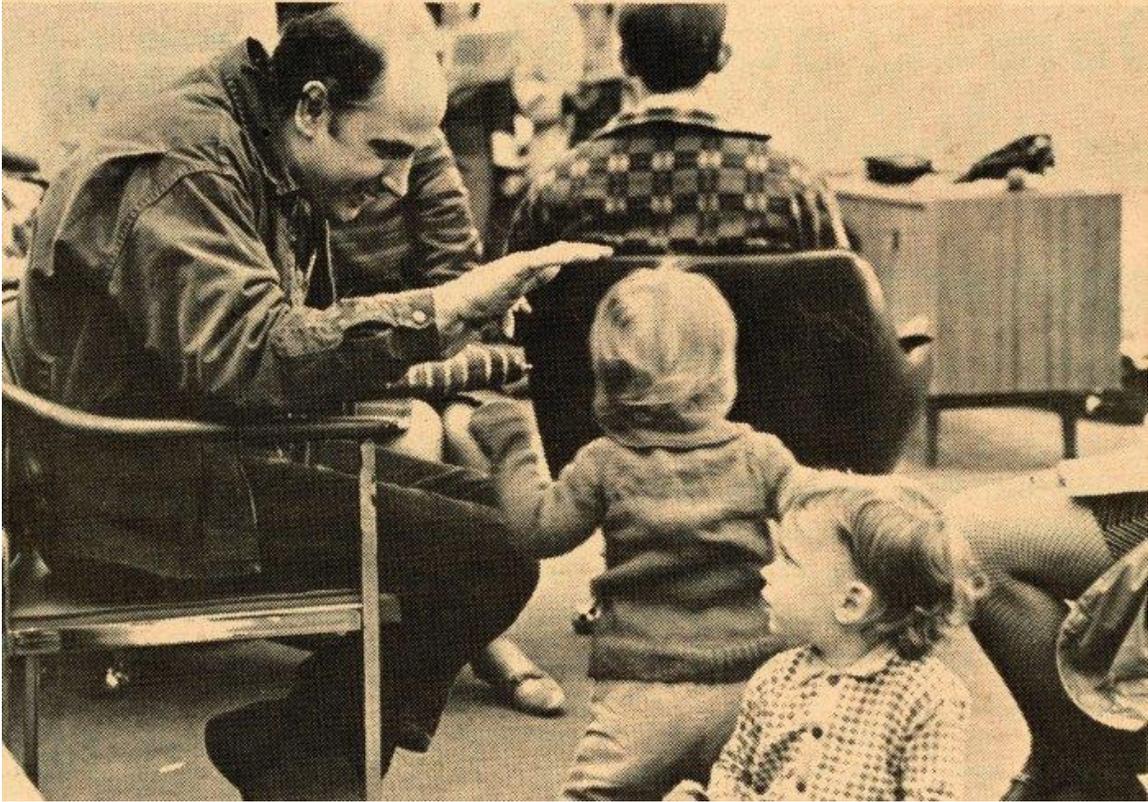


Figure 1 SFU Board of Governors Meeting Room Sit-in, June 1968 (*Peak*, June 12, 1968, 6.)

Reprinted with permission from *The Peak*, SFU.

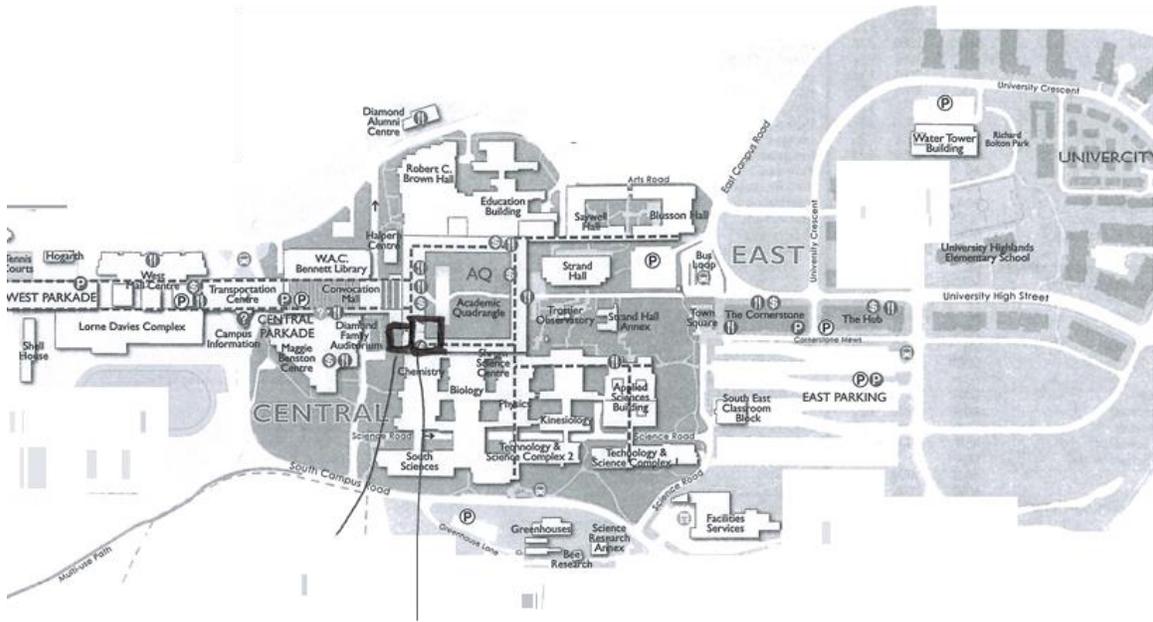


Figure 2 Daycare playground Family Co-op Daycare
 Reprinted by permission of SFU Records and Space Inventory Management, July 12, 2018



Figure 3 Pussy Power Strikes at SFU (*The Peak*, July 3, 1968, 1.)
Meeting of the Feminine Action League. Reprinted with permission from *The Peak*, SFU



Figure 4 The Family Co-op after a year of operation.
The Peak, Sept 17, 1969, 16.)
Reprinted with permission from *The Peak*, SFU.



Figure 5 Daycare children drawn to the music in the Mall

Photo: Brian Kent, *Vancouver Sun*

“Music has charms to still a child’s chatter—at least for a little while. Young fry listen intently to melodies at Simon Fraser University music workshop Tuesday.”



Figure 6 Family Co-op Children riding trikes in the SFU Mall with Ted Sinnott.
(*Peak*, March 14, 1973, 1.)
Reprinted with permission from *The Peak*, SFU.



Figure 7 Adventure Playground, 1972
Permission to print granted by the SFU Childcare Society.



Figure 8 Daycare Toddlers
Permission to print granted by the SFU Childcare Society.



Figure 9 The daycare trailers, donated in 1973
Permission to print granted by SFU Childcare Society.



Figure 10 SFU Family Co-op Children in the unfenced playground
Permission to print granted by Mary Wilson.

Chapter Four

External Pressure and Internal Disruption for the Family Co-op: 1970

“People were pissed off about the idea that we were going to have government certified people in the daycare. We had to survive. Some people left.” Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

“Down from administration came the word that at the end of the day, if we hadn’t ended our sit-in and vacated the space we’d occupied, some Government official would be called in and our kids would be apprehended.” Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

By the fall of 1970 the daycare continued to occupy space and operate as an unlicensed, unfunded, non-hierarchical co-operative without external funding. However, external pressure from BC Community Care Licensing and the Burnaby municipal fire department, and internal pressure from the SFU administration and other governing boards, squeezed the Family daycare into a position of increasing dependence causing internal disruption among the parents. SFU wanted the daycare to have elected representatives to negotiate with. The university also wanted to know specifics of the daycare structure and the enrollment policy. They wanted the daycare licenced and in the short term this meant building a fence around the daycare’s immediate outside area to stop children from wandering. This chapter highlights the internal distress and conflicts caused by these demands, with a focus on 1970.

Focus on the SFU Daycare in a New Decade

Conflicts, sit-ins, protests, occupations, and strikes between 1967 and 1969 “kept Simon Fraser University in an almost continuous state of crisis for approximately three years, leading to its characterization as the most radical university in Canada during the Sixties.”¹ By 1970, SFU entered a new phase that was a marked difference from the revolutionary years of the 1960s. Hugh Johnson argues that “at SFU as at universities throughout North America, the energy went out of the student movement around 1970,”

¹ Roberta Lexier, “How Did the Women’s Liberation Movement Emerge from The Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University,” *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600–2000*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 2009), 4.

although Roberta Lexier argues that change reflected a shift in strategy and priority to “larger social concerns outside the university community.”² Regardless of the reason, however, it is clear that the mass protests organized by the student movement were in decline, and its members and leaders were either leaving campus or shifting their activity into the broader Vancouver community as “students persisted in pressing for social change.”³ This shift does not mean that that all radical activity had ended or that issues of social justice were forgotten; as historians have pointed out, sociopolitical dissent “did not end at the conclusion of the decade [but] continued into the early 1970s.”⁴ However, opposition and rebellion did not continue on the SFU campus to the same extent as in the late 1960s.⁵ Student protest and the chaotic political environment may account for the steady decline in SFU student enrolment from 1969 to 1973.⁶ The Family daycare engaged in direct action with two more campus sit-ins in 1970 and these brief actions may have been among the only overtly defiant gestures expressed on campus in the early 1970s. From 1970 to 1973 the Family remained steadfast in their effort to preserve their philosophical mandate of co-operative daycare through a collective voice.

This change in campus activity corresponds with the memories of several of the daycare parents interviewed for this dissertation. Dave Yorke remembers that “when I

² Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 292. Roberta Lexier, “To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart: The Sixties Student Movements at English-Canadian Universities,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 92.

³ “While the SFU New Left largely failed to achieve its on-campus objectives, it made a significant impact and left a considerable legacy in Metropolitan Vancouver,” witnessed by the strength of the VWC, union reforms, and the Community Education Research Centre. Ian Milligan, “Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward-Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University,” *BC Studies: The British Columbia Quarterly*, no. 171 (Autumn, 2011), 70. Roberta Lexier, “The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened”: English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change, *History of Intellectual Culture*, Volume 7, no. 1 (2007), 16.

⁴ Michael Boudreau, “The Struggle for a Different World’: Gastown Riot in Vancouver,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 119.

⁵ Doug Owsram, *Born At The Right Time: A History Of The Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 247. Milligan claims that “many students left SFU entirely in the wake of the strike: for some, their supervisors had been terminated, or the rationale behind attending the PSA Department was gone; others were burned out from years of disruption. Ian Milligan, *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 113.

⁶ Appendix C. SFUA Student Enrolment Table. Enrolment Statistics 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 from the SFU Academic Calendars and 1968-1969 to 1970-1973, F-52-2-2-0-1. From the Office of Analytical studies fonds (Office of Analytical Studies is now called Institutional Research and Planning). Enrolment Statistics 1970-1978.

returned in 1970, the radical content of the student population had receded. The most effective student leaders and the most prominent left wing student people had largely moved on. They had graduated and some cases they were doing graduate work.”⁷ Chris Petty remembers a similar situation. “UBC was stodgy but SFU had a reputation for being very cutting edge and there was all the stuff that had gone on in the 1960s. When I got there in 1970 that stuff was pretty well over.”⁸ The discernable change after 1970 allowed the university administration to focus more closely on the Family daycare. It had been a troublesome concern for several years but attention had been deferred in the wake of other political turmoil. Once that turmoil had diminished, the daycare was now being challenged by the university administration to change its structure and its approach.

Chris Petty was one of the newer generation of student parents who had not been active in the daycare’s early years or involved in radical student protest. He enrolled at SFU in January of 1970 and with some luck and compromise he and his two-and-a-half-year-old son were able to get into Louis Riel House right away. He took a poorly insulated, uncontrollably hot apartment above the boiler room when nobody else wanted it. He remembers that he had the window open all the time even in the winter in an attempt to control the heat. The caretaker took pity on him. “It was a bit of a double-edged sword being a single father. On the one hand you got ‘gee that must be so hard when you’re a guy...let me help you,’ but on the other hand you got ‘I’m not taking you seriously as a single parent because you’re a guy.’ You got both sides. There was positive reaction and negative reaction.”⁹ Even by 1970, the university was still not interested in meeting the needs of students who were parents.

When Petty enrolled his son in the daycare, also in January 1970, it was still an unlicensed co-operative which functioned on the basis of parental voluntarism. As discussed briefly in previous chapters, an unlicensed co-ordinator named Mary McNay

⁷ Dave Yorke interview, April 27, 2016

⁸ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁹ Ibid.

was already working there.¹⁰ McNay and her husband had a little girl enrolled in the daycare. Petty explained:

She was there when I started in January [1970] and from what I remember she had recently come on as the co-ordinator. It still really was a co-op and we did half days. You either did a morning or you did an afternoon. It was very time consuming for parents. You had to study and you had to go to classes and you had to organize your classes so you would have an afternoon off or a morning off consistently every week. There was a real move to hire somebody, to get somebody in.¹¹

Petty recalls that Mary McNay volunteered to be that person. “I can’t remember how much we paid her but it wasn’t very much...maybe fifty dollars a month. She would be there every day and Mick [her husband or boyfriend] would help her.”¹² Petty clarifies that parents continued to do their shifts because McNay was not a back-up although she worked in the daycare full time. “She co-ordinated everything like the snacks and the naptime. Mary was very calm and very soothing. She and Mick had some kind of spiritual thing going on.”¹³

Until the fall of 1969 the daycare was operating as it had been since June 1968, and it preserved its original philosophy and approach to childcare through this period. Petty recalls that “most of the people involved in the daycare were single moms, and families. There wasn’t a large radical element in the daycare. There was in the university. We were all political and supportive of [current issues] but for the most part [the daycare parents were] people who were Leftish.”¹⁴ Petty remembers that parents reflected a range of commitment to the daycare. While some parents were very responsible and active, others were not. Some of the parents were habitually trying to get other parents to pick up their co-operative shifts. This issue of disparity regarding participation and time-sharing surfaced in discussions about “bourgeois hang-ups” about fairness and taking advantage, and had been an issue from the beginning of the Family. In 1969, Melody Kilian wrote that parents in the family sometimes got sick or had

¹⁰ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Mary McNay, daycare co-ordinator to Mr. J. Gills, Business Manager Oakalla Prison Farm, Burnaby. 10 November 1969.

¹¹ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

troubles that would interfere in their daycare participatory obligation, and “score-keeping,” taught through industrial models, had to be replaced by principles of reciprocity. When this concept was learned, she argued, the idea of “paying back” vanished. Kilian explained: “It was realized that some people would take from the system more than others, but that would not cause the breakdown of the Family.”¹⁵ Nevertheless, like a family, members of the Co-op were approached when they missed their participatory time obligation, especially if they did not attempt to find someone to substitute. But inevitably the Family member who failed to meet their commitment was dealt with in a humane and responsive way. Kilian admitted that it was “surprising and discouraging to realize how hard it has been for us to learn these ways of interacting. Inhumanity and institutional ways of relating have obviously been very strongly socialized into us.”¹⁶ By the early 1970s, although it was generally accepted that everybody had different needs and availability, the daycare continued to struggle with ongoing inequities in parental time commitment. Daycare parent Mary Wilson recalls “staffing was always contingent upon parents being able to contribute their weekly work shift. That arrangement usually worked, but was always vulnerable to unexpected events in parents’ lives.”¹⁷ However, despite dissimilarities in the extent of participation within the Family, the Co-op vision remained constant: Petty argues that the overall “daycare philosophy was part of trying to make the world better.”¹⁸

Petty remembers that the daycare encouraged children’s independence and integration into the larger university community. “We did our best to maintain a co-operative environment for the kids.” He adds: “We didn’t have an actual playground but there was a grassy area outside the building and kids would bring their bikes and they would be traipsing all over the university by themselves. You’d have to go out every so often and get them back in because people would complain. It was a different time.”¹⁹ Anne McDonald, a Co-op daycare employee, remembers that the playground was not fenced and when adults turned their backs for a moment the kids could disappear. “Kids

¹⁵ Melody Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People...or the louis riel university family co-op” in *Women Unite* (Vancouver: 1969, repr. Toronto: Canadian Women’s Educational Press, pg. 90-99, 1972), 95.

¹⁶ Ibid. 96.

¹⁷ SFUA, Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

¹⁸ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

¹⁹ Ibid.

disappeared over the horizon and we had to go and look for them. I remember going way out looking for kids.”²⁰ Heidi Greco adds that the SFU campus was a unique place regarding children’s physical freedom: “I remember my youngest son would wander away from Louis Riel House. I used to pin a tag on the back of his jacket saying ‘please return me to Louis Riel House’. Being on Burnaby Mountain we were up above the world there. It felt safe. It was very idyllic and fun.”²¹

The students and staff at Simon Fraser were generally very supportive of the daycare. Petty recalls that “sometime the kids would wander off and go down to the cafeteria and they’d [the cafeteria staff] give them cookies.” The well-remembered “candyman” was a janitor at SFU named Ted Sinnott and “he loved the kids and he had candy [for them] all of the time.”²² Daycare parent Mary Wilson remembers that the children “had a tendency to wander (or deliberately escape) even though they were supposedly supervised while outside. Events in the mall, especially concerts, lured them away, and occasionally they would be returned from the cafeteria, or even from the ‘jade pond’ upstairs.”²³ As well, Heidi Greco remembers that the daycare children would go over to the university to see performances: “They were part of the university community. They were citizens of that world.”²⁴

This commitment to children’s autonomy and independence meant that daycare parents were resistant to the university administration’s attempts to impose formal structures. *The Peak* article in July 1970, written by Vancouver editor Chris Perry and titled “We want to co opt you!” further elaborates on the children’s independence and the Family’s resistance to undue structure:

The co-op parents and the co-ordinator, endeavor to attain a high degree of freedom for the kids, and try to keep structure, that is, ‘scheduled activities’ to an absolute minimum. For the most part, the kids themselves call the plays. They are allowed to paint, construct far-out designs with building sets, have free play and rest periods as dictated by their own moods. The Co-op tries (and is largely successful) to eliminate the curse

²⁰ Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017

²¹ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

²² Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

²³ SFUA, Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

²⁴ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

of all adult-child relationships: condescension. To illustrate—and this incident really happened—a pompous university official was bawling out one of the three-year old boys for some infraction of university etiquette (peeing on the sidewalk, so I'm told) and was quickly told by the toddler to 'fuck off'. While advanced inflammatory vocabulary is not part of the curriculum unresponsiveness to pomposity is.²⁵

This comment was reflected in some of the early staffing as well. Daycare worker Anne McDonald remembers the daycare as a co-operative sharing environment. The daycare “was very child directed. It was very respectful of children. You didn't talk down to them. You listened to kids. What was it they wanted to do, and how could we work with them? We interacted with children in positive ways. We were engaged with them.”²⁶

Although the daycare offered a high degree of freedom for the children, good manners, personal hygiene, and independence were encouraged. Heidi Greco remembers that “it was a healthy helpful environment. The children were encouraged to be independent. Everybody sat down for snack after they washed their hands and they didn't start eating until everyone was sitting down.”²⁷ Her oldest son Jeremy left the daycare and started kindergarten in public school at the bottom of Burnaby Mountain when he was five:

All September and October he was unhappy. He just could not bear it. He found the other children [at the public school] immature and they lacked basic independence like putting on their own boots and coats. Some of them still peed themselves. On November first he went back to the daycare as a five year old, which was the oldest that you could be there. I don't believe that either of my kids would have turned out as reasonably well adjusted and smart as they have without the foundation that they got in the daycare. I would not have been able to give them the kind of enriched experience [the daycare offered].²⁸

By the fall of 1970 the daycare had occupied space on the campus for 2 years and 3 months, and it had become apparent to the Family parents that there was a desire by the SFU Administration to shut the daycare down. This feeling of foreboding was obvious in a late summer or early fall undated three-page document titled “The Family

²⁵ *The Peak*, July 29, 1970, 5.

²⁶ Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017

²⁷ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Co-op” and written by the Family.²⁹ The document acted as a kind of vision statement about the Co-op’s philosophy which highlighted the common desire of parents to remain independent and co-operative in structure. Even at this point, the daycare did not want to comply with the demands of the administration and various government departments. Compliance would lead to licensing; an inevitable and unavoidable necessity with complex requirements. At this point, the archival evidence indicates that the Co-op was still hoping to exist on campus with university support, but without having to submit to all the licensing requirements that they feared would reduce their autonomy. “The Family Co-op” document stipulated “We feel that children’s demands cannot be met in a meaningful way if the responsibility for meeting them is taken from the parents and assumed by an institution.”³⁰ The parent’s responsibility was a collective one and at the time, the document stresses that “the Co-op is an independent organization—unincorporated and unlicensed—with no contractual obligations, as we do not fulfill the requirement for financial assistance from the levels of government. We charge a fee of \$15 per month per family and use these funds to hire a supervisor independently.”³¹ One of the earliest and most significant compromises of the daycare was to use their limited resources to hire a daycare supervisor considered proficient by the SFU administration. Glenys Chen replaced Mary McNay in the spring of 1970 and was hired by the Family as “a fully licensed and experienced day care supervisor and qualified nurse.”³² The hiring of a daycare supervisor who met governmental qualifications was a requirement made

²⁹ Many of the documents from the Family are undated and putting the reports into context requires knowing when events occurred. For example the late summer or early fall document mentions Glenys Chen as the daycare co-ordinator and she was hired approximately in May, June or July 1970. We also know that the Family was in contact with Mrs. Maycock in August 1970. However, the daycare space was still not sanctioned by the university; an approval that occurred by October 1970. Therefore the document was likely produced and circulated in late August or early September 1970. Until October 1970 the daycare signed documents and correspondence as the Family. This was part of the Family’s non-hierarchical co-operative spirit and philosophy and this approach seemed to work in the interests of everyone involved. Although the daycare complied with the demands of the administration to appoint an executive by October 1970, the daycare parents still played the non-hierarchical collective card when deemed necessary. For example, Mary Wilson and other parents tried to avoid the union certification process in 1973. “When the union organizers came calling, asking to meet with ‘the employer(s) we told him, “Well, I suppose all of us parents are their employers...but we’re a co-operative, and none of us really has the overall authority to represent the collective’.” (SFUA, Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229-0-0-0-1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.) This tactic worked for a time but inevitably failed with the staff unionizing by the fall of 1973.

³⁰ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. document titled “The Family Co-op” and written by the Family. Fall 1970.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

by the university in the summer of 1968 and every year thereafter, and Chen proved satisfactory. Later in this chapter, however, I will discuss that the replacement of McNay with Chen was not without internal conflict. The Co-op may have hoped that hiring Chen would be enough to satisfy the SFU administration along with other various governing bodies, but hiring Chen was only the beginning of a series of steps toward complete compliance.

The document also reveals that the Co-op was aware of additional concerns regarding licencing. One of the troubling matters was with the daycare capacity, intake, and internal structure. The document states that “the official attitude” regarding the “segregation of children under three from those over three years old” presents “major obstacles to licensing.”³³ The Family’s internal policies regarding age restriction specified that “children must at least be walking, and walking well, before we feel that they are able to cope with the Co-op environment.”³⁴ However, those children under the age of three were integrated with the children over three as much as possible. The document reveals that the Co-op facilities provided for a maximum of thirty children including “six children under the age of three.” But the Co-op rarely operated at capacity. “There are usually fifteen to twenty children present at the Co-op at peak times (lunch, concerts, special activities). Our facilities are open-area: children under the age of three are integrated with those over three and are segregated only as their interests and ability to cope with different circumstances suggest. There are currently six children under the age of three using these facilities”³⁵ However, the blending of age groups with a capacity of 30 children ignored the stipulations of the university that required an enrollment capacity of 25 children between the ages of three to six, a directive which dated back to October 1969.³⁶ From the founding of the Co-op in 1968 the Family could not satisfy the demand for daycare that existed at SFU.³⁷ This was evident in wait lists, and the call for

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. A document describing L. Wilson’s meeting with municipal officials. 7 October 1969.

³⁷ Historical documentation does not reveal how many children were enrolled in the daycare from June of 1968. However, there were 59 children cared for the first summer with the need for out-of-school summer care as well as regular enrollment. (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Memo “A Proposal for the operation of an on campus day care center by the Simon Fraser Co-operative Family.” 14 August 1968.) It is

summer out-of-school care that was apparent from the summer of 1968 when 59 children enrolled in care. Some parents had two children enrolled in the daycare at the same time with one being a toddler and the other a preschooler and this led to the stretching of age limits, especially since the university would not allow an infant centre. The Co-op struggled to meet a variety of family demands for childcare, each with unique circumstances, and although the daycare rarely reached capacity daily, the university would not relax their stipulations to accommodate student/parents who needed campus childcare.

Chris Petty remembers that by the fall of 1970 there was a notable change in the relationship between the administration and the Family Co-op that was alarming to the daycare parents. "There was some talk that they were going to shut us down because

apparent that by October 7, 1969, 16 months after the daycare began, an ultimatum from Dean Wilson advised that an enrollment capacity of only 25 children between the ages of three to six could occupy the daycare for compliance with the Building Inspector, the Fire Prevention Officer and Public Health Officer for Municipality of Burnaby. (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Memo from Dean Wilson to the Family 7 October 1969.) However, according to Mary Wilson, by September 1970 the daycare was operating at capacity with 30 children enrolled. There is evidence that the daycare was agreeing to an enrollment of 25 children, while actually operating with up to 30 children enrolled. A letter from the BC Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement to Glenys Chen, stated that there would be a granting [of a] temporary license to operate the Day Care Centre for 20 children aged three – five years and five children under three. (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from the BC Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement to Mrs. Glenys Chen, Co-ordinator of Day Care Centre. 28 September 1970.) It seems that this capacity was not adhered to because a letter from McGilvery to Petty reminds the Family about agreeing to a 25 children enrollment capacity. (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from C.J. McGilbery to Chris Petty (per Family Co-op). 10 November 1970.) From this letter it is inferred that the Family is operating above the agreed-on capacity. Further evidence of this appears when Petty verifies, "We have been instructed by the Province to reduce our enrollment to twenty children age three to five, and five children age three and under." (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Petty to C. J. McGilvery. 12 November 1970.) This must have been a difficult position for the Family because of the mounting demand for daycare at SFU. By January 8, 1971, a letter refers to a wait list of 50 persons. (SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter to Mrs. Maycock from Chris Petty and S.P. Viswanathan. 8 January 1971.) Despite the wait list, an April 5, 1971 a letter to Glenys Chen from Chief Inspector Gorby specified that the daycare could operate for a three month period with a "capacity of twenty children aged three–five years for group day care and five younger children under three may be cared for." (SFUA. Day Care 1971, F107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Chief Inspector C.W. Gorby, Community Care Facilities Licencing Division in the Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement, to Mrs. Glenys Chen, Co-ordinator of the Family Co-op. April 5, 1971.) The last discrepancy that I will refer to is in June 1971 when a "Campus Daycare Facilities" survey refers to the SFU daycare with a 30 child enrolment. (SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. "Campus Daycare Facilities" June 1971.) The actual enrollment at any given time was subject to demand and the restrictions on capacity by different governing bodies.

we didn't have legitimate structure and certified personnel. Some of the concern was with liability issues. What happens if one [of the kids] runs over a cliff on their tricycle? The university would be liable."³⁸ Petty imagined that issues regarding safety, liability, and insurance shaped the administration's concerns about the daycare. "That is why they wanted certification and government blessing, so they could get insurance."³⁹ Petty still believes that the administration was frustrated with the daycare and wanted to close it down; but instead of directly attempting to close it, they intended to use the Municipal and Provincial Government to attack the Family Co-op. "What we were really afraid of was that the government would shut us down. The university didn't want to cause any trouble, but I think the university was pressing the government to come in through the back door and either get rid of us or legitimize us."⁴⁰

The fears of the daycare parents were rooted in their observations of the government and the university, and particularly, their approach to student protestors. W.A.C. Bennett's power base during his 20 years in office originated in "the interests of regional middle-class entrepreneurs in a resource-dependent economy."⁴¹ As well, Bennett had to keep the support of a provincial electorate who enjoyed the benefits of a prosperous provincial economy. Bennett's focus on rapid development rested on a strategy of controlling his opponents. His time in office was marked by disregard for collective action and restrictive legislation imposed to disable protests, collective bargaining, pickets, and strikes. Bennett could be heavy-handed in the name of provincial economic progress and his tactics were imposed on SFU through the leadership of Shrum when student activism began to surface. When campus radicalism escalated over the course of 1967 through 1969, the SFU administration responded by calling the police and supporting the arrest of protestors, and also through the dismissal of radical TAs and faculty. This was the modus operandi exercised by the university power base and it is thought that the daycare may have suffered the same fate had

³⁸ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "He navigated a fine line between the classical liberal view where government ensured a free market for profit-making—which in BC meant unhindered access to resources by large corporations—and a more interventionist approach better suited to the interests of small private enterprise." Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 43.

there not been children involved.⁴² The daycare nonetheless suffered from increasing administrative demands that destabilized the Family unity by challenging the philosophical commitment to non-hierarchical education. From 1970 to 1974 the daycare was subjected to university demands that attempted to impose conformation to a university model befitting the administration's vision of what a daycare should be. Inevitably the non-hierarchical, unfunded, co-operative daycare was worn-down, although not before two separate sit-ins in the fall of 1970 in which the daycare attempted to consolidate their space and push the administration for additional funding.

It is little wonder that by the fall of 1970 the daycare thought that the university wanted to "get rid of us or legitimize us."⁴³ The daycare parents were experiencing a great deal of external pressure to conform to standards that had been outlined by the university dating to summer 1968. These standards remained necessary conditions for acquiring a licence. Many of the conditions were unreasonable considering the daycare's location in a space that was devoid of plumbing, proper exits, bathroom or kitchen facilities, a fenced-in playground, and many other amenities. The Family operated on a low, or no budget structure.⁴⁴ The daycare Family reacted to this increasing pressure and fear that the administration wanted to close them down by staging a sit-in in September of 1970. The daycare had delineated space in their corner of the student lounge by placing large seating blocks along their space parameters in place of a partition. Chris Petty recalls: "When they wanted to shut us down we went out and collected a whole bunch of those wooden seating blocks and piled them all up to make a wall. We were making a point."⁴⁵ The sit-in in the fall of 1970 "went on for maybe three days and then the university declared that area 'the daycare.' They said 'this is your area, don't worry about it.' And then they found some sliding doors, floor to ceiling doors,

⁴² Kilian Ermachild suggested that the Family were never shut down "because we were too nice of a picture. I think that the last thing that they [the administration] wanted was to be seen dragging all these women and kids out. We would have sat-in with the kids and said, 'okay carry us out of here then.' That would have been the worst PR for them." Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁴³ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁴⁴ Student/parent Mary Wilson acknowledged that proper amenities were never available in the south west corner of the Academic Quadrangle and wrote, "I understand the University was reluctant to recognize the existence of the daycare by providing such amenities, but at the same time it didn't want to run the risk of condoning continued operation of an unlicensed facility on campus." This impasse had to be resolved. SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1).F 229-0-0,0-1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 26 May 1998.

⁴⁵ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

so it was actually a room now.”⁴⁶ The daycare space was now not only liberated but formally acknowledged by the SFU administration. The success of this sit-in may have been partly responsible for a second sit-in and SFU parent protest soon after.

The second protest attempted to push the university administration for additional resources. By this time, it was increasingly evident that many parents at SFU were in desperate need of childcare. The small operation simply could not accommodate the growing demand without additional resources. In September 1970 when Mary Wilson enrolled at SFU she was a single mother with a two-year old daughter. The daycare was operating to capacity with thirty children enrolled. Wilson’s daughter and several other children were wait listed. Wilson remembers:

Parents in the daycare in September 1970 suggested that those of us who had been turned away attempt to expand the service by staging another sit-in and taking over an adjacent section of the student lounge. We tried it, but the university administration wasn’t falling again for that strategy. Down from administration came the word that at the end of the day, if we hadn’t ended our sit-in and vacated the space we’d occupied, some Government official would be called in and our kids would be apprehended.⁴⁷

Wilson remembers that about a dozen people took part in the sit-in because they needed daycare, but inevitably, “we all caved in.”⁴⁸ After the administration’s ultimatum some of the parents stayed late into the day but Wilson and her daughter left after the warning and it was January of 1971 before the daycare had a vacancy for them.

Although the SFU administration had reached the limits of their tolerance by the time of the second fall 1970 protest, this did not detract from the first victory of legitimized daycare space achieved by the earlier sit-in. Petty remembers the Family sit-in as very effective because they acquired an officially recognized space. But the result was also beneficial for the administration because daycare parents resolved to make more of an effort to legitimize the Family Co-op by conceding, where possible, to the requirements of the university and the Provincial government. For example, on September 15th 1970, the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative bought a one year liability insurance policy through The Canadian Indemnity Company for \$30. The policy included

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁴⁸ SFUA, Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

comprehensive business liability of \$200,000 for “bodily injury occurrence or property damage accident.”⁴⁹ Also, a July 1970 article in *The Peak*, mentions that “student council recently recognized the Co-op as a club and thus eligible for funds” and therefore the Family were accepted by the elected university student body.⁵⁰ But the new willingness to comply and conform to at least some of the administrative demands by the fall of 1970 was not agreeable to all of the daycare parents.

As amicable as the evolving mutual consideration between the administration and the Family seemed, this period was a turning point for the co-operative daycare and some of the parents. A couple months before the September 1970 sit-in, Petty claims that the administration was placing an enormous amount of pressure on the Family. “One of the ways they pressured us is they got the [Provincial] government involved and the government inspector came and said ‘wait a minute this isn’t a legitimate daycare center. You need to have a qualified, certified person for the daycare centre.’⁵¹ The Family responded by hiring Glenys Chen as co-ordinator, but not without some disagreement and conflict. “That was actually a difficult period because Mary [McNay] was no longer involved after that, and a lot of people wanted Mary to stay because she was so good for the kids. They [the daycare parents] thought it was unfair that she had worked so hard to establish the daycare centre and establish the routines and now we had to kick her out because of some stupid government formality.”⁵² McNay was an unlicensed co-ordinator while Chen was a qualified nurse and a licenced daycare supervisor.

Chen’s appointment as the first certified daycare co-ordinator employed by the Family violated the philosophy that the daycare was founded on. The daycare parents knew that they would be under pressure to acquire a licence, and a government certified co-ordinator was a step in that direction, but they found the reality troubling. Just before hiring Chen, Petty recalls that “people were pissed off about the idea that we were going to have government certified people in the daycare. We had to survive. Some people

⁴⁹ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. SFU insurance document. 15 September 1970.

⁵⁰ *The Peak*, July 29, 1970, 5.

⁵¹ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁵² *Ibid.*

left.”⁵³ As social movement scholars Emerson and Russell Dobash argue, “all social movements must find solutions to the dilemma of maintaining their goals of social change while finding the means of support necessary for survival.”⁵⁴ For the daycare to survive, administrative concessions had to be incorporated. Petty clarifies that some of the parents went down the hill and found other accommodations for their children. The people who left the daycare were among those most devoted to the foundational philosophies of the Family Co-op.⁵⁵ Among the people who did not leave, deep internal divisions began to surface and gain momentum amid the otherwise apparent harmony in the early 1970s.

Divisions ranged from disagreements about approaches to child-rearing, the structure of supervision, and curriculum programming. Anne McDonald remembers that there were internal daycare disagreements “about child rearing. Some people wanted a much more structured program in terms of early learning.” Some of the internal disagreements included seemingly minor debates over the existence of Santa Claus: “Don’t tell my kids lies about Santa Claus” as opposed to “don’t you dare spoil Santa Claus for our kids.” McDonald remembers that there was an elderly man who was a janitor at SFU and he would give candies to the children. “The children loved when he came by the daycare. There was of course parents who said ‘my child is not to take candy or eat candy’ while others would say, ‘my kid doesn’t have a grandfather’.” They did not want to spoil a grandfatherly experience that this man had to offer. “There was parents who brought in the *Where Do Babies Come from*, book and wanted us to read it to children but there were some parents who were not so happy about something that was that explicit.”⁵⁶ However, these disagreements differed from the deep political divisions that were starting to surface. One of the major concerns was with the supervision and programming of the daycare children.

How to best regulate and professionalize the care and education of pre-school children had long been a matter of debate in Canada. When daycare first began

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, *Women Violence and Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 18.

⁵⁵ Emerson and Russell Dobash concede that inside movements, radical factions not only press for the greatest changes using the most extreme forms of action but also “they represent the most important goals or identity of the movement.” Ibid., 19.

⁵⁶ Anne McDonald interview, October 25, 2017

expanding to meet the needs of women in the labour force during the Second World War, child welfare experts began to argue that it needed to be professionalized and standardized. For example, “the Institute of Child Study [at the University of Toronto] established its Child Study Diploma course in 1943-44 and also began other short courses, special lectures, and in-service training programs.” At this time “the planning for good standards of care for young children was begun.”⁵⁷ These standards were enforced through the education and training of daycare staff. In British Columbia the Community Care Licensing act of 1969 replaced the Welfare Institutions Licensing Act of 1960 and maintained that staff must be deemed “suitable and facilities adequate.”⁵⁸ Up to 1970 and beyond, these governmental licencing and accreditation standards were put in place because daycare recipients were largely a stigmatized group including immigrant, single mother, or low-income parents. These “good standards” of care by “suitable” staff, in “adequate” facilities, were an outrage to the daycare parents who required that childcare be no less than exceptional and the responsibility of all the parents involved.

The differences between the philosophy of the Family and their new co-ordinator soon became obvious. A January 1971 letter to Mrs. Maycock of BC Community Care Licensing, from the Family Co-op, describes the adjustment to daycare co-ordinator Glenys Chen who had been trained with a different set of principles: “The school of thought from which Mrs. Chen emerged taught a much stricter and regulated approach to child care. The parents were therefore placed in the position of having a poorly structured, lax organization being supervised by a strict coordinator.”⁵⁹ The letter states that Mrs. Chen’s style was more relaxed by the fall of 1970, but she had left the daycare by April of 1971, only ten months after being hired. Although Chen was seen to be in agreement with the “high degree of freedom for the kids” in July of 1970, she was conversely seen as inflexible as the Family daycare co-ordinator by the end of her term.⁶⁰ Chen may have felt blindsided by the Family’s resolve to uphold their foundational co-operative structure and commitment to maintaining the daycare space

⁵⁷ SFUA. SFU Archives, Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. “Daycare Legislation in Canada” from a report on the national study of day care by the Canadian Council on Social Development. January 1972.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁹ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter to Mrs. Maycock from Chris Petty and S.P. Viswanathan per the Family Co-op. 8 January 1971.

⁶⁰ *The Peak*, July 29, 1970, 5.

that resulted in a sit-in in the fall of 1970 shortly after she was hired.⁶¹ Also, she might have been aware of the internal disagreement that ensued as a result of her employment with the daycare because some of the Family parents left. As well, the additional fall sit-in protesting the deficiency of daycare space may have been upsetting to her. When Chen left the daycare in April 1971 she was replaced with another licensed co-ordinator named Betty Varty who was also hired by the daycare Family.

Another of the government and administration demands that the Family satisfied in the fall of 1970 was to elect an executive. Again, however, this concession violated the non-hierarchical philosophy of the daycare. Petty recalls that the executive was elected because the SFU administration “wanted to have somebody to talk to and we also realized that the government needed an official body.”⁶² The daycare held their first election and in October 1970, elected an executive council of four people: Anna Stratton, Chris Petty, S.P. Vizwanathan, and Diane Page.⁶³ However the election of a daycare executive council was not everything that officials required. In September 1970 a letter from the BC Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement to Glenys Chen stated that there would be a granting [of a] temporary license to operate the Day Care Centre for 20 children aged three-five years and five children under three, as long as certain conditions were met. The daycare was told they had three months to find “a constant adult [who] must be in attendance with the under three year olds, equipment required by the Act be provided, and outdoor play space be available and enclosed.”⁶⁴ These demands required significant additional resources and foreshadowed unavoidable changes that were soon required.

By early October 1970 the daycare was clearly in the process of changing and compromising some of its core principles in order to survive. A daycare executive committee had been elected by the Family members, Glenys Chen was hired as a

⁶¹ Prior to Chen’s hiring the Co-op children were enrolled in “a totally free atmosphere where the child was allowed to run up and down at his own discretion.” SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter to Mrs. Maycock from Chris Petty and S.P. Viswanathan per the Family Co-op. 8 January 1971.

⁶² Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁶³ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from the Family to SFU administration. 5 October 1970.

⁶⁴ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from BC Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement to Mrs. Glenys Chen, coordinator of Day Care Centre. 28 September 1970.

licenced and government certified co-coordinator, and the SFU administration had officially declared the southwest corner of the second floor Academic Quadrangle as the designated daycare space. The daycare received a temporary licence that would expire by January 1, 1971 unless a fenced playground, as well as other conditions, were approved. To appease the administration, the daycare parents agreed to have a fenced play area outside of their now designated daycare space. It must have been assumed that the university would pay for the fence because the daycare did not have excess funds. The demand for fencing was a means of containing wandering children but it may also have been a test by the administration to see if the daycare parents were willing to fulfill reasonable requests. Although an archival letter indicates that a temporary fence was constructed, its location is unknown.⁶⁵ While the daycare received a temporary licence in January 1971 by agreeing to the fence, according to both Mary Wilson and Chris Petty, the fence itself was never erected. The administration may have been sufficiently satisfied with the daycare's willingness to co-operate and then simply ignored the municipality's request for a fence once the licence was obtained. It seems that the administration was able to succeed at this kind of passive disregard for external regulations when they wanted to do so.⁶⁶ However, the acquisition of a daycare licence meant that the Family could acquire government grants and perhaps long-term economic stability. In the fall of 1970 a list of daycare Dos and Don'ts was made available to the Co-op parents and to the SFU president's office as a rudimentary outline of Co-op maintenance and child care.⁶⁷

All of these changes created new levels of work for daycare parents, particularly for the elected executive. In October 1970 when the daycare had an elected executive, Petty recalls the growing pressure and workload:

⁶⁵ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Dr. B.G. Wilson, Vice President of Academic to Wm. DeVries Director of Physical Plant and Planning. 28 April 1971.

⁶⁶ SFUA. General, Daycare fonds, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Letter distributed by A. Smith, the SFU assistant to the president, to the SFU administration. Page 3. 23 September 1968.

⁶⁷ The "Dos" included serving food at specified times, "encouraging children to clean up toys before going on to another activity," checking children wearing "diapers frequently," and asking children "every hour to see who has to go to the bathroom," as well as daycare space cleaning duties for each shift. The "Don'ts" included not letting children walk around while eating, don't bring sick children, don't let children "ride bikes on the carpet or in the table area, and don't allow children to damage or destroy furniture or toys." SFUA. General, Daycare, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1. Dos and Don'ts. Fall 1970.

I remember us having meetings with the ministry about what we needed to do in order to make it a licenced daycare centre. There were many, many hoops to jump through, like refrigeration, a designated sink, we had to go to other parts of the university to get water and things for the kids. So, we had to have those kinds of facilities and I think that is when the university decided that they were going to have to do something more permanent.⁶⁸

The daycare parents worked with C. J. McGilvery, Assistant to the Dean of Student Affairs, who was sympathetic to the daycare and “he talked with us a lot and he saw that [the daycare] was being run responsibly and the kids were properly taken care of and he was a bit of a champion for us.”⁶⁹ As Dobash and Dobash state, for a movement, “external factors..... are sometimes viewed as crucial in effectively responding to changing times and circumstances in order to ensure growth or in some cases, survival itself.”⁷⁰ C.J. McGilvery and his goodwill toward the daycare was a valuable human resource assisting with the survival of the Family daycare.⁷¹

As the daycare moved into this new phase, the relationships they developed with administrators like McGilvery were often helpful but never straightforward. Even in 1970, parents tried to maintain their philosophy of creative childcare in a flexible environment while simultaneously accessing university resources. A November 1970 letter to Mr. McGilvery from the newly formed Executive Committee of the Simon Fraser University Family Co-op was actually signed by Chris Petty, per the Family Co-op. The letter requested official recognition of the Co-op by the university for a three-year period. The letter expressed concern that the interim government licence would expire on December 31, 1970 unless “the Co-op provide itself with a fenced-in outside play area.”⁷² The daycare executive suggested a play area that would occupy 35 feet of the outer bookstore wall and then up the hill to the southern grassy field with an estimated cost of \$350. McGilvery responded the same day and stressed that “It is unsound to request official recognition from someone who does not know what it is he is giving official recognition to. In general the required clarification and commitment relate to:

⁶⁸ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Dobash, *Women Violence and Social Change*, 18.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986 November, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter to Mr. McGilvery from Executive Committee of the Simon Fraser University Family Co-op per Chris Petty. 10 November 1970.

- 1) what kind of a service are you providing?
- 2) to whom are you supplying it?
- 3) who is responsible to the government authorities for operating within government regulations?
- 4) who is responsible for any bills, debts or damages attributed to the Day Care Centre?
- 5) what is expected from the University in the way of support of an “officially recognized” service.”⁷³

McGilvery suggested that clarification be supplied by the Family, although he was willing to present the daycare executive signed letter to Dr. Wilson, Vice-President, Academic, without clarification. This letter revealed that the daycare, despite the many changes that had been made, was still operating in an effort to maintain independence. It also shows that despite McGilvery’s general support and sympathy for the daycare, he was not willing to provide or advocate for extensive new resources if the daycare was not willing to submit to the full regulatory requirements.

On November 12, 1970 Chris Petty responded in detail on behalf of the Family Co-op to McGilvery’s letter. In the letter, it is possible to see Petty’s attempt to hold on to some of the Family’s original philosophy while also addressing the bureaucratic demands of the university and negotiating for better support and resources. Petty wrote:

- 1) The Co-op is a service run by the parent members to provide their children with a creative and productive atmosphere while the parent is attending university.
- 2) We have enrolled children on a first-come, first-serve basis. As vacancies occur below the operating level of twenty-five, they will be filled by children of students exclusively, unless real need can be shown by staff or faculty members.
- 3) Recently, the Co-op elected a four-man committee, as the group’s representative....to formulate policy, to adhere to rules and regulations set down by the University, Province, and Health Department, to see that the Coordinator fulfills her duties and that the Co-op has sufficient equipment, sets admission standards, sets fees and handles money. In an effort to ensure that the Committee acts in the interest of the entire Co-op, the membership has the right at any time to censure the Committee and replace it with one more sensitive to the majority feeling within the whole group.

⁷³ Ibid.

- 4) The Co-op has adopted a policy of responsibility to itself and to outside institutions. We will be fair to the University; we only expect that the University be fair to us. We can no longer function as a thorn in the flesh of Simon Fraser University, because neither the thorn nor the foot has a satisfactory relationship with the other.⁷⁴

The letter further clarifies that what be acceptable as “fair” would be an adequate outside play area designation, although this was not an answer to what was required by way of support from the university.

Clearly the Co-op was trying to balance the original co-operative philosophy of the Family with the university’s demands for administrative structure. The letter closes with the Family re-iterating their philosophy and arguing that the current structure had been designed to provide a good alternative to more rigid childcare practices. “We are trying desperately to avoid producing the miniature automatons we see at other heavily structured day care centres. We realize, however, that structure is definitely needed in regard to administration.”⁷⁵ This letter was simultaneously an attempt to appease the university by agreeing to some sort of structure but also a plea to the administration not to interfere with the centre’s core vision and the children’s programs.

McGilvery’s relationship to the Family Co-op was demanding and his involvement pushed the daycare parents into a more formal and bureaucratized relationship with the university administration. After receiving the November letter from the Family Co-op, McGilvery wrote to Dr. Brian Wilson, Vice-President, Academic suggesting that he provide official recognition to the Day Care Centre as well as a formal appropriation of space. McGilvery wrote: “I feel that the University should recognize the need for a child care facility on campus and should recognize the Family Co-op as providing that service.”⁷⁶ McGilvery recommended some “tying down of the kind of service provided, the priorities and procedures for admission, the requirements for maintaining membership, etc.”⁷⁷ He then stated that the university should provide the Family Co-op

⁷⁴ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Chris Petty on behalf of the Family Co-op to C.J. McGilvery SFU. 12 November 1970.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from C.J. McGilvery to Dr. BC Wilson, Vice-President, Academic. 18 November 1970.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

“with appropriate space for this purpose.”⁷⁸ There was no doubt that McGilvery was an advocate of the daycare and strongly supported it as a permanent service on campus, suggesting an increased space for a daycare facility “of which the University could be proud.”⁷⁹

The support and intervention of McGilvery marks the beginning of a new stage in the structure of the daycare. In December Vice-President Wilson responded to McGilvery’s recommendations. He stated that “I am...prepared to recommend that the University acknowledge in principle the appropriateness of providing a Day Care facility on campus.”⁸⁰ Wilson emphasized, however, that the facility should not be called the Simon Fraser University Day Care Centre. Regarding the playground, Wilson was willing to authorize the construction of fencing outside of the now appropriated space that the daycare had occupied since June 1968.⁸¹ Wilson’s letter also suggested that “it is now time to find out the extent of interest in this kind of activity on campus,” and advised that a more appropriate space should be provided for the university daycare.⁸² He suggested that the daycare might be moved to more “appropriate facilities in the general area of the student residences on campus.”⁸³ By this point, senior administration had clearly accepted the necessity of campus-based childcare. Wilson believed that “day care facilities will become an essential part of University operation in the near future and I see no reason we should not investigate appropriate proposals at as early a date as possible.” With this letter it was now clear that the daycare was in the first stages of becoming what Vice President Wilson described as a “University operation.”

In conclusion, by the fall of 1970, the Family daycare structure had changed substantially from the early years of its operation. By this time, the Family had agreed to many concessions, including the necessity of government licensing, the election of an executive council, limits to daycare enrollment, the hiring of government certified

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Vice-President Wilson to C.J. McGilvery, 4 December 1970.

⁸¹ One of the reasons that the fence might not have been erected may have been due to the cost of construction when the administration was already agreeing to a different site.

⁸² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Vice-President Wilson to C.J. McGilvery, 4 December 1970.

⁸³ Ibid.

daycare staff, and the need for a fenced playground. These changes disturbed the initial internal peace and sense of cohesive purpose that had been enjoyed by the daycare parents from 1968 to the fall of 1970. However, the next chapter will illustrate that the most important daycare infrastructure was yet to be challenged.

Chapter Five

From the Family Co-op to the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society: Conflict, Regulation, and Diminishing Idealism (1971-1974)

The daycare “was in turmoil, with both parents and staff spending more time arguing and maneuvering about power and control than focussing on the needs of the kids in care.” Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

“They were really in a rage because the daycare workers wanted a modified union shop.” Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

By 1971, the daycare was acknowledged by the SFU administration and plans were in place for a permanent facility. But daycare parents struggled with the required concessions. For the Family parents, priority had never been placed on securing a better space, nicer play equipment, and formal staffing, but rather, on the idealistic vision of non-hierarchical, co-operative, and creative childcare. This approach to childcare had been the core vision of the daycare parents since the earliest days of Snake Hill in 1967. But the demands to regulate and professionalize in order to receive an official license, and thus both recognition and funding, had shifted this core vision by late 1970. This chapter focuses on the erosion of the original Family structure and vision and maintains that the transition from the Family Co-op to the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society was built on significant compromise. From the beginning of 1971 to the fall of 1974 the daycare’s biggest struggle was to maintain their vision and control of an excellent child centered daycare program and to uphold a co-operative family structure within the context of an officially recognized structure.

Mounting Need for Daycare Space and Regulation

As the university grew supportive of campus daycare and as the daycare began to professionalize, it became clear that the Family Co-op Academic Quadrangle site could not meet the increased demand for childcare service. The January 1971 daycare vacancy offered to Mary Wilson and her daughter was fortunate, because a January 1971 letter to Mrs. Maycock, the Preschool Consultant for Community Care Licencing, from the Family,

refers to an almost 50 person wait list for an opening in the Co-op.¹ Yet this wait list for on-campus daycare was not sufficient proof of need to satisfy the SFU administration. In January 1971, the administration conducted their own assessment. The “Day Care Survey,” which had been recommended by Academic Vice President Wilson, was conducted to determine “the extent of interest in this kind of activity on campus.”² The response of 84 parents, representing “106 children in total, 58 of Day Care Age” seemed to indicate moderate demand to Wilson, but he nonetheless envisioned the provision of campus day care services with appropriate space in the near future.³ The January 1971 letter to Mrs. Maycock of BC Community Care Licencing from the Family executive references “the surprising interest the university administration is showing in the Co-op and in day care facilities in general. We have learned recently that the administration is looking into the possibility of expanding our facilities to incorporate room for more centers to serve the entire university community.”⁴ This “surprising interest” may have seemed benevolent at the time but within a few months the Family would fully understand the conditions of that interest.⁵

Two important issues emerged in this period as the daycare attempted to access resources. First, the question of what constituted suitable and safe equipment became an issue of administrative concern. This same January 1971 letter also asked Community Care Licencing for financial assistance “to purchase and maintain suitable equipment” for the

¹ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from the Family to Mrs. Maycock. 8 January 1971. “In 1969 the Community Care Facilities Licensing Act replaced the Welfare Institutions Licensing Act in regulating private care facilities in the province. The next year the responsibility for the supervision and administration of the act was transferred from the Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement to the Health Branch of the Department of Health Services and Hospital Insurance, along with the chief inspector and his staff.” C. W. Gorby was the Chief Inspector of WILB (Welfare Institutions Licensing Board) and as part of his staff, Mrs. Gladys Maycock was the WILB official responsible for daycare as a licensing officer and Pre-School Consultant. For information on the licensing act, see <http://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/provincial-child-care-facilities-licensing-board-administrative-records>.

² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Vice-President Wilson to C.J. McGilvery. 4 December 1970.

³ SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Dr. S. Wilson, Academic Vice President to C.J. McGilvery. 26 January 1971.

⁴ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter to Mrs. Maycock from Chris Petty and S.P. Viswanathan per the Family Co-op. 8 January 1971.

⁵ Ibid.

daycare.⁶ The request for financial assistance was unavoidable considering the government regulated requirement for daycare equipment. However, financial dependency compromises independence and self-reliance, and consequently, this concession presented another turning point for the daycare. Prior to 1971, parents donated their children's indoor and outdoor toys from home to be shared by all the children. As Kilian Ermachild described, the daycare utilized all manner of creative methods to teach and entertain the children without concern for meeting governmental standards. An April 28, 1971, meeting regarding Day Care Services on Campus involved three daycare parents, one co-ordinator of the daycare, three representatives of SFU administration, two social welfare officials, one child care professional and two members of the SFU Psychology Department. Minutes from the meeting disclose that the SFU administration had also been approached by the daycare for funding for equipment.⁷

The former co-operative sharing of resources no longer met the growing needs of the daycare nor the requirements of external regulators. Minutes of the meeting specified that equipment must "fulfill Provincial Regulations [and] can be incorporated into the projected facility" that by now was being contemplated.⁸ Some of the equipment required included a record player, musical instruments, table toys, science equipment, hollow blocks, a wall clock, storage cupboards, a telephone, sleeping mattresses of a specific design for nap time, a climbing apparatus, art supplies and a first-aid kit to name just a few items. The recommended equipment totalled expenses of \$3,462.50, which was an exorbitant cost for the Family. There were even recommendations for equipment for the fenced-in playground that did not yet exist, like a climbing apparatus, scooters, a wagon, and a sand box.⁹ Mary Wilson remembers that "there was a play area from the very beginning. The play area was right outside the door. It wasn't a designated play area. It wasn't fenced off and it had no particular equipment." Although it was adequate space for the daycare Family "it did not by

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Minutes of Meeting, RE: Day Care Services on Campus. 28 April 1971.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ In the summer of 1972 students from the Faculty of Education exercised a new concept in adventure playgrounds by constructing a daycare playground located just outside of Snake Hill. Due to the ingenuity of the Family parents, another daycare playground was constructed near Louis Riel House in the summer of 1973.

any means satisfy the licencing people.”¹⁰ The licencing stipulations and regulations did not place value on free and unsupervised play, nor did those regulations acknowledge any value in having children integrated into the day-to-day life of the university.

The daycare equipment was not the end of external administrative demands. A further challenge to the Family philosophy and educational values was about to be instigated as the university and the government made particular demands for new staffing regulations. Staffing regulations and worker-child ratios meant increased expenses, of course, but the government also regulated the segregation of children and workers by age categories. And these requirements in turn meant that the purchase of proper equipment was necessary for different age groups. The temporary permission to operate was issued on April 5, 1971 and specified that the daycare could operate for a three-month period with a “capacity of twenty children aged three–five years for group day care.”¹¹ The interim licence also stipulated that “Five younger children under three may be cared for. They are to be separated from the older children with their own constant adult in attendance. The under three year old children are to have suitable equipment for their age group.”¹² The daycare supervisor and all additional and required staff had to meet the qualifications set out by the Community Care Facilities Licensing Act.¹³ All of these regulations meant that informally sharing resources would no longer be possible. Yet the Family could not afford the cost of hiring staff and purchasing “proper” equipment by age category.

By May of 1971 the consequences of supervisory specifications became further apparent. The daycare was sent a bulletin, titled “Summary of Provincial Day Care Legislation,” which specified further and more complex restrictions for staffing. According to

¹⁰ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

¹¹ SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Letter from Chief Inspector C.W. Gorby, Community Care Facilities Licencing Division in the Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement, to Mrs. Glenys Chen, Co-ordinator of the Family Co-op, 5 April 1971.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ “The Welfare Institutions Licensing Act established a board to oversee licensing and regulations of various kinds of welfare institutions. Beginning in 1943, all child care facilities—whether centre-based or home-based- were required to apply for licensing through the board and were held to health and safety standards determined by the province.” Lisa Pasolli, *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma: A History of British Columbia’s Social Policy* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 97. The Community Care Facilities Licensing Act replaced the Welfare Institutions Licensing Act in regulating private care facilities in the province in 1969.

government regulations, there had to be “1 qualified supervisor for each group of children, with an assistant if the group is over 8 in number, and two assistants if the group exceeds 20 but is below the maximum of 25. Extra supervisor required when there are more than two groups of children cared for in same building.”¹⁴ Further, the bulletin detailed that the supervisor must have “understanding of child welfare, specialized knowledge and adequate experience of pre-school methods, and be suitable.”¹⁵ As Chief Inspector Gorby’s letter indicated, the supervisor must also be “in charge of the total group [and] shall be responsible for: maintaining staff ratio to children present and directing children’s program and participation of the staff.”¹⁶ In other words, the daycare needed more staff overall, more qualified and licensed staff, and more specialized equipment. The bulletin warned that “Unlicensed operation subject to fine of \$50 - \$500 per day. Premises to be open for inspection at all times and records available.”¹⁷ These requirements were significant because they directly contradicted the co-operative style and structure of the Family. Even up until May 1971, Betty Varty, who was hired by the Family as a supervisor to replace Glenys Chen, was the sole employee while daycare parents continued to do their required shifts. But co-operative shifts run by committed parents would simply not meet the new regulations for proper staff-child ratios and more professionalized staff.

The requirement for more qualified staff also meant an increased payroll for the Family to bear along with the cost of professional administrative record keeping. Given the strong commitment to co-operative care for parents who could not afford more expensive options, this would only be possible if the daycare was subsidized by the university, the BC government, or both. There was a provision for financial assistance laid out in the bulletin as the “province usually pays 100% of costs of services purchased for children of persons in need; in addition, contributes to the cost of serving all children at centres operated by non-

¹⁴ SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Bulletin, Summary of Provincial Day Care Legislation, May 1971.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Letter from Chief Inspector C.W. Gorby, Community Care Facilities Licencing Division in the Department of Rehabilitation and Social Improvement, to Mrs. Glennis Chen, Co-ordinator of the Family Co-op. 5 April 1971.

¹⁷ SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Bulletin, Summary Of Provincial Day Care Legislation, May 1971.

profit groups.”¹⁸ But external subsidization meant acquiescing to external requirements. However, the Family had little choice by this point. The hiring of more daycare staff and purchasing of equipment was unavoidable if the Family intended to comply with government licencing demands. As funding increased so too did the need for more paid staff. By July 1972, the daycare supervisor had three assistant staff members.¹⁹

As an ultimatum, the university required the Family Co-op to be licenced and part of that licencing entailed strict specifications for the children’s care. These conditions instigated a crossroads for the daycare parents because complying with these government regulations meant digressing from the original manner of conducting the children’s care. By April 1971 and after three years of self-reliance, the daycare parents were squeezed into submitting to institutional authorities. Family members who participated in the daycare as founding members maintained that the daycare should remain “as an experiment in the formation of a new type of extended or communal Family wherein a number of parents take real responsibility for each other’s children.”²⁰ As Kilian Ermachild had written in 1969, “if we pooled money together to buy a substitute mother or parent, we would be negating the concept of collective responsibility for each other and for each other’s children. We realized that if we each paid a fee to hire someone we would no longer be a Family but only some individual women and men sharing the cost of a babysitter.”²¹ Kilian Ermachild’s words resonated within the philosophy of many parents who were still involved with the daycare in the spring of 1971, and the contrast between government care requirements and the parents’ original ideals would soon instigate increased conflict and an inevitable split among the parents. Meanwhile, the daycare parents retained control of the Family’s childcare educational platform unbeknownst to authorities who thought that the supervisor was in control. Some parents felt that holding on to the Family children’s exploratory education was

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ SFUA. Day Care, F 107-20-0-7. Letter to Mr. Stan Roberts from Executive, SFU Family Co-op. 25 July 1972.

²⁰ Melody Kilian, “Children Are Only Littler People...or the louis riel university family co-op,” in *Women Unite* (Vancouver: 1969, repr. Toronto: Canadian Women’s Educational Press, pg. 90-99, 1972), 96

²¹ Ibid.

important, because similar programs were not available elsewhere. The Family feared the heavily structured day care centres that produced “miniature automatons.”²²

Records of the April 1971 meeting with three daycare parents, one co-ordinator of the daycare, three representative of the SFU administration, two social welfare officials, one child care professional and two members of the SFU Psychology Department, demonstrate the full extent to which the university demands were a challenge to the original Family philosophy. The meeting minutes reveal that aside from a government certified co-ordinator with support staff and special equipment, the university also indicated a desire to retain control, as “the University would ultimately be responsible for the Day Care operation.”²³ Control was the key word. This move by the university administration to ever-increasing control and supervision was predicted by Jim Harding during his commentary about the daycare’s survival when he suggested that the SFU administration “may have wanted control of the daycare to run as part of their superstructure. They certainly weren’t into power sharing.”²⁴

Between the fall of 1970, when the Family first began to integrate university demands, to the spring of 1971, the Family underwent a substantial transformation. The Family had a temporary licence to operate that was valid from April 5, 1971, for a three month period, an executive committee, a government certified supervisor hired by the Family with support staff as required, some financial assistance from the Department of Community Care Licencing and from the SFU administration, and the intention of equipping the interior and exterior daycare spaces with provincially regulated equipment under the Community Care Facilities Licensing Act of 1969. As well, parents understood that the university had an ultimate agenda to control the daycare.²⁵ Mary Wilson recalls that at the time “many members in the group [the Family] still had a commitment to its original roots as an unlicensed collective, a self-governing co-operative” and this commitment would inflame internal conflict in the years

²² SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3.

Letter from Chris Petty on behalf of the Family Co-op to C.J. McGilvery SFU. 12 November 1970.

²³ SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Minutes of Meeting, RE: Day Care Services on Campus. 28 April 1971.

²⁴ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016

²⁵ The September 18th 1972 letter from the daycare Executive committee to Stan Roberts emphasizes internal checks and balances for the society by stating, “in an effort to ensure that the committee acts in the interest of the entire Co-op, the membership has the right at any time to censure the committee and replace it with one more sensitive to the majority feeling within the whole group.” SFUA. Day Care fonds, F 107-20-0-7. Memo from the Daycare Executive to Stan Roberts. 18 September 1972.

to come.²⁶ The Family parents who remained highly focused on the foundational principles of the daycare were feeling disempowered by the more pragmatic parents in the group who were willing to compromise for the sake of the daycare's continuance. The Family Co-op parents could not hold on to their original defiant stance in the face of limited space and the growing waitlists for Co-op membership. Also, there was ever mounting pressure and scrutiny of the daycare's operation from the SFU administration.

By the end of the 1960s and early part of the 1970s there was an apparent escalation by authorities to contain the counterculture at the university, municipal, provincial and federal level. This trend would not have escaped daycare parents. By the fall of 1968 the SFU administration had called in the RCMP to arrest 114 occupiers of the administration offices, and the 1969 PSA strike resulted in the dismissal of twelve teaching assistants and suspension of eight professors. The administration was reacting to subversive student actions with severe methods and penalties. In the Vancouver community, harsh measures were deployed on a larger scale. Historians have shown how policy and city pressure on the counterculture and draft dodgers increased in the 1970s.²⁷ Eryk Martin argues that "offended and outraged by the counterculture's existence, city officials supported the VPD's [Vancouver Police Department's] use of vagrancy bylaws to harass the physical presence of hip youth in the city while also mobilizing charges of criminal libel and obscenity against hip periodicals such as the *Georgia Straight*."²⁸ Michael Boudreau shows how the 1971 Gastown Smoke-In and Street Jamboree, which was "intended to be a public display of civil disobedience," ultimately resulted in a riot between youth and police as well as in injuries and dozens of arrests.²⁹ Police response to social and political protest was not just restricted to draft dodgers and the counterculture. In Quebec, for example, the fight for French language and cultural protection grew more powerful throughout the 1960s. The growth of a separatist political movement, and the development of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ), an

²⁶ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

²⁷ Daniel Ross, "Panic On Love Street: Citizens and Local Government Respond to Vancouver's Local Hippie Problem, 1967-1968," *BC Studies, The British Columbian Quarterly*, no. 180, pages 1-41, (Winter 2013/14), 40.

²⁸ Eryk Martin, *Burn it Down! Anarchism, Activism and the Vancouver Five, 1967-1985*, Ph.D. Thesis. Department of History, Simon Fraser University, 2016, 39.

²⁹ Michael Boudreau, "The Struggle for a Different World: Gastown Riot in Vancouver," In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, eds. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 118.

activist organization which engaged in political violence, culminated in the kidnapping of two state officials, and the murder of one. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's implementation of the War Measures Act resulted in hundreds of arrests and detainments without charges or hearings.

Daycare parents were aware of the escalation of regulation, enforcement, and persecution at the turn of the decade, and may themselves feared external force. They were already operating under pressure and were increasingly open to negotiation and conciliatory modifications to their structure. The exclusive self-government of the daycare early days was changing into a governmentally regulated service. Meanwhile, a compromise had been struck. As Chris Petty said, the Family "had to survive."³⁰ In this period some of the correspondence from the Family Co-op to the SFU administration and to provincial organizations took on an appeasing tone and sounded conciliatory even though internal friction among the parents was mounting.³¹ In turn, Academic Vice-President B. G. Wilson, and Assistant to the Dean of Student Affairs D. J. McGilvery, as well as other members of the SFU administration, were thinking favourably about the future of campus daycare services but with the university in control.

The main issue faced by the Family at this time was that of finances and resources. The Department of Child Welfare had been subsidising the daycare since licensing in 1971 and by July 31st 1972 the SFU administration was paying the Family "\$1600.00 per month for equipment, supplies and food."³² This amount proved to be insufficient and in a September 18th 1972 memo to Stan Roberts, the Family executive recommended the university "supply the Day-Care with the proper facilities (i.e. location, heat, light and janitorial services)." They also wanted the university to "handle fees (which are to be determined by the Board), billing, salaries of hired staff, bookkeeping etc."³³ Stan Roberts, who was

³⁰ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

³¹ A November 1970 letter to C.J. McGilvery Dean of Student Affairs from Chris Petty a representative of the Family executive referred to a Family daycare history in a self-deprecating way as "dominated by indecision, apathy and division." SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986 ,F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Chris Petty to C.J. McGilvery. 12 November 1970.

³² SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Carolyn Burr to Stan Roberts. 31 July 1972.

³³ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from the Daycare Executive to Stan Roberts. 18 September 1972.

assigned to oversee the daycare operation, was a senior non-academic administrator and vice president of university services like workshops, non-credit courses, and public performances. By the fall of 1972 the daycare was deeply dependent on the resources of the both the SFU administration and the BC government in order to comply with regulations and demands. It was the increase in costs and expansion of services that led the daycare executive committee to state in the memo: "The time has come that action will be taken in order to maintain this vital service to the campus community and expand it accordingly. It is the time for the university administration to be involved in this affair, and be among the first university to officially recognize the necessity of Day Care Services on campus."³⁴

Not all members of the Family agreed that the SFU administration should be involved in the Co-op and they remained steadfast in their commitment to a non-hierarchical and parent controlled co-operative. This created philosophical divisions between the parents who wanted university assistance and parents who did not. These differences became a point of disagreement and dysfunction within the Family. The opposing factions and internal friction within the Family is discussed in interviews with Chris Petty, Mary Wilson, Anne McDonald, and Sharon Yandle, written reports by Emily Campbell, correspondence from Betty Varty and Stan Roberts and internal minutes and statements from within the daycare. For example, a February 1974 report/proposal written by a daycare committee committed to the original non-hierarchical, co-operatively run daycare states:

The two main areas of concern at that time were the financial mess we seemed to be in and the ongoing dissatisfaction with the general running of the day care. Two types of answers were suggested. One was to plead with the university to either help us out or take us over and the other was to continue an attempt to solve our problems as an independent society. Many of us present believed that to maintain an independent existence as a society was preferred to any other arrangement with the university.³⁵

The report/proposal indicated the focus of the parents' concern. The committee reiterated that "we as parents have the right and the desire to determine collectively the manner in which our children will be 'cared for'."³⁶ In a February 1974 daycare meeting following the report/proposal, a parent expressed that "the years of work to establish day

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1) F-229-0-0-0-1. Report/Proposal. 26 February 1974.

³⁶ Ibid.

care on campus is going down the tube.”³⁷ The minutes indicated the conundrum the daycare faced when one of the parents stated that “if we do go to the university (for aid), we want all the control.”³⁸ No strings attached funding was not what the university intended. Knowing this another parent asked: “would the parents here be willing to occupy the Day Care Buildings in opposition to the university?”³⁹ This question was not a real proposal or suggestion, however, because the daycare was already dependent on the university and external agencies. The meeting moved on to debate the complexities of accepting funding without relinquishing control of the daycare structure and programming. Until Emily Campbell was hired by the university in the fall of 1974, the nature and delivery of care remained a contestation between parents and co-ordinators; even co-ordinators as pleasant as Betty Varty.

Betty Varty had replaced Glynis Chen in April 1971 and was seen as an affable individual who remained with the Co-op until November 1973. During her term as supervisor, there was relative peace between these warring factions in the Family. Mary Wilson remembers Varty as a peacemaker. Heidi Greco enrolled at SFU in the summer of 1971 and had two sons in the daycare. Greco remembers Varty as a “big warm woman.”⁴⁰ Like Chen, Varty was also provincially licensed and hired by the Family. However, some of the parents had found Chen to be too difficult to work with. Petty remembers: “Glenys Chen was a difficult character. She had a set idea of how things should run and she was an autocrat. Betty Varty was a person who would fit into the daycare. She was much calmer, she was less of a dictator.”⁴¹ Mary Wilson also remembers Varty positively. “As long as she was there you just assumed that things are being taken care of and things are okay.” Varty was “a buffer between people who may have otherwise conflicted.”⁴² However, even if Varty was perceived as a more responsive director, she clearly did not always feel comfortable with the amount of power the parents had in the Family. In a February 1974 letter to Stan Roberts, Varty

³⁷ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229-0-0-0-1. Minutes – general society Meeting. 3 March 1974.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁰ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

⁴¹ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁴² Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

complained that during her term with the Family, she was “frustrated” because she felt that she was “a director who wasn’t allowed to direct.”⁴³ Exactly why Varty felt this way is not disclosed in the historical correspondence. Part of her frustration may have resulted from the April 1971 meeting when daycare parents contended with external officials present for control of the program and the environment of the daycare centre. External officials responded to these arguments for independence by stating that “government regulations stipulate that the government approved coordinator had the responsibility for directing and supervising the centre in such areas as nutritional needs, physical needs and program needs of the children.”⁴⁴ Probably much to the disappointment of Varty, this never happened. Even though the Co-op had compromised with the administration by acquiescing to many regulations, the original Family values of non-hierarchical co-operation were still working internally and the daycare parents retained control of their children’s needs. As an employee of the daycare, Varty did not share her disappointment or lack of control with the SFU administration until after she retired in November 1973. The family was still in charge of the daycare’s educational program and this may have frustrated any kind of hierarchical supervision, even by someone as amenable as Betty Varty. She claimed that “the board of directors had great difficulty accepting direction, feeling perhaps that they had within themselves sufficient expertise to deal with the diverse and complex problems that beset a society of that size.”⁴⁵ Varty may have been required to support daycare curriculum that differed from her training, and the training that she did have may not have satisfied the Family vision of what a progressive educational program should be.

Even during Varty’s directorship, educational programming remained somewhat open and creative. Anne McDonald remembers that in this period, the SFU daycare “wasn’t very structured around programs. We had activities that encouraged early learning but we didn’t do a lot of group activities. I don’t remember sitting in a circle singing songs with the kids. It

⁴³ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 2), F 229.0,0,0.2. Letter from Betty Varty to Stan Roberts. 25 February 1974.

⁴⁴ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7.Minutes of Meeting, RE: Day Care Services on Campus. 28 April 1971.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

was more exploratory play.”⁴⁶ Notions about “adequate” and “suitable” standards of daycare training held by qualified daycare supervisors or co-ordinators likely did not incorporate the innovative or experimental thinking about education and childcare that was emerging in the 1960s. As Kilian Ermachild recounts, “the children were raised to be these new type of people with much more autonomy and creativity and unstructured time.”⁴⁷ There was clearly a disconnect between the daycare parents’ desires for a particular style of education and care with Chen’s training and approach, and this likely continued to some extent with Varty as well.

The Family remained parent-directed with a philosophical approach rooted in support of unrestricted, creative daycare activity from 1968 up to the mid-1970s. Any supervisor or administrator was their employee and was expected to work under their direction. Heidi Greco recalls an internal daycare structure where “it was the parents providing support and direction to an incredible staff.”⁴⁸ Parents retained direction and control of the children’s educational program until Emily Campbell was hired in July 1974. The SFU administration thought that the hiring of Betty Varty as a qualified supervisor meant that the daycare program was directed by her and Stan Roberts was probably not aware that parents retained control of the children’s programs until he received Varty’s letter in February 1974. Consequently, Roberts stipulated in his April 1974 correspondence to the BMDCS that the new daycare administrator must be given “both authority and responsibility for the whole package.”⁴⁹ He reassured the daycare parents that the new administrator could be fired if necessary but trust must be given to a “professional in early childhood care.”⁵⁰ Relinquishing

⁴⁶ Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017. When Anne McDonald was hired by the daycare in 1973 as a staff member, Betty Varty, as a qualified supervisor, was about to leave. McDonald was hired full-time as one of four staff members who worked alongside one parent each shift. McDonald was not yet qualified as a certified daycare worker but she could work as an assistant to a qualified supervisor. At the time, she remembers “I went to Langara College in a night school program for preschool supervisors.” (Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017) After educational requirements were complete, McDonald’s daycare certification was issued by the Community Care Facilities Board of BC.

⁴⁷ Emily Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

⁴⁸ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

⁴⁹ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Stan Roberts to the BMDCS Executive. 19 April 1974.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

control of the daycare's educational programming was not what the Family had ever wanted or envisioned.

Parental domination and direction may have frustrated Varty as a director not allowed to direct, but any dissatisfaction she felt did not interfere with her goodwill toward the Family. During Varty's two-and-a-half year term she advocated for the Family daycare, describing the Academic Quadrangle space as "grossly unsuitable and hazardous," and eagerly offering help to the SFU administration in the "re-location of the existing facilities."⁵¹ Varty recognized the need for daycare expansion and focused on implementing an evening babysitting service and a daycare centre for infants. By December 1971 Varty had received "permission to operate" (or more likely a university nod to activate) an evening babysitting service with "the extended service [as] part of the regular day operation."⁵² The evening babysitting was eagerly accepted by the SFU Division of Continuing Education for the new evening credit program being developed. However, evening care was considered a sub-service by the BC government Superintendent of Child Welfare Services. When Maycock learned of the evening babysitting in December 1971, she warned Varty that "since the inevitable effect of such an authorized sub-use of a centre receiving Child Welfare payments must be to divert part of these funds paid for full day care, we cannot continue to allow day payments to a centre under such conditions."⁵³ The Family had again acted unilaterally without submitting plans in detail for the approval of the Superintendent of Child Welfare. Maycock warned that "no further day care payments can be made after February 1, 1972" unless their approval is obtained.⁵⁴ Betty Varty was instructed to meet with Maycock within four days to resolve the matter.

It was not unusual for the daycare parents and staff to act unilaterally. The daycare was founded by parents who occupied daycare space and developed their own structure in response to their own needs. It was apparent to the parents that evening babysitting was needed and also that a sickbay was necessary. Heidi Greco remembers that "about a third of

⁵¹ SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Betty Varty to Stan Roberts 17 May 1971.

⁵² SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from SFU Division of Continuing Education to Betty Varty. 2 December 1971.

⁵³ SFUA. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Mrs. Maycock to Betty Varty. 6 December 1971.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the kids came down with the chicken pox and it left a number of us in the lurch. We decided that we would isolate these kids all in the same apartment [in Louis Riel House] and take turns looking after them. It was for ten days to two weeks. It was an informal arrangement.”⁵⁵

Nevertheless, these spontaneous ad-hoc days were nearing an end and any change or addition to the daycare had to be formally approved. In a September 1972 report, Varty recommended that the university consider “two or three family group homes [for children’s developmental reasons], two group daycare centres for infants, a centre for children who require care part time, and two [more] full time daycare centres.”⁵⁶ One of Varty’s pressing concerns was the need for infant care. In a September 1972 memo to the SFU administration, Varty emphasized that “our present waiting list indicates that 55% are children under three years of age. Under existing legislation in BC it is not permissible to provide group day care for infants and toddlers. However, should S.F.U. desire to meet this pressing need by establishing group day care centers for infants I have every reason to believe that our present provincial government would favourably endorse a pilot project of this nature.”⁵⁷ On the same date, the Family executive supported Varty’s suggestion by recommending that “immediate investigations be made into people and facilities available in Louis Riel House to handle the small number of infants in acute need of child care facilities.”⁵⁸ Correspondence from Betty Varty to the Sanitation Department in Burnaby BC indicates that by January 18th 1973 an infant center at Louis Riel house was already operating although it may not have been approved by any official body. The official infant centre, named Kahpoo, opened in June of 1974 when Stan Roberts arranged for the university to dedicate a first-floor suite at Lois Riel house for infant care.

The need for the expansion of daycare service was supported by the Daycare Executive, Betty Varty, Mary Wilson, and Stan Roberts.⁵⁹ Repeated letters of concern for

⁵⁵ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

⁵⁶ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Day Care. SFU. Report. 8 September 1972.

⁵⁷ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from Betty Varty to SFU administration. 18 September 1972.

⁵⁸ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from the Daycare Executive to Stan Roberts. 18 September 1972.

⁵⁹ Ibid; SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from Betty Varty to SFU administration. September 18, 1972; SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Letter from Stan Roberts to I. Mugridge Assistant Vice-President, Academic. 24 August 1972; SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-

children waiting for daycare were brought to the attention of the SFU administration. Consequently, in December 1972 the provincial government gave the daycare two trailers located in the parking lot next to Louis Riel House. These trailers were given in response to the Family's desire for more space to address the waitlist which had reached over 100 children by September 1972.⁶⁰ One trailer was first used as office space, but by the spring of 1973 both trailers were used to provide badly needed daycare. Therefore, by the spring of 1973, there were three official daycares and one unofficial infant centre in operation at SFU, all of which were located in different spaces. At this time the Family Co-op space was renamed Snake Hill. Each centre had its own name but all centres were united under one larger structure as members of the Burnaby Mountain Day Care Society (BMDCS). However, as this thesis argues, all of the centres were not united in their vision of what an excellent daycare service should look like. The expansion of the Family Co-op to include three additional centres marked the beginning of the end of an idealistic era with a collective and shared vision.

Just before the daycare expansion in the fall of 1972, the daycare executive committee recommended a new administrative structure: a Board of Directors which included three parents, one university representative, and the Day-care coordinator "in an advisory capacity." The executive committee saw the new board as "functioning in an executive capacity." To maintain the voice of parents they recommended "that two parents will be elected for a term of no longer than three consecutive semesters, and one parent for a term of no longer than 2 consecutive semesters."⁶¹ This recommendation would ensure that the daycare was controlled by the Family parents through the daycare board, while still enlisting support from the SFU administration. The daycare board could also exert internal pressure on the operation of the new daycare centres that were about to open by January 1973. However, having a daycare board of directors, and particularly having a member who was a university representative was not a consideration that the original Family parents would have entertained. The presence of a university representative on the daycare board is evidence of

2-0-0-7. Letter from Mary Wilson to Stan Roberts. September 14, 1972; SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from the Daycare Executive to Stan Roberts. September 18, 1972.

⁶⁰ SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971. F 107-2-0-0-7. Memo from the Daycare Executive to Stan Roberts. 18 September 1972.

⁶¹ Ibid.

how far the daycare had acquiesced to external forces and it foreshadowed greater university control that was to come.

With four daycare centres in operation by February 1973, there was an attempt by the daycare executive to form the Simon Fraser University Day Care Society under the Societies Act by using this name in a newly designed constitution. However, the SFU Administration did not want the university's name to be officially used by the daycare. "Simon Fraser said, 'no, no you don't use our name'."⁶² In Wilson's opinion, the daycare hadn't achieved enough credibility for the university to be officially linked with them. "What the university was trying to say was 'you're not part of us and we only want to go so far down the road of supporting you before it becomes de facto our daycare'."⁶³ As a result the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society (BMDCS) became the daycare's official name. At this time, the BMDCS designed an official Agreement with Simon Fraser University to act as a contract. The agreement, dated July, 1973 includes a pertinent clause stating that: "The University agrees that while this Agreement remains in effect the University will not permit day care services to be provided on the campus by any organization or corporation other than the Society."⁶⁴ The BMDCS no doubt knew that parents who wanted a modified daycare structure might try to break out on their own and form a different agreement with the university.

Much of the evidence of internal daycare disagreement and conflict in the early 1970s comes from the surviving archival record of correspondence between the daycare supervisors and/or parents with the SFU administration, minutes of daycare meetings, and with interviews done with parents including Sharon Yandle and Chris Petty, daycare employees Betty Varty, Anne McDonald, and Mary Wilson, and Emily Campbell. Their memories are those of the group of parents and employees who remained and thus worked with the administration for official recognition and licencing. No parent who left in frustration with this shift in focus responded to interview requests. While there is no doubt that the conflicts were real and felt very deeply by everyone involved, the perspectives here remained weighted toward the assessment of the remaining parents who were willing to compromise,

⁶² Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Agreement between Burnaby Mountain Day Care Society, and Simon Fraser University. July 1973.

who saw the opposition as “strident,” overly idealistic, and not pragmatic. As Mary Wilson recalls, the daycare members who held on to the older values and philosophy were few in number although very articulate and persuasive. Wilson remembers this particular group of members as very political. She recalls that between 1971 and early 1974, “there was a group that gelled within the daycare that were persuasive and articulate.” They had “various political theories” and they would back these theories up by quoting academic research. They had ideas that insisted “this is the way things should go and either you are with us or you are against us. I was either too old or too detached or too cynical to be buying into this political philosophy. We’ve got diversity here and we need a pluralist daycare. We can satisfy different parents with different needs.”⁶⁵ The adherents to the original daycare values may have been hoping that parents could still collectively limit the university’s control but this may have been self-deceiving, because the daycare had already changed and agreed to many external demands. As the daycare expanded, it included new groups of parents with different needs. Five and a half years had passed since the Family began and many daycare members had enrolled with a different set of priorities. The daycare was transitioning into a multi-facility structure with increased enrollment and parents who needed a variety of services including part-time daycare, evening daycare, and non-participatory daycare as opposed to co-operative daycare. Parents who maintained the original Family Co-op philosophy no doubt saw their structure eroding.

Despite internal philosophical disagreements, the daycare presented outward cohesion to the administration by saying “we’re doing fine.”⁶⁶ Many of the parents were wary of the SFU administration interfering further with their philosophical vision. Some of the parents “were quite strident” and insisted “we must make sure this place is run as a collective, we must make sure that everybody does this and nobody does that.”⁶⁷ The parents dedicated to the co-operative vision of the early Family conflicted with parents who wanted either partial or no participation in the operation of the daycare. Sharon Yandle returned to SFU campus as a daycare parent during this transition. She remembers that

⁶⁵ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

“there were difficulties emerging in the daycare.”⁶⁸ She suspected that the difficulties “very much reflected the idealistic approach” of the original parents or the parents there at the time. “There was a very strong sense that the daycare needed to be run by the parents. The parents were not only to run the daycare but they were to be very hands on, and part of being very hands on was to actually do shifts in the centre.” She adds that “one of the critiques of the daycare was that they said that some parents were trying to create socialism in one daycare. It is a way of simply saying that there is an ideological push that was superseding the needs of the parents.”⁶⁹

The expectation of high levels of parental involvement may well have been difficult for working parents, and in particular, for women in the workforce who faced the double task of working in the paid labour force as well as performing unpaid labour in the home. The SFU Family Co-op promoted equal parental involvement by both men and women as a means of dismantling the nuclear family model with mother as the primary caregiver. However, feminist theorists argued that such deep-seated beliefs about mothering and the family were resistant to quick cultural change. In 1978, Nancy Chodorow argued that mothers in the paid labour force “are considered unmotherly if they demand day-care centres, [and] greedy and unreasonable if they expected help from their husbands.”⁷⁰ Simone de Beauvoir argued that it was “very difficult to reconcile work and motherhood.” Outside work “only represents another source of fatigue within the framework of marriage.”⁷¹ A women’s double task as mother/homemaker as well as income earner in the labour market would be further increased without user pay daycare that was available at SFU by 1973.

Clearly there were parents who did not want childcare based on the co-operative model and simply wanted a safe, well-subsidized, and professional facility for their children’s care. At the time that Yandle was involved in the daycare she remembers, “the last thing in the world I wanted to do was a shift in the daycare. I absolutely did not want to do that. I was working full time. I had a very demanding job. There was no way that my husband was going

⁶⁸ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 213.

⁷¹ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), 523.

to do that in a million years and there were a lot of other people who didn't want to do it as well. But, there was pressure not to say that. There was pressure on women to want to be around children."⁷² This was the case in 1973 and it remained the case at the end of the decade when Adrienne Rich wrote that "the right to have or not have children; the right to have both children and a selfhood not dependent on them; these are still being fought for, and this fight threatens every part of the patriarchal system."⁷³ There was, and still is, a moral social ethic that expects women to be mothers who will mother primarily or exclusively. As Rich argued, "the pressure on all women to assent to the 'mothering' role is intense."⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Yandle's concerns about enforcing parental involvement in the daycare likely reflected those of other women at university who wanted to attend school or work and not be involved with daily childcare.

By the late sixties, the legalization of birth control and the easing of abortion restrictions along with women's accessibility to university education meant women could strive for new opportunities. But working women continued to face inequalities through "overwork, inadequate pay and extra burdens at home."⁷⁵ Despite the hardship of double duty for working mothers, along with the reality of unequal pay and opportunity in the workforce, "women sought a different life than those of their mothers."⁷⁶ This was represented in the postwar demographics that show an increase in the proportion of female wage earners "from 16 to 34 per cent between 1941 and 1971."⁷⁷ Many women from the baby-boom generation understood that education was a form of emancipation and this was evident in university enrollment trends, where "postsecondary enrolment grew from 6,300 students in 1955 to over 30,000 by 1970."⁷⁸ SFU opened in September 1965 with 2500 students enrolled: 62% male and 38% female.

⁷² Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

⁷³ Adrienne Rich, *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 271.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 197.

⁷⁵ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 213.

⁷⁶ Doug Owan, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 276.

⁷⁷ Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia workers and the Rise of a New Left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 42.

But women still had to reckon with the moral and social ethic imposed on mothers. In the case of the SFU daycare, women who were expected to do co-operative duty time were in a conflicted position between full time employment and home obligations and the pressure to conform to an idealistic co-operative daycare model. Daycare participation became another factor in the overload that many working women experienced and for some women, duty time became a task to be avoided. This dichotomy was a point of dysfunction in the daycare by 1973, although it remained internal and private.

Other sorts of conflict and disagreement also remained private at this time. Mary Wilson claims that the idealistic parent members believed that “you can’t talk to the administration. Anybody who talks to the administration gets booted out.”⁷⁹ This may look in retrospect like a threat made by desperate parents still committed to traditional Family Co-op ideals amid changing times. But Mary Wilson elaborates that this was not simply a threat. The BMDCS, although receiving funds from the SFU administration, was still an independent daycare. Someone from the “original Family values” group could have made a motion to have a member expelled and if 51% agreed, then that family would be asked to leave. (This is what happened when Mary Wilson was fired in February 1974 as this chapter will detail.) Daycare parents worried about getting expelled because they were dependent on using the daycare. At daycare meetings, people with different opinions about how the daycare should be operated would sit together, physically separated in confrontational groups and united in their ideals. When discussions about the daycare management and operation became heated, there was arguing, yelling, grandstanding, and pontificating. Philosophically divided parents continued to disrupt the daycare well into the mid-1970s.⁸⁰ Anne McDonald remembers “student politics that showed up at parent meetings that could be pretty hostile.” At one meeting the parents could not agree on the agenda. The meeting “broke out into chaos after about 20 minutes.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁸⁰ By July 1974 Emily Campbell, the first SFU appointed daycare co-ordinator reported that communication between the administration and conflicting factions of the Family remained difficult with “unresolved feelings” still surfacing. SFUA. Day Care Study fonds, F 149-2-0-0-3, Day Care Study submitted by Emily Campbell, MSW family Services Centres of Greater Vancouver. 29 July 1974.

⁸¹ Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017

As proposed in the fall of 1972, and implemented in early 1973, the Family executive formed a Board of Directors to oversee all units that were incorporated under the one Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society name.⁸² Each unit “developed their own patterns of day care.”⁸³ Mary Wilson understood that SFU allowed and serviced the different daycare locations but the Society had control of the overall daycare service. The separate daycare units operated differently and made their own internal decisions about co-operative hours, operational distinctions, and other matters, but collectively they employed and worked together with daycare staff. But this model of collective decision making – one which minimized the distinction between parents and staff – soon became unsustainable. Wilson recalls: “From the time I was there, if there were meetings and decisions to be made, the staff and the parents sat down and made them as one group. They weren’t separate, they were all part of the collective, part of the group. And that’s where the problems came later on when the staff unionized. You can’t be sitting in both camps negotiating with yourself.”⁸⁴ The debate over unionization of staff reveals some of these internal tensions.⁸⁵ Yandle remembers that one of the ways that the turmoil in the daycare came to a head “is that the staff joined a union. I remember going to this meeting where that was expressed as a stab in the heart, a betrayal of everything they [the parents committed to the Family Co-op idealism] stood for.” But Yandle had a career as a union representative and understood a different perspective. “I also remember that one of the daycare workers talked to me and she had said that they were working in an environment where parents were coming and going all the time. She said the only sense of security that they felt was to be part of the union.” Yandle remembers a particular meeting of the SFU parents: “They were really in a rage because the daycare workers wanted a modified union shop. I didn’t have any sympathy for the parents at all. The hired daycare staff at SFU were employees who wanted to look after the kids, and

⁸² SFUA. Day Care fonds, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7. Day Care Society, letter from the daycare Executive committee to Stan Roberts 18 September 1972. This letter from the daycare Executive committee to Stan Roberts emphasizes internal checks and balances for the society by stating, “in an effort to ensure that the committee acts in the interest of the entire Co-op, the membership has the right at any time to censure the committee and replace it with one more sensitive to the majority feeling within the whole group.”

⁸³ SFUA. Day Care Study fonds, F 149-2-0-0-3. Day Care Study submitted by Emily Campbell, MSW family Services Centres of Greater Vancouver. 29 July 1974.

⁸⁴ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁸⁵ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1). F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

they are not coming and going. It is difficult for employees to have different people telling them what they should be doing and how.”⁸⁶

Like Yandle, Petty thought that unionization meant “better employment status for the people who worked there. I have always been a union supporter. But there was this idea that the daycare had to pay people more money.”⁸⁷ Many parents were concerned that the affordability of fees would be affected. Heidi Greco remembers that the unionization of the staff “was an awkward situation for everyone. [The staff] needed and deserved decent pay and protection [but] I would say that 80% of us [the parents] were dirt poor. Our [family] meal plan for much of university was that we would have an omelet one night and the next night we would have brown rice and veg and the night after that we would have omelet and the next night we would have brown rice and veg.”⁸⁸ The daycare parents were living in the “now” rather than projecting into their future when unionization in the workforce could be a good thing. What the daycare parents probably saw is that the daycare workers were advocating for a job and wage security that was unimagined in the daycare parents’ everyday reality. With unionization in the fall of 1973, the daycare workers could no longer be considered part of the Family, and the parents now had to comply to union rules and bargaining. This further eroded the Family values of reciprocity and co-operation. Nevertheless, the increased daycare space and administrative demand for staff underscored that despite the general poverty of the parents, the daycare structure was quickly transitioning into a viable operation with external support and association.

Not all of the Family parents supported the unionization of the daycare staff. As a parent and as a Board member of the BMDCS, Mary Wilson opposed the certification process. Wilson recalls that when the union organizer came calling, asking to meet with the daycare employer(s), we told him “Well, I suppose all of us parents are their employers.....but we’re a co-operative, and none of us really has the overall authority to

⁸⁶ Sharon Yandle interview, April 21, 2016

⁸⁷ Chris Petty interview, August 29, 2016

⁸⁸ Heidi Greco interview, September 10, 2017

represent the collective.”⁸⁹ This tactic failed to work and the daycare staff became certified.

Wilson recalls:

The seed of future problems were planted at that time, because the union status of staff was expected to be integrated with the original collective/co-operative philosophical origins of the daycare. The daycare staff were always embraced as part of the Family as friends with positions on the Board as voting members. After unionization staff members insisted that they should continue to be full members of the Society and be able to function as equal board members.⁹⁰

Having socialized and worked with the Family for years, the staff were emotionally engaged and wanted to control and preserve the non-hierarchical co-operative daycare by being involved directly as daycare decision making board members even after joining an organized institution that provided them with exclusive work and wage provisions as employees of the daycare. Mary Wilson remembers that the daycare staff remained on the daycare board and stayed very involved in the daycare operation until Emily Campbell was hired by SFU in July of 1974.⁹¹

More Trouble: Post-1973 Daycare

The period between January 1973 and January 1977 was marked by the completion of what is now known as the SFU Daycare Society complex, and requires an in-depth analysis of circumstances and events beyond the scope of this thesis. Such an analysis will be left to the efforts of another researcher. However, a brief post 1973 summary follows.

By the spring of 1973 there were four SFU daycare units in operation in a highly decentralized system. Each centre was independently run by the parents of the children involved; each with its own values, but with staff organized and administrated by the daycare Board of Directors. Although each unit required parental participation through duty time, Chris Petty remembers that it was possible for parents to hire a student for their shift.

⁸⁹ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

⁹⁰ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

⁹¹ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter to Stan Roberts from the BMDCS was signed by 4 daycare parents and 3 unionized staff members. 17 July 1974.

MacDonald remembers, “All of the units had their own staff. We didn’t mix with them. The different centres were autonomous.”⁹² The units were as follows:

Unit 1: Snake Hill, University Mall, 8:30–5:30—25 children ages 3–6, with 5 two-year olds allowed full or part time, 3 staff full time 12 months a year with parent participation being one 3 hour duty shift each week.

Unit 2: Kahpoo, Apartment 330 Louis Riel House, 8:30–5:30, licensed for 12 children aged 6 mons–2 yrs. Full time service only with 2 full time staff, parent participation - one 4 hour duty shift each week.

Unit 3: Los Ninos, Housing Parking Lot, 8:30–5:30, licensed for 15 children, ages 2-3 full time, with 3 full time staff, parent participation one 3–hour duty shift each week.

Unit 4: Pink, Housing Parking Lot 8:30–5:30, licensed for 20 children 3–6 full time, with 2 full-time staff, parent participation was one 3–hour duty shift each week.

In total these centres accommodated 77 children. At that time each program operated as an independent society. Just three years later, by the spring of 1977, there was one centre in the location of the present SFU Childcare Society, built at the cost of 1.2 million dollars, where 12 programs served 220 children.

The daycare had expanded into a remarkable facility. Mary Wilson notes that that daycare wasn’t a common service even by 1973 but SFU administrator Stan Roberts had become an advocate for the Family and it was him who bailed the daycare out of much of its financial difficulty. “I found him very understanding and sympathetic and supportive of daycare. He and his wife were very keen on supporting daycare partly because they liked the idea and partly because they wanted SFU to be the first. It was a feather in our cap. Look what we’ve done....first in the country. He wanted that for the university as well as for the kids and the parents.”⁹³

When Betty Varty resigned by the fall of 1973, Mary Wilson took over her job as a temporary assignment authorized by the BMDCS. “When Betty left it seemed like nobody was making decisions and nobody was in charge.” The daycare then “became the topic of

⁹² Anne McDonald interview, October 5, 2017

⁹³ Mary Wilson interview, August 18, 2016

discussion, debate, and controversy.”⁹⁴ The daycare “had asked me to take the helm after Betty left. They needed some planning for the next year’s budget.”⁹⁵ Wilson was hired by the daycare on a temporary basis from November 1973 to February 1974, when she was fired. Wilson explains that during the 1973/74 friction “all of the meeting time was being spent arguing about the [daycare] philosophy.”⁹⁶ Unionization of employees played a role in the increased professionalization and bureaucratization of the daycare, even though the unionised staff remained committed to the original Family co-operative values. The daycare purists did not want to see the daycare as anything other than a non-hierarchical grassroots co-operative under parental control. Some of the people were saying “I’m sick of coming to these meetings and I don’t have time to come to these meetings. Why don’t we just hand the whole thing over to the university? Let them run it. I just want a daycare.” The opposing voices would say “no, no, no, this is an exercise in collective activity, with a different way of raising our kids, with a total family. Both of these factions argued.”⁹⁷ The unionized staff joined the arguments. Wilson remembers that many of the staff were articulate and persuasive and they could dominate meetings. Wilson learned that although Varty was a peacekeeper, she was not a bookkeeper, and she left the books in disarray and employee benefits and taxes unpaid. When Wilson took over she “had to go to the university and negotiate for them to bail us out of this.” She told the group that “you can’t let this happen again. Somebody has got to make sure that this stuff gets done. You have a unionized staff and you need a budget, you need to know what you’re going to be looking at and where your money is coming from. You need to make sure that you are negotiating well with the university for what they allow us to do and what they give us.”⁹⁸ This was met with negativity and criticism by some of the daycare parents who did not agree with or believe what Wilson was telling them. Some of the parents were simply not interested in considering insurance, liability, financial planning, or the legalities of unionized staff. The daycare parents wanted to avoid the realities of expansion for as long as they could to avoid the administrative details that were required. When Wilson presented a synopsis of the financial problems that the

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

daycare was facing at a February 1974 daycare meeting, it became apparent to the BMDCS that she had been discussing internal daycare issues with Stan Roberts and for that breach of trust she was fired soon after. The majority of the daycare parents, along with the daycare staff who retained voting power, wanted daycare affairs and internal workings kept strictly private and Wilson broke this confidence.

Wilson remembers that the daycare “was in turmoil, with both parents and staff spending more time arguing and maneuvering about power and control than focussing on the needs of the kids in care.”⁹⁹ Mary Wilson’s memoirs reveal that:

Much time and energy was spent by both parents and staff arguing the pros and cons of various scenarios and attacking opposing arguments. At one end of the spectrum were those who wanted daycare with no complications. They wanted the university to take over the whole thing. At the other extreme were those anti-establishment people adamantly opposed to any university involvement whatsoever.¹⁰⁰

Daycare parents no longer held a unified vision regarding the importance of maintaining autonomy and controlling the structure of the daycare and this impasse disabled productive organization or forward planning. Daycare meetings became a venue where anger, hostility, and disappointment were vented and where productive organization and forward planning were difficult. Betty Varty was worried about the daycare after her resignation in the fall of 1973, and in early 1974 she wrote to Stan Roberts expressing “some real concern for the Burnaby Mountain Day Care society, specifically....concern for the children.” Varty thought that the parents “as a group expend a great deal of time and energy in meetings and discussions but few decisions are made and those which are made may never be implemented.” She claimed that the daycare directors lacked “sufficient expertise to deal with the diverse and complex problems that beset a society” of the size that the daycare had become. Varty suggested that the university “take whatever steps they feel are necessary to

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229.0,0,0.1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

remedy the existing situation.”¹⁰¹ One of Varty’s suggestions was for the university to hire an administrator to keep the “operation smooth functioning.”¹⁰² Mary Wilson was in agreement with Varty and suggested to Stan Roberts that the BMDCS operating agreement be suspended until solutions to internal problems could be found; a suggestion that resulted in Wilson’s dismissal by the Family board of Directors.¹⁰³ The internal conflict came to a head in March 1974, when Stan Roberts withdrew the operating agreement and stated that there would be no further financial support from the university until the daycare showed stability.¹⁰⁴ The day after Roberts suspended the operation agreement, Mary Wilson informed the daycare membership “that they’d now achieved the independence they’d claimed they wanted from the university.”¹⁰⁵ She recommended that the Society’s Constitution be dissolved and negotiation begin with the university for a new agreement. This “exacerbated the situation and parents and staff were furious with each other. For the next few weeks Society members went to meeting after meeting,” without the university or the Provincial Government allowed to attend.¹⁰⁶ Wilson acted on the side of Stan Roberts and Gladys Maycock by informing them that the daycare Board continued to be in disagreement. News of Wilson’s perceived disloyalty to the daycare became known and Wilson wrote: “I was poison.”¹⁰⁷ In May 1974 the BMDCS Board invited Stan Roberts to a meeting and declared that “there were no problems within the daycare. At that meeting no dissident dared speak out,” according to Wilson, for fear of being “targeted, as not acting in the best interests of the Society,” and expulsion.¹⁰⁸ From the beginning of March to mid - June 1974, the daycare operated without an operating agreement with the university.

¹⁰¹ SFUA. F 149-2-0-0-3. SFU Archives, University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149.20.03. Letter from Betty Varty to Stan Roberts. 25 February 1974.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ SFUA. F 149-2-0-0-3. SFU Archives, University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, Letter from the BMDCS Board of Directors to Mary Wilson. 5 June 1974.

¹⁰⁴ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Stan Roberts to the Board. 1 March 1974.

¹⁰⁵ SFUA. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229-0-0-0-1. Mary Wilson memoirs. 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Stan Roberts agreed with Varty's suggestion that one of the ways that stability could be achieved was through the hiring of a daycare co-ordinator. Soon after Roberts withdrew SFU's operating agreement a compromise was made between the daycare and the university, and Emily Campbell was hired by SFU to fill the position of daycare co-ordinator. Emily Campbell was the first government certified daycare coordinator hired by the university rather than by the Family. She was in fact the third certified daycare coordinator after Glenys Chen and Betty Varty. Campbell was known to the university administration: "Stan Roberts' wife was a social worker, and had worked with Emily Campbell. She recommended that Campbell be hired by the university to study the daycare situation and write a report."¹⁰⁹ By the beginning of July 1974 Campbell began a detailed daycare study with the intention of better understanding the hopes and needs of the parents. Much remaining disappointment and hostility was evident among the people surveyed between by Campbell in July of 1974. The study was conducted with the aim of proposing a "delivery system of day care at S.F.U. during the interim period of September, 1974 to December, 1975, before the new facility is ready for occupancy."¹¹⁰ This was an overly optimistic timeline for the completion of the new daycare facility that was not ready for occupancy until 1977.

Campbell's seventeen page study results were released on July 29, 1974 and a summary confirms that the daycare "beginnings were stormy" but with development and change "the University grew to believe that day care on campus is an integral part of campus life for mature students who often have family responsibilities."¹¹¹ Campbell's findings revealed that the expanded daycare had multiple units that developed their own patterns of daycare with the Board of Directors acting as authority figures. Campbell felt that the general membership within all the units had "few opportunities to express their views, and to come to democratic decisions. Communication has become difficult, and some rumour and unresolved feelings have surfaced."¹¹² The rumours and feelings were not explained in further detail, but the internal rift between daycare parents that resulted in the university

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Day Care study, July 1974, Simon Fraser University, Submitted by Emily Campbell, MSW, Family Service Centres of Greater Vancouver, 29 July 1974.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 3.

¹¹² Ibid. 4.

suspension of support was a recent event still being addressed by the study and the efforts of Campbell. The daycare parents and staff devoted to the original Family values called the parents who wanted a modified daycare or a daycare without parental volunteering “dissidents”. The “parents / staff controlled co-operative” could not understand why dissident parents “who do not wish to operate within the co-operative constitution” did not simply leave the daycare rather than undermine the operation by staying.¹¹³

As part of the study Campbell admits that “Day Care of Preschool Children as an organized service to families is so new to this province, that everyone is still trying to devise viable models.”¹¹⁴ Previously daycare had been a controlled and limited service that rendered families silenced and marginalized by their very need of a daycare facility. Campbell thought the newly formed multi-unit daycare service at SFU offered options to parents with different needs but this required compromise by the parents who supported original Family values. She distinguished different kinds of daycare characterized as “full day care vs part-time drop-in centre, co-operative parent participation vs professional delivery, unstructured vs structured, alternate life style values vs conventional values, [and] responsive to parents’ needs vs autocratic delivery.”¹¹⁵ Campbell thought that the different units had each developed a character according to the wishes of the parents involved. She felt that differences in the units “should be kept and allowed to modify according to the need of present parents.”¹¹⁶ She foresaw the future of a campus daycare service that offered a variety of choices according to parents’ differing philosophies and outlooks. “This will decrease the frictions involved when a parent with very little time is involved with a unit committed to a great deal of parent participation; or a similar conflict of interest.”¹¹⁷ Campbell’s aim was to provide a variety of decentralized and autonomous daycare units responsive to the needs of the parents involved. Some specifics of her proposal suggested that each unit should have their own constitution, financial independence, the authority to hire or fire staff, and be required to negotiate separately with the Burnaby Health Department, the

¹¹³ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. 1974 Letter from the BMDCS to Stan Roberts. 16 July 1974.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 4.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 5.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 6.

Day Care Information Office and the University Administration. She proposed that there be a Day Care Council to act as a communication and information body, with a shared clerical receptionist. She recommended that the university should hire a “day care co-ordinator, who would be a resource to the day care council, a consultant to the autonomous units, and a resource to the architects and planners of the new building.”¹¹⁸ Campbell was to become that person. The Daycare Study concluded that for the next 18 months, or until the new daycare building was completed, business should continue as usual but with special consideration given to each unit that would provide the autonomy desired. Campbell’s suggestions may not have been what the founding Family Co-op parents envisioned and there were “several very articulate dissenters” to Campbell’s proposals, but it was a lasting compromise.¹¹⁹ The Simon Fraser Daycare Society today still has different options for service according to the needs and desires of parents involved.

Daycare parents who remained dedicated to the original daycare values of “a communal care ethic” while experimenting with “collective responsibility and affection” without hierarchical structure or expert interference, felt that their philosophical and political ideals were slipping away.¹²⁰ And they were correct. As daycare staff were hired and unionized, and the university took control through regulatory measures requiring special equipment, parental representation, and administrative responsibility, daycare parents committed to the original Family Co-op values saw their vision transforming into an unintended, unrecognizable model. The final straw may have been the parents’ loss of control over the daycare’s educational program to a university hired supervisor. Verta Taylor tells us that “as a movement loses support, activists who had been most intensely committed to its aims become increasingly marginal and socially isolated.”¹²¹ The hostility felt by the parents dedicated to the daycare’s original roots rendered them a fringe group as the daycare continued to evolve. The time to employ “mass defiance” and the uncompromising

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 11.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 9.

¹²⁰ Jim Harding interview, August 26, 2016; Melody Kilian Ermachild interview, August 18, 2016

¹²¹ Verta Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in Abeyance,” *American Sociological Review*, 54, no. 5 (October 1989), 762.

stance taken by the Family in the first few years was past.¹²² This was difficult to accept because without the dedication of the original Family Co-op the innovative experimental structure would never have been established and the BMDCS would not have existed. However, Verta Taylor also argues that commitment to a movement emboldens individuals to “continue to do what is necessary to maintain the group and its purpose even when the odds are against immediate success. Moreover, such intense commitment functions as an obstacle to participation in alternative roles and organizations.¹²³ Maybe this best explains the evident philosophical split in the daycare that became obvious as early as 1971 when external governmental demands became unrelenting. The parents committed to the co-operative model of daycare were fighting an unwinnable battle that interfered with adaptation to administrative demands.

As this thesis has mentioned, by the fall of 1970 the Co-op thought that the SFU administration might shut them down indirectly by encouraging external regulatory bodies to condemn the daycare. This was not an unfounded fear because when the university was critical of the daycare, they let that displeasure be known to external bodies. For example, when Stan Roberts suspended the daycare’s operating funds in March 1974, he informed G. Paulson, Comptroller, Human Resource officials D. Bingham and V. Belknap in Victoria, and Gladys Maycock, director of Day Care Information, in Vancouver. This was a passive but real threat because external regulatory bodies wanted transparency, organization, and compliance with procedures and requirements as much as the SFU administration did. Without the continued advocacy of Stan Roberts and the goodwill of Gladys Maycock, the daycare was vulnerable, not just to external pressures but to internal divisions that remained unresolved well into the mid 1970s. The daycare group that remained committed to the original daycare values could not accept that the daycare shift from a non-hierarchical co-operative to a university regulated and funded organization. As the regulated and fully funded daycare expanded, it represented many more parents with different needs. Principles of co-operation are subject to the interpretation of individuals and in the case of the daycare, co-operation among parents who did not want full participation, and co-operation between daycare parents and the bureaucratically established university administration, meant

¹²² Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 146.

¹²³ Taylor, “Social Movement Continuity,” 762-767.

something entirely different than the principles of co-operation that the original Family envisioned.

The SFU daycare evolved from a co-operative to a society over a short period of time and with that transformation the need for campus daycare was acknowledged and responded to by the university administration. But parent control had to be shared with, and sometimes relinquished to, governmental and university administration. Emerson and Russell Dobash stress that “once grass roots movements shift from direct action and support by members to building an organization and dependence on third parties for support, the potential for radical change is lost.”¹²⁴ Social movement scholars Porta and Diani agree and state: “The growth and maintenance of organizations whose formal goals are aimed at helping one population but who depend on a different population for funding are ultimately more dependent upon the latter than the former.”¹²⁵ The university administration, on which the daycare depended on for its existence, was ultimately not invested in radical social change.

The evolution of the transformation of the SFU daycare from innovative co-op to a daycare society is in itself a micro example of the compromise, adaptation and determination found within the larger struggle for outstanding daycare services, for women’s progress and emancipation, and for the development and betterment of family in the twentieth century. On April 21st, 1975 a memo went out to Emily Campbell, the new Day Care co-ordinator, from Stan Roberts, to advise her that “the Board of Governors has approved the construction of a new Day Care Centre at a cost maximum of \$865,000.” Roberts concluded that “I am confident that this will be the most advanced, most modern and functional day care unit in the country, when completed.”¹²⁶ Despite all of the conflict, friction, and pressure that the Family had experienced, by 1975 the SFU daycare was an establishment worthy of pride for the administration. The daycare was and is a movement that endured.

¹²⁴ Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, *Women, Violence & Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 19.

¹²⁵ Della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 146

¹²⁶ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Stan Roberts to Emily Campbell. 27 April 1975.

Conclusion

This dissertation has made several important original contributions to the history of Simon Fraser University and the history of the 1960s. The foundational years of the early SFU daycare are now documented in this scholarly thesis. The chronicling of this history adds to a broader understanding of the movements, events, and people that shaped the early years of SFU. The operation of the Snake Hill daycare and the Family Co-op daycare on SFU campus required a campaign by like-minded people to petition, negotiate, occupy, and confront opposition at the university administrative level. It also required commitment from the parents involved to unite, engage, participate, volunteer, contribute, and if necessary, act defiantly in defence of their goal to provide exceptional campus daycare of their own design. In doing this, daycare parents challenged a Cold War family and gender model which promoted stay-at-home mothers and breadwinner fathers, and which negatively stigmatized daycare.

In documenting the SFU early daycare history a new record of social movement organizing in the 1960s is presented. Parents acted as equal participants in the co-operative, without a designated leader or external funding. They existed in an occupied space and their sustained success and development was noted and followed off-campus. After operating as an unauthorized daycare co-operative without external financial assistance for over two years, the SFU daycare Family struggled to balance their ideals with pragmatic realities. By the early 1970s, the daycare parents began to yield to administrative demands and to recognize the need to follow bureaucratic guidelines in order to access university and government resources and funding. The sustained independence of the daycare as they slowly adapted and acquiesced to external pressure makes this movement study an important example of grassroots social development.

Some of the parents in the SFU daycare movement were also involved in the student movement and the women's movement but many of the parents did not connect with a specific political identity. The SFU daycare progressed alongside the student movement and the women's movement but developed in parallel as an independent movement. What distinguished the members of the daycare movement from other SFU movements was their determination to create an exceptional campus community for their children along with the

conviction that they knew what the best educational curriculum, activities, environment, interactions, and social development were for their children. The parents were not about to turn to expert advice or to accept supervisory authority.

The daycare movement at SFU sustained an idealistic vision but was also pragmatic. With the establishment of excellent daycare on campus, parents were free to pursue university education without worrying about the well-being of their children. Women, some of them mothers, were entering university in higher numbers, and wished to pursue careers. The assurance of exceptional daycare facilitated their goals. As this study has shown, it was also fathers, some of them single parents, who could pursue education and careers with the knowledge that their children were enrolled in exceptional daycare.

This dissertation of the SFU daycare movement record has also demonstrated the importance of oral history. The people interviewed for this thesis have detailed and clarified the progression of the daycare in a way that archival and printed media could not. Orally recording history after almost 54 years have elapsed has presented significant challenges. It has been challenging to find and locate people who have moved off campus, or left the province or the country. Some relevant activists could not be located, did not respond to contact, or have died. The people interviewed in this thesis have been instrumental in clarifying the course of events associated with the early daycare. Many of the people that I interviewed were thankful that the SFU daycare history was now being documented because they continue to see what was achieved as significant. They also expressed concern about the socio-political obstacles that prevent the establishment and expansion of exceptional daycare today.

There remains substantial debate about the nature of the radical action, protest, and revolt that occurred in the late 1960s on the SFU campus. Were the demonstrations, sit-ins, occupations, and strikes reflective of university students in general or of a small group of determined leaders? By documenting the memories of the people interviewed in this thesis, an analysis of what occurred renders further insight into campus activism and the motivations and successes of activist students. In the case of the Family Co-operative, petitions for the establishment of campus daycare would not have achieved results without direct action by people unified by the same needs and vision. The same could be said for the student and women's movement.

The 1960s reforms were fought for and any progress was hard won rather than granted. The SFU Daycare survived and is operational today because parents defied the idea that childcare was a private matter outside of the concern of the university. The student movement's insistence that connections between the university and community are necessary and beneficial is manifested today in SFU's drive for Leadership and Community Building programs. The women's movement that embraced equality for women and marginalized individuals or groups flourished in the halls of SFU, among other places. Abortion and birth control rights were debated by feminists at SFU with the encouragement of iconic professors like Margaret Benston and Kathleen Aberle long before legislative reform granted women these entitlements. The ideas that flowed from the student, women's, and daycare movements at SFU simply needed time to actualize and today they are an important, if not fully completed component, of Canadian society.

The daycare movement at SFU, although fraught with conflict, displayed a brave defiance and determination that sustained the daycare in the early years and facilitated an expansion that endured to become the current SFU Daycare Society. Without the sit-ins, occupations, protests, idealism, and commitment to quality and compassion demonstrated by the founding daycare parents in the early years, daycare at SFU today may not exist nor would it stand as an example to daycares elsewhere.

On July 29th, 1975, SFU President Pauline Jewett wrote to Emily Campbell, the Co-ordinator of the Day Care. Jewett stated that "when our new complex is built our day care will enjoy what seems to be the first facility planned specifically for day care. This University is also a leader in providing a staff person to assist the development of day care."¹ The vision of Stan Roberts, B. G. Wilson and C.J. McGilvery for an established university daycare worthy of pride came true. The SFU daycare that has been renamed the SFU Childcare Society has gone on to receive further recognition; in 2012 and 2017 it received the prestigious Prime Ministers Award for Excellence in Early Childhood Education. The daycare continues to be a leader in the field.

¹ SFUA. University President and Board of Governors fonds, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3. Letter from Pauline Jewett the SFU President to Emily Campbell the Co-ordinator of Day Care. 29 July 1975.

But the larger goals of excellent, accessible, and affordable daycare remain elusive in Canada. The SFU Childcare Society today cares for 309 children with 380 children on a current waitlist. The number of available daycare spots in Canada is inadequate and the SFU Childcare Society is no exception. A recent study in 2009 by daycare proponent Martha Friendly reveals that “while there are now more than 800,000 regulated child care spaces across Canada, there are 2,000,000 0-5 year olds and almost 3,000,000 6-12 year olds. Only a minority of 0-5 year olds and a minority of 6-12 year olds have access to an integrated ECEC (Early Childhood Education and Care) program, [or] to regulated child care, or to any early childhood education before the age of five.”² Moreover, Friendly’s 2012 study showed that only 22.5% of children had daycare spaces, while 69.7–84% of mothers worked.³

These statistics demonstrate that in Canada, there still remains an assumption that mothers have a biological function and moral obligation to privately care for their offspring. This assumption discourages the provision of daycare services. The ample availability of daycare services that would allow women to enter the workforce threatens the foundations of a family paradigm reinforced by a patriarchal society. As well, the Canadian provincial and federal governments tell us that universal daycare would be prohibitively expensive. The belief that parents are individually responsible for their children’s upbringing maintains these gender norms, but it also allows the state to avoid the cost associated with high quality, affordable, or universal childcare. Sheila Davidson, the executive director of the SFU Childcare Society from 1991–2004, suggests that this reluctance to support childcare means that we do not value children. She said, “I think one of the things we don’t do well in this province and in this country is value children. People are always making statements about ‘you chose to have children and you should be able to take care of them yourself.’ But that isn’t what a strong society is all about. A strong society is supportive of individuals and of family’s needs and it isn’t just saying, ‘you had the kid then you take care of it.’ We have to

² Martha Friendly, “Can Canada walk and chew gum? The state of child care in Canada in 2009,” in *Our schools/ Our Selves*, (18 (3), 41-55., 2009), 48.

³ C. Ferns, and M. Friendly, “The state of early childhood education and care in Canada 2012,” (Toronto: Childcare Resource and Research Unit, June 20, 2014), 2.

do it together and if we don't do it together we are never going to raise strong self-sufficient children.”⁴

The continuing struggle, for women's progress and emancipation, for parent's desire to secure affordable and excellent childcare, and for children to be safe, loved, and cared for in a first rate daycare, remains unfulfilled. As Adamson, Briskin and McPhail stress, “the women's movement has not made the breakthroughs we sought. It has not transformed society in fundamental structural ways, although it may have changed the rhetoric, the ideology, and perhaps even the expectations of society.”⁵ The authors name women's lack of economic and reproductive independence as an obstacle to equality. Feminist theory from the 1960s argued that conception, gestation, delivery, and postpartum mark a “natural reproductive difference between the sexes” and argued that this difference is the foundation of the sexual class system that continues to exist.⁶ But as Shulamith Firestone also points out that while this “sexual imbalance of power” is rooted in reproductive bodies, “the natural is not necessarily a human value.”⁷ Social reforms enabling women to bear children and have equal opportunity in the work place must continue to be advanced. Carol Gilligan reinforces this idea when she argues that “care and caring are not women's issues, they are human concerns.”⁸

It is interesting that Sheila Davidson identifies the social underestimation of children's worth, thirty-five years after the SFU daycare began. Power does not easily relinquish control, and beliefs about gender, family, and children are resistant to change. Although the Cold War rhetoric has ended, restrictive ideas about what is “normal” mothering and fathering continue to this day. Understanding the origins of our assumptions is imperative. “Before we can act to change a situation....we must know how it has arisen and evolved.”⁹ This dissertation illustrates that despite opposition and oppression, like-minded people with similar

⁴ SFUA. Sheila Davidson taped interview, F 149-5-0-0-4. Sheila Davidson taped interview on the Raif Mair radio show. March 1998.

⁵ Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 6.

⁶ Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex* (Bantam Book, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1970) 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸ Carol Gilligan, *Joining the Resistance* (Polity Press, 2011,) 23.

⁹ Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, 11.

visions and needs can stand together and work collectively and co-operatively to realize change. The origins of the SFU daycare that emerged in the late 1960s is a history worth knowing and remembering.

References

- Adamson, Nancy, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail. *Feminist Organizing for Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Anastakis, Dmitry. *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style*. Montreal and Kingston, McGill-McQueen's University Press, 2008.
- Bailey, Beth. "From Front Porch to Back Seat: A History of the Date." *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 4 (July 2004): 23–26.
- Baker, Joanne. "Primary Document, and Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism." In *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, edited by Mona Gleason, Adele Perry, and Tamara Myers, 426–45. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Benston, Maggie. "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." In *Voices from Women's Liberation*, edited by Leslie B. Tanner, 279–89. New York: Mentor, 1970.
- Bernstein, Judi, Peggy Morton, Linda Seese, and Myrna Wood. "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers....Listen." Boston: New England Free Press, 1967.
- Besio, Kathryn. "Telling Stories to Hear Autoethnography: Researching Women's Lives in Northern Pakistan." *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 12, no. 3 (2006): 317–31.
- Boudreau, Michael. "The Struggle for a Different World: Gastown Riot in Vancouver." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clement, and Gregory Kealey, 117–33. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Brand, Dionne. et al. *We're rooted here and they can't pull us up: Essays on African Canadian Women's Histories*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Brown, Joe Davie. *The Hippies*. New York: Time, 1967.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* London: Routledge, 1993.
- CBC. Chantel Hébert, Behind the Scenes. *At Issue*, CBC TV, September 4, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9SU-0Mpqv4>
- Campbell, Lara. *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

- Cerwonka, Allaine. *Improvising theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Clément, Dominique. "Generations and the Transformation of Social Movements in Postwar Canada." *Histoire social/Social History* 42 (2009): 361–87.
- Collins, Gail. *When Everything Changed*. New York: Back Bay Books/Little, Brown and Company, 2009.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Chodorow, Nancy. *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Cleaver, Eldridge. *Soul On Ice*. New York: Delta Trade Paperbacks, 1968.
- Comacchio, Cynthia. "A Postscript for Father': Defining a New Fatherhood in Interwar Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 78 (September 1997): 385–408.
- Culhane, Dara. "Sensing." In *A Different Kind of Ethnography: Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*. edited by Dara Culhane and Denielle Elliott, 45–68. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1949.
- Dewey, John. *The School and Society*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1915.
- Diani, Mario, and Donatella Della Porta. *Social Movements, an Introduction*. 2nd edition, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006.
- Diski, Jenny. *The Sixties*. New York: Picador, 2009.
- Dobash, Emerson, and Russell Dobash. *Women, Violence & Social Change*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Dyck, Erika. "The Psychedelic Sixties in North America: Drugs and Identity." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 47–63. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Echols, Alice. *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967–1975*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Echols, Alice. "Nothing Distant About it': Women's Liberation and Sixties Radicalism." 75-96, In *Shaky Ground: The 60s and Its Aftershocks*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

- Ellis, Jason A. "This is not a Medieval University Attended by Celibate Clergy: Contesting the University of Toronto's First Daycare Sit-in." MA class paper, History 5562, York University, 1–22, May 9, 2005.
- Engels, Friedrich. Preface. In *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1–68. London, June 28, 1883.
- English, Deirdre, Gayle Rubin, and Amber Hollibaugh. "Talking Sex." *Socialist Review* 58, no. 11 (July–August 1981): 40–52.
- Evans, Sara. *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979.
- Faludi, Susan. "Death of a Revolutionary." *New Yorker*, April 15, 2013. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/04/15/death-of-a-revolutionary>.
- Firestone, Shulamith. *The Dialectic of Sex*. New York: Bantam/William Morrow and Company, 1970.
- Flavell, John H. *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget*. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1963.
- Friendly, Martha. "Childcare as a Social Policy Issue." In *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*. edited by Larry Prochner and Nina Howe, 252–73. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.
- Friendly, Martha. Can Canada Walk and Chew Gum? The State of Child Care in Canada in 2009. *Our Schools/Our Selves* 18, no. 3 (2009): 41–55.
- Ferns, Carolyn, and Martha Friendly. "The State of Early Childhood Education and Care in Canada 2012." Toronto: Childcare Resource and Research Unit, June 20, 2014. <http://childcarecanada.org/sites/default/files/StateofECEC2012.pdf>.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963.
- Freedman, Janet. *Reclaiming the Feminist Vision: Consciousness Raising in Small Group Practice*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2014.
- Fromm, Erich. Child's Development. *Erich Fromm*, n.d. <http://etype5.pagesperso-orange.fr/NewFiles/fromm.html#child>.
- Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Gilligan, Carol. *Joining the Resistance*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011.

- Gentile, Patricia, and Gary Kinsman. *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- Gidney, Catherine. "The Rise of Faculty Power, 1951–1970." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 66–79. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Gleason, Mona. *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Green, Joyce. "Canada the Bully: Indigenous Human Rights in Canada and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." Regina: Prairie Forum, Vol.36 (1), Fall 2011.
- Hall, Stuart. "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 1–191. London: Sage, 1996.
- Hanisch, Carol. "The Personal Is Political. February 1969." 1–5. Hanisch Paper published in *Notes from the Second Year: 1970*.
- Hayden, Casey, and King, Mary. "A Kind of Memo to Women in the Peace and Freedom Movements, 1965." In *Major Problems in American Women's History*, edited by Mary Beth Norton, 2nd edition, (DC Heath, 1996), 443-44.
- Henderson, Stuart. *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Hewitt, Steve, and Christabelle Sethna. "Sex Spying: The RCMP Framing of English-Canadian Women's Liberation Groups during the Cold War." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 134–51. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Hooks, Bell. *Ain't I A Woman*. Boston: South End Press, 1981.
- Isitt, Benjamin. *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New Left, 1948–1972*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Johnston, Hugh. *Radical Campus*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005.
- Kilian, Melody. "Children Are Only Littler People...Or the Louis Riel University Family Co-Op." In *Women Unite!* 90–99. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1972.
- Kilian, Melody. "Day Care." Article, written 1969. SFU Co-op Daycare File, F-111-2-0-10, Simon Fraser University Archives.

- Klandermans, Bert. "Motivations to Action." In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani. Oxford Handbooks Online, 2015. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com>.
- Kostash, Myrna. *The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada: Long Way from Home*. Toronto: James Lorimer 1980.
- LaRocque, Emma. *When the other is me: Native resistance discourse, 1850-1990*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.
- Lexier, Roberta. "How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge from the Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University." *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600–2000* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 1–12.
- Lexier, Roberta. "To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart: The Sixties Student Movements at English-Canadian Universities." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 81–94. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Lexier, Roberta. "The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened": English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change. *History of Intellectual culture*, Volume 7, no. 1, 2007.
- Little, Margaret Hillyard. "Claiming a Unique Place: The Introduction of Mothers' Pensions in BC." *BC Studies* 105–6 (Spring/Summer 1995): 80–102.
- Madden, Raymond. *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*. London: Sage, 2010.
- Madison, Soyini. *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2012.
- Mahon, Rianne. "Canada's Early Childhood Education and Care Policies: Still a Laggard?" *International Journal of Child Care and Education Policy* 3 (November 2009): 27–42.
- Mahon, Rianne, and Sonya Michel. *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Maracle, Lee. *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel*. United Kingdom: Women's Press, 1990.
- Marker, Michael. "Indigenous Voice, Community, and Epistemic Violence: The Ethnographer's 'Interests' and What 'Interests' the Ethnographer." In *Voice in Qualitative Inquiry: Challenging Conventional, Interpretive, and Critical Conceptions in Qualitative Research*, edited by Alecia Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei, 27–45. New York: Routledge, 2009.

- Martel, Marcel. "‘They Smell Bad, Have Diseases, and Are Lazy’: RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties." *Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2009): 215–45.
- Martin, Eryk. *Burn it Down! Anarchism, Activism and the Vancouver Five, 1967-1985*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Simon Fraser University, 2016.
- Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich. *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Bantam Dell, 1992.
- May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- McAfee, Kathy, and Myrna Wood. "Bread and Roses." in *Voices from Women’s Liberation*, edited by Leslie B. Tanner, Signet, New York, 1970.
- McLaren, Angus, Arlene Tigar McLaren. *The bedroom and the state: the changing practices and politics of contraception and abortion in Canada, 1880-1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Michals, Debra. "Consciousness Raising: Feminism and the Countercultural Politics of the Self." In *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960’s and 70’s*, edited by Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, 41–69. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
- Milligan, Ian. "Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward-Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University." *BC Studies: The British Columbia Quarterly*, no. 171 (October 2011): 69–91.
- Milligan, Ian. *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.
- Mills, Sean. "The Empire Within: Montreal, the Sixties, and the forging of a Radical Imagination." Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Queens University, 2007.
- Misztal, Barbara. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003.
- Neill, Alexander Sutherland. *Summerhill—A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*. New York: Hart, 1960.
- O'Brien, Mary. *The Politics of Reproduction*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Owram, Doug. *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Palley, Elizabeth. Shdaimah, Corey. *In Our Hands: The Struggle for U.S. Child Care Policy*. NYU Press, 2014.

- Palmer, Bryan. *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Pasolli, Lisa. "Talkin' Day Care Blues": Motherhood, Work, and Child Care in Twentieth-Century British Columbia. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Victoria, 2012.
- Pasolli, Lisa. "I Ask You, Mr. Mitchell, Is the Emergency Over?' Debating Day Nurseries in the Second World War" *Canadian Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (March 2015): 1–31.
- Pasolli, Lisa. *Working Mothers and the Child Care Dilemma: A History of British Columbia's Social Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.
- Penn, Donna. "The Sexualized Woman: The Lesbian, the Prostitute, and the Containment of Female Sexuality in Postwar America." In *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America*, edited by Joanne Meyerowitz, 358–81. Philadelphia: Triple University Press, 1994.
- Petrie, Anne. *Gone to an Aunt's: Remembering Canada's Homes for Unwed Mothers*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1998.
- Prentice, Susan. "The Business of Childcare: The Issue of Auspice." in *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Larry Prochner and Nina Howe, 272–92. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.
- Prochner, Larry, and Nina Howe. *Early Childhood Care and Education in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.
- Rebick, Judy. *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution*. Toronto: Penguin, 2005.
- Rich, Adrienne. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1986.
- Rich, Adrienne. *On Lies, Secrets and Silence: Selected Prose 1966–1978*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1979.
- Roberts, Dennis. "History of Campus Daycare Notes Concern for Quality." *SFU Week* 17, no. 12, July 24, 1980.
- Robinson, Daniel, and David Kimmel. "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1994): 319–45.
- Rosen, Ruth. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. New York: Penguin, 2000.

- Ross, Daniel. "Panic On Love Street: Citizens and Local Government Respond to Vancouver's Local Hippie Problem, 1967-1968." *BC Studies, The British Columbian Quarterly*, Number 180, pages 1-41, Winter 2013/14), 40.
- Roussopoulos, Dimitri. CANADA: 1968 AND THE NEW LEFT. In *1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt*, edited by Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, 39–45. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2009.
https://www.ghidc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Supplements/Supplement_6/bus6_039.pdf.
- Roussopoulos, Dimitri. Canada and the New Left.
https://www.ghidc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Supplements/Supplement_6/bus6_040.pdf
- Ruddy, Jon. "The Mountain-top Radical." *Maclean's Magazine*, June 4, 1966, 12, 39–41.
- Sangster, Joan. "Criminalizing the Colonized: Ontario Native Women Confront the Criminal Justice System, 1920-60." *Canadian Historical Review*, 80, no. 1, March 1999. pg. 32-60.
- Sangster, Joan. "Politics and Praxis in Canadian Working-Class Oral History." In *Oral History Off the Record: Toward An Ethnography of Practice*, edited by Anna Sheftel and Stacy Zembrzycki, 59–75. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Sangster, Joan. "Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 1 (March 2010): 1–21.
- Sangster, Joan. *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Post-War Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Shefte, Anna, and Stacy Zembrzycki. eds. *Oral History Off the Record: Toward An Ethnography of Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013.
- Shriver, Maria. "Why Families Face So Many Child Care Struggles." *NBC News*, July 10, 2014. <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/aria-shriver/why-families-face-so-many-child-care-struggles-n152641>.
- Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 2014.
- Skinner, B. F. "Freedom and Dignity Revisited." *New York Times*, August 11, 1972.
- Stettner, Shannon, Kristin Burnett, and Travis Hay. "Introduction." in *Abortion History, Politics, and Reproductive Justice after Morgentaler*, 1–25. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.

- Stettner, Shannon. *Without Apology: Writings on Abortion in Canada*. Athabasca University Press, Edmonton, Alberta, 2016.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Wages for Housework": Mothers' Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, no.1 (Spring 1979), 24-34.
- Taylor, Verta. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *Sociological Review* 54, no. 5 (October 1989): 761–75.
- Uzwiak, Beth. "Fracturing Feminism: Activist Research and Ethics in a Women's Human Rights NGO." In *Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism, In North America*, edited by Christa Craven and Dána-Ain Davis, 119–37. Lexington: Lexington Books, 2013.
- Vallieres, Pierre. *White Niggers of America*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Verzuh, Ron. *Underground Times: Canada's Flower Child Revolutionaries*. Toronto: Deneau Publishers, 1989.
- Walker, James. "Black Confrontation in Sixties Halifax." In *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey, 173–91. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Wall, Sharon. "Some Thought They Were 'In Love: Sex, White Teenagehood, and Unmarried Pregnancy in Early Postwar Canada." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 25, no. 1 (2014): 25–47.
- Wasserlein, Frances. "'An Arrow Aimed at the Heart': The Vancouver Women's Caucus and the Abortion Campaign 1969–1971." Master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1990.
- Wilson, Mary. Memoirs, SFU archives F.229.0,0,0.1

Archived Documents and Tapes

SFU Archives. SFU Archives Building and Residences, Daycare Centre, 1972 -1976. F 100-3-0-0-1.

SFU Archives. Women's Caucus papers, 1970, F 111-2-0-1-0.

SFU Archives. University President and Board of Governors, 1966-1986, F 149-2-0-0-3.

SFU Archives. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 1), F 229-0-0-0-1.

SFU Archives. Childcare history documents, 1972-2006 (Vol. 2), F 229-0-0-0-2.

SFU Archives. Day Care, 1971, F 107-2-0-0-7.

SFU Archives. Joyce Branscombe taped interview, March 1998, F 149-5-0-0-0-1.

SFU Archives. Sheila Davidson taped interview, March 1998, F 149-5-0-0-0-4.

SFU Archives. General, Daycare, 1968-1971, F 107-1-2-6-1.

SFU Archives. Enrolment Statistics 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 from the SFU Academic Calendars and 1968-1969 to 1970-1973, F 52-2-2-0-1.

Archival Collections

Newspapers and Magazines

The Georgia Straight (1968-1970)

The Peak (1965-1973)

The Pedestal

Ruddy, John. "The Mountain-top Radical: All our instant campuses are experimental. But BC's Simon Fraser is the wildest of the lot." *McLeans Magazine*, June 4, 1966.

Roberts, Dennis. "History of campus daycare notes concern for quality" *SFU Week*, vol. 17, no. 12, July 24, 1986

The Ubyyssey (UBC newspaper, *The Ubyyssey*) "Info being gathered about need for day care Centre." Nov. 28, 1969, 2

The Vancouver Sun

Television and internet references:

BMDCS. "In 1973, the Family Co-op became an incorporated society called the Burnaby Mountain Daycare Society (BMDCS). This meant there were four individual child care centers, all with different models, under one society."

<http://www.sfu.ca/childcare/about-us/history.html>

CBC. Chantel Hébert, Behind the Scenes. *At Issue*, CBC TV, September 4, 2014.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9SU-0Mpqv4>

Community Care Facilities Licensing Act replaced the Welfare Institutions Licensing Act in regulating private care facilities in the province in 1969. <http://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/provincial-child-care-facilities-licensing-board-administrative-records>.

Faludi, Susan. "Death of a Revolutionary." *New Yorker*, April 15, 2013.

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/04/15/death-of-a-revolutionary>.

Fromm, Erich. Child's Development. *Erich Fromm*, n.d. <http://etype5.pagesperso-orange.fr/NewFiles/fromm.html#child>.

Grele Ron, Columbia University Oral History

Collection <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/04/15/death-of-a-revolutionary>

Reproductive Justice. <https://www.sistersong.net/reproductive-justice/>

"SFU Childcare started in 1968 with a group of dedicated parents who began a co-operative family orientated drop-in center." <http://www.sfu.ca/childcare/about-us/history.html>

Shriver, Maria. "Why Families Face So Many Child Care Struggles." *NBC News*, July 10, 2014. <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/aria-shriver/why-families-face-so-many-child-care-struggles-n152641>.

Vancouver Women's Caucus, A Women's Liberation History Project.

<https://www.vancouverwomenscaucus.ca/key-issues/child-care/>

Public Lectures

Yorke, Dave. "A Story of Canadian Anti-Fascists in Spain: Ron Liversedge and the Publication of Mac-Pap." Public lecture

Appendix A. Movements

The Old Left and the New Left

After WWII the Old Left had hoped for a new way of life with greater economic justice. But with postwar nuclear testing and the possibility of a nuclear war on the horizon, the Old Left political focus became more diverse. The Old Left position of labour-based activism expanded to New Left interests driven by 1960s youth and the developing student movement. “The emerging New left...challenged the limited orthodox economic view of communism by insisting that the definition of what was political be expanded beyond economics.”¹

New Left politics continued to emphasize labour issues, but interests included the civil liberties, anti-war, feminist, and student movements to name a few. This re-examination of sociopolitical philosophy satisfied the disenchantment of 1960s youth who had embraced left wing politics and challenged the anti-communism of the postwar period.

Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND)

One of the first New Left activist organizations to emerge was founded in 1959 by Dimitri Roussopoulos, a Canadian political activist and scholar. After the first CUCND student demonstration in Ottawa, the group membership soon spread to Canadian university campuses across the country. “The anti-nuclear campaign was tied to the escalating conflict in Vietnam. Canada never maintained combat troops in Vietnam, but mounting evidence of what was called ‘Canadian complicity’ helped consolidate a domestic anti-war movement.”² But Prime Minister Pearson’s decision to allow nuclear warheads to be installed in Canada proved to be discouraging to the movement. The CUCND transitioned in the Student Union for Peace Action in 1964. Dimitri Roussopoulos writes:

By 1963, however, despite its considerable influence and high level of activism, which melded with other organizations like the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear

¹ Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 39.

² Benjamin Isitt, *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New left, 1948-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 129

Disarmament and the Voice of Women, the movement failed: the Liberal Party of Canada, having won the elections, reversed its anti-nuclear stance and imported nuclear warheads for the Bomarc missiles—anti-aircraft missiles developed as a joint US-Canadian effort against the Soviet threat. Bitterness among activists was widespread; cynicism among citizens in general was rampant. As a result, the CUCND transformed itself in 1964 into the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), the New Left of Canada, in Regina, Saskatchewan. The logic of the group's founding was as follows: the institutions of liberal democracy, being unable to reflect popular will, were flawed. Thus, it was necessary to start a movement that would articulate and promote participatory democracy and a non-violent revolutionary approach, bringing the powerless in civil society together to act in concert to effect much needed social change.³

CUCND disbanded a year before SFU opened but SUPA had members on campus between January 1967 and September 1967. Prior to SUPA, SFU was a member of CUS from September 1966 but withdrew less than 2 months later.

The Canadian Union of Students (CUS)

CUS was formed in 1963 and disbanded in 1969 and was a national association of Canadian university student councils, and a political lobby group designed to give university students a united voice. CUS grew increasingly focused on anti-war politics and critiques of capitalism. This influence departed from the CUS's earlier mandate of ensuring student loans, grants, bursaries, equal opportunity and fee-free post-secondary education, as well as student governance across Canada. This change in focus led to the organization's demise. In 1972 a similar association, the NUS (National Union of Students) replaced CUS as a Canadian national student organization. On Sept 3, 1966 SFU became an official member of CUS. This membership was short as SFU withdrew from CUS by the end of the year. *The Peak* article on October 26, 1966 announces, "CUS disbands western region." Disbandment was a result of "the realization that education issues must be fought at the provincial level."⁴

³ (Dimitri Roussopoulos CANADA: 1968 AND THE NEW LEFT, pg. 39
https://www.ghidc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Supplements/Supplement_6/bus6_039.pdf)

⁴ *The Peak*, October 26, 1966

The Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA)

SUPA's Canadian influence spanned the opening of SFU in 1965 to the disbandment of the student union for peace organization in 1967. However, SUPA membership at SFU began in January 1967, 16 months after the university opened. What is important to note, is that for the politically active students at SFU, SUPA's philosophy and engagement was part of a student activist commitment at the new university. SUPA's focus would be both on and off campus linking students as members of the university as also members of their community and society. To put these actions in context with other events at SFU, protests and sit-ins escalated in 1966-67 over the issue of free speech and the involvement of student activism off campus.

In 1967 SFU's association with SUPA resulted in one of SFU's most radical issues. An SFU student, teaching assistant, and SUPA member named Martin Loney read an article in a Vancouver newspaper about a student named Peter Haines who was expelled from Templeton High School for publishing a parody of his teacher's attempt at poetry. On March 13, 1967, Loney and four other SFU students who were also teaching assistants, distributed leaflets to Templeton students calling for public support of Haines' right to free speech. As a result Loney, some SFU students, and 600 to 700 Templeton students met in a public park across from Templeton High School at noon the same day. This meeting was also attended by the Vancouver police. That day Loney was charged with disturbing the peace, and at a March 14th vigil held in the name of free speech, Loney was arrested on the same charge. When this was brought to the attention of the SFU administration SFU president McTaggart-Cowan met with the faculty council comprised of administrators and professors, the popular professor Tom Bottomore among them, to decide how the TA's conduct should be handled. The ruling resulted in recommendations of reprimand for the TA's but the SFU board went further and decided on suspensions for all. As a result, Tom Bottomore as dean of Arts and soon after from SFU. In response to these events, two thousand students rallied in the mall, over the course of two days, threatened a boycott, and sat vigil. The dismissal was overturned. Some historians see the reneging of the SFU board's decision as a turning point at SFU that would foreshadow a change in university governance. Students at SFU

experienced the effectiveness of public protest. Again it should be noted that the student protest over the dismissal of the T.A.'s was a SUPA inspired action.

SUPA commanded a platform of various socio-political causes, with actions that included sit-ins and demonstrations. SUPA was predominantly Canadian and existed from 1964 to 1967 when it disbanded.

The New Left Committee (NLC)

The NLC emerged from SUPA in 1967. *The Peak* article On September 27th 1967 announces, "SUPA Disbands" and adds that "SUPA disbands and reforms as a branch of the New Left Committee (NLC). The NLC has declared itself neo-Marxist and intends to organize for a social revolution. The SFU NLC will continue the philosophy of the old SUPA but with increased emphasis on the student and his alienation, and on action rather than discussion."⁵ *The Peak* article in October 11, 1967, makes mention of the newly formed NLC at SFU. At an initial meeting, the function of a left-wing body at SFU was debated. A "general conclusion was that a well-organized body was needed to educate students and fight on-campus issues before getting involved in wider problems."⁶ About 30 members attended the committee's first meeting of the semester. But within a couple months the NLC was abandoned in favour of the SDU that would concentrate on campus reform.

Students for a Democratic University (SDU)

SDU was active in Canada from approx. 1968-1970 as a branch of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), which was a New Left student activist movement in the United States (1962–1970). The first mention of SDU at SFU was Sept 13, 1967 and pertained to Victor Rabinovitch, a Quebec activist who was the "founder of Students for a Democratic University

⁵ *The Peak*, September 27, 1967

⁶ *The Peak*, October 11, 1967

(SDU), which agitates on campus for university reform.”⁷ *The Peak* article on Nov. 22 1967 mentions SDU as an active body at McGill University but at that time there was no mention of SDU activity at SFU. However, SDU was present and organizing on campus by late 1967. On January 31, 1968 an article in *The Peak* describes SDU as a radical organization:

Simon Fraser’s first decentralized student movement was created this past week in the new Students for a Democratic University. At the organizational meeting Jan 22nd students abandoned the traditional executive structure into ten sections designed to deal flexibly with immediate issues, and with a system of rotating group heads to provide co-ordination. The SDU is a radical student group concerned with the problems of building an alternative system of education, of democratizing the university, and of examining critically the role of the university in society. At the first SDU meeting, Thursday noon, about 200 students discussed the concerns and problems of a student movement. John Cleveland spoke on the need for a strong student movement and on problems of organization; Jim Harding discussed the need for radical philosophy of education and some of the conflicts between the structure and the goals of a university.⁸

SDU built in momentum with council representation of predominantly SDU activists by May 1968. In May of 1968 a list of campaign regulations stated that all candidates must submit a 250 word paragraph stating their name, age, faculty, year, qualifications, and reasons for seeking a council position, how long they intend to stay in office and their platform in brief. The candidate’s platforms that transpired were transparent and the student body knew full well that by supporting a candidate like Loney who proposed to reform the university, they were electing a radical, left-wing, activist, for council president.

Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT)

CAUT was a Canadian national voice for academic employees including librarians, researchers, and professors, was founded in 1951, and remains active today. CAUT defends academic freedom and post-secondary accessibility by ensuring the social and economic interests of its members through collective bargaining and legal support. CAUT also investigates member dissatisfaction with contracts, working conditions, and university or department disputes or discontent. CAUT maintained the power to censure institutions that

⁷ *The Peak*, Sept 13, 1967

⁸ *The Peak*, January 31, 1968

violated members' social and economic interests as witnessed by SFU's CAUT censorship in 1968.

For SFU such a censure would mean that new professional recruits would be difficult to attract and the university would consequently be undermined. This in turn would affect students on many levels including the importance of their professors, and the stature of their degree. Also, in a February 28, 1968 edition of *The Peak*, "council second vice president "Gini Shaw felt the [CAUT] report identified some of the problems at SFU, such as 'undemocratic structures' and 'absentee management' but its solutions were half-hearted.' The main weakness of the report said Shaw, 'is that it totally ignores students.' She felt in order for democratic structures to exist, 'all members of the university community must be represented, including students'."⁹

In support of the faculty, in the same article Stan Wong stated, "If the board is unwilling to relinquish control of its academic matters, traditionally decided upon by faculty, then progress can be made only with a recomposition of the board."¹⁰ Although the student body supported the demands of the faculty, the faculty did not support or negotiate with the students until after the June 4, 1968 sit-in.

Duff-Berdahl Report on University Governance.

Duff-Berdahl Report was a CAUT initiated policy statement on university governance. It sought to limit the unilateral powers of the employer that was most often represented by the university administration. The Duff-Berdahl Report was issued in 1966, and addressed issues including promotion and tenure, grievance and arbitration, justice and dignity, selection of senior administrators, and employment equity. However, what affects professors often reflects on students. A March 23, 1966, article in *The Peak* stated that the Duff Berdhal Report predicted that student revolts were likely if students were not given a voice in university governance.

A CAUT investigating team were at SFU in 1968 investigating SFU's non-compliance with CAUT's mandate and with the recommendations of the Duff-Berdahl Report. CAUT was

⁹ *The Peak*, February 28, 1968

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

concerned with university professor's salaries, benefits and teaching contracts and the Duff-Berdahl Report recommended, among other things, that university professors be part of university governance. SFU had been a focus of concern to CAUT since Shrum's anti-tenure declaration in 1966 and the visiting team were aware of the Burstein contract dispute. A contract dispute involving professor Kenneth Burstein was exacerbated by the approach of SFU president McTaggart-Cowan and the involvement of CAUT representatives. In sum, psychology professor Kenneth Burstein's two-year appointment was coming up for renewal. The department head was against renewing his contract due to what was seen as Burstein's challenging personality. After Burstein appealed to a faculty committee and then a university committee, a one year renewal term was granted to him. In the fall of 1967 Burstein appealed to SFU president McTaggart-Cowan, who formed a special subcommittee to hear the appeal and consequently granted a two-year renewal of his teaching contract. However, in January 1968 the SFU Board in support of the psychology department head overruled McTaggart-Cowan and moved Burstein's appointment back to one year. As a result of the Burstein's dispute, the CAUT team reported that McTaggart-Cowan failed to get the co-operation of the SFU Board in matters of renewing contract terms for professors. This put McTaggart-Cowan's authority in question.

Three months later, in May of 1968, CAUT returned to SFU and declared that because SFU was not adapting to their recommendations, they intended to censure McTaggart-Cowan and the SFU Board of Governors. As a result McTaggart-Cowan called a meeting of all faculty in "a symbolic display of consulting the professors,"¹¹ but the faculty demanded his resignation. McTaggart-Cowan refused their demand stating that only the board could fire him. A week later the board fired him in the hope of appeasing CAUT. Seizing the moment, Martin Loney, now the Student Society President, organized a rally of 900 students and threatened, "sit-ins, marches and strikes, whatever it took to get both the president [not knowing that this had already occurred] and the board to resign, and give students and faculty control of a restructured university government."¹² Without the support of the SFU Student Society that voted not to strike, thirty to forty SDU (Student's for a

¹¹ Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 269.

¹² Ibid.

Democratic University) members started a sit-in in May of 1968 first in the registrar's office then in the boardroom. The SFU Family daycare co-op began at this time.

Appendix B. Demographic of Interviewees

Name	Family or Political Background Pre-SFU	SUPA	SDU	FAL	VWC	Student Council	Student Demon.	Write for/or Contribute to <i>The Peak</i>	Activist Leader	Aware of Gender Discrimin....	Involved in Daycare
Heidi Greco	Left	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Jim Harding	Left	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melody Kilian	Left	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Martin Loney	Left	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Chris Petty	Left	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Gini Shaw	Left	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marcy Toms	Left	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mary Wilson	Left	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Sharon Yandle	Left	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dave Yorke	Left	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Appendix C. SFU Enrolment Statistics

The approximate enrolment numbers include undergraduate students and graduate students at SFU.

Academic Year	Enrolment
1965-1966	2500
1966-1967	4300
1967-1968	N/A
1968-1969	6109
1969-1970	5965
1970-1971	5704
1971-1972	5319
1972-1973	5280

Simon Fraser University Archives. Enrolment Statistics 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 from the SFU Academic Calendars and 1968-1969 to 1970-1973, F-52-2-2-0-1. From the Office of Analytical studies fonds (Office of Analytical Studies is now called Institutional Research and Planning). Enrolment Statistics 1970-1978.

Appendix D.

Profiles of Interviewees

Melody Kilian Ermachild enrolled at SFU in 1966 with transfer credits from the University of California Berkley to the SFU PSA Department. After completing a BA at SFU she was admitted as a graduate student, and the only woman in her group, to do an honours PSA degree at SFU. She was mentored by Kathleen Aberle and Maggie Benston. She was politically active with the anti-war movement, the Vancouver Women's Caucus, and founder of the American Deserters Committee in Vancouver. At SFU she was elected to the student council, served as treasurer, and she was involved in the 1968 boardroom sit-in. She became one of the founding members of the SFU Family Co-op and wrote and published articles about the daycare and motherhood. After graduation she returned to the United States to teach and to work as a private investigator, advocating for death penalty reform. She is also known as Melody Chavis, author of *Meena, Heroine of Afghanistan*.

Heidi Greco began studies at SFU in 1971. At the time she was a single mother of two young sons who were promptly enrolled in the SFU Family Co-op daycare. By the mid-1970s she graduated with a General Studies Degree and began a career in the public school system. Today, Heidi resides in Surrey, BC. She writes poetry, fiction, essays, reviews and articles for magazines and newspapers. Among her major works are *Flightpaths: The Lost Journals of Amelia Earhart*, published in 2017, *Rattlesnake Plantain*, published in 2002 and *Shrinking Violets* (a novella), published in 2011. She is also a contributor to many anthologies. Heidi returned to SFU as a creative writing instructor in 2012 in the Department of Continuing Studies, the Southbank Program.

Jim Harding completed his BA was at the University of Regina, and his Masters at the University of Saskatchewan. He came to SFU in the fall of 1967 and left the spring of 1970. He completed his PhD in the PSA Department with Tom Bottomore as his thesis advisor. Harding was one of the suspended TAs involved in the 1969 PSA strike to democratize the PSA Department. After leaving BC he worked in Integrated Studies and then Environmental Studies at the University of Waterloo (1970-76) and then went to Saskatchewan as Research Director for the Alcoholism Commission (1977-79). He

joined the Faculty of Social Work and afterwards the School of Human Justice at the University of Regina until he retired in 1998. At SFU, he is remembered as a political activist, SDU member, and one of the first single fathers to participate in the founding of the Family Co-op.

Martin Loney enrolled at SFU in September 1966. He had an undergraduate degree from England in Politics and Economics. He graduated from SFU with a MA in the PSA Department in 1969 with Kathleen Abele as his supervisor. He then completed a PhD at the London School of Economics and returned to Canada to teach at Carleton University. He later taught at London's South Bank Polytechnic and the United Kingdom's Open University. He is remembered as one of the leading political radicals and student activists at SFU in the 1960s. He was the president of the student council and leader of SDU during the June 1968 boardroom sit-in.

Anne McDonald was employed by the SFU daycare from November 1973 to May 1975 while she completed her daycare certification at Langara College. She continued to work in a variety of Lower Mainland daycare centres, including special needs, until 1989. She was president of the Social Services Employees Union Local 2 (daycare) 1979–1980. Anne later trained as an adult ESL and Literacy teacher, completing several diplomas and eventually a secondary teachers' certificate. She credits her success in teaching adults and in surviving a high school practicum at the age of 61 to the interpersonal skills she learned as a daycare worker.

Chris Petty enrolled at SFU in January 1970, graduated in 1975 with a History major, and then entered the SFU PDP program (Professional Development Program in the Faculty of Education). Subsequently he worked at Douglas College teaching high risk adults life skills and then at UBC as a Communications Director. As an involved single Dad, Chris was one of the first Family Co-op elected executives appointed in 1970. He acted as secretary and spokesperson for the daycare from 1970 to 1973.

Gini Shaw was a student in the Education Department at SFU in September 1965. She was a member of CUS and SUPA, an executive member of the student council, a councillor-at-large, the second vice president of the SFU Student Council, a contributor to *The Peak* newspaper, and is referenced in many publications as “the founding mother

of the SFU Daycare.” After leaving SFU late in 1968, she taught elementary school in Burnaby for many years.

Marcy Toms began studies at SFU in the fall of 1967. She responded to a poster in the late fall of 1967 asking “Do You Feel Left Out” and subsequently became one of the first members of SDU. In the spring of 1968 she began organizing the Feminine Action League (FAL) that became official in June of 1968. By late summer 1968 the FAL was renamed the SFU Women’s Caucus and by the summer of 1969 the Caucus left campus and continued operating as the Vancouver Women’s Caucus. After university, Marcy embarked on a career in teaching.

Mary Wilson enrolled at SFU in September 1970 and graduated with a Geography degree in 1974. After graduation she taught at secondary school and then went to UBC for a Masters of Education degree and was subsequently employed at various colleges as a councillor. Mary was a daycare parent from 1970 to 1973 and she was a temporary Co-op Family co-ordinator from November 1973 to February 1974.

Sharon Yandle began as a student in the History Department at SFU in September 1965 and graduated with an Honours BA in the PSA Department in 1968. She was one of the first three students to sit on the SFU Senate, a member of CUS, the SFU coordinator of SUPA, an award winning scholar, and the political editor of *The Peak*. She was a self-professed radical, and a well-remembered activist and proponent for political change. After leaving SFU she earned a MA at the University of Wisconsin and then returned to Vancouver to begin a long career as a union activist. She enrolled her daughter in the SFU daycare during the 1973–1974 daycare administrative changes.

David Yorke started at SFU in January 1966. He was elected to the SFU student council as Vice-President and Clubs Director, he was an active member of CUCND and SUPA, and a participant in SDU. Dave was particularly outspoken as an advocate for the reinstatement of the suspended Templeton Five, and for student freedom of speech and political activity on and off campus. He married Gini Shaw in 1968 and for a short while she was known as Gini Yorke. After graduating from SFU he attended law school at UBC. Dave continues to work in the legal profession as a union lawyer.

Jerry Zaslove came to SFU as a professor in September of 1965 and subsequently taught in the departments of English, Graduate Liberal Studies, and School for

Contemporary Arts. He is the founding director for the SFU Institute for Humanities. Jerry continues to be involved at SFU as an emeritus professor. He is well known at universities across Canada and abroad as a distinguished scholar, author, artist, and innovative thinker. He is considered an authority on the history of SFU and the 1950s and 1960s social movements.

Interviews

Jim Harding, August 26, 2016

Marcy Toms, March 24, 2017

Gini Shaw, April 19, 2016

Dave Yorke, April 27, 2016

Sharon Yandle, April 21, 2016

Martin Loney, August 9, 2016

Melody Kilian Ermachild, August 18, 2016

Heidi Greco, September 10, 2017

Anne McDonald, October 5, 2017

Mary Wilson, August 18, 2016

Chris Petty, August 29, 2016

Jerry Zaslove, March 31, 2016

Appendix E.

Consent Form



study number 2015s0357

This is a Consent Form for the study titled “Pioneering of the Simon Fraser University Daycare: The Early Years 1965 -1973”

Principal Investigator: Barbara Bates

Supervisor: Dr. Lara Campbell

Department: The Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women’s Studies (GSWS)

Contact: [...]

Study Particulars: Doctoral Thesis in the GSWS department

Invitation to Participate:

This consent form is provided for Simon Fraser University (SFU) Daycare participants, originators, administrators, spectators, commentators, and contributors, specifically between 1965 to 1973 who can offer data, perspective, reflection, or commentary. As well, this consent form may draw on comments from other individuals offering reflections about the origins of the SFU daycare. Consequently you are being invited to take part in this research study.

Note: Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. Participants will not be remunerated monetarily.

Study Details:

The establishment of the SFU Daycare began through the grass roots efforts of SFU students. This daycare initiative, which responded to a dire need of students who were also parents, soon blossomed into an established childcare centre that was unique in North America and became a model for other post-secondary institutions. In many ways, the founding of the SFU daycare is a microcosm of the larger university establishment and culture, by standing as a small but symbolic part that makes up the whole of what SFU was and still is. The daycare represented a micro view of challenge and confrontation concerning stereotypical norms about parenting, daycare, studenthood, and gender conventions, amid the macro demonstrations of SFU students and professors at the university as they confronted traditional views of what postsecondary education should be. There is no extended scholarly analysis of the historical emergence of daycare at SFU. The historical record of the SFU daycare is held primarily in pockets of the SFU Archives but it has not been compiled in the condensed form that this thesis is proposing.

Use of Study:

This dissertation will be the first compiled, organized, and critically analyzed history of the daycare at SFU which places its emergence in the context of 1960s activism, specifically, the student, youth, and feminist movements of the period. It will provide a historical documentation of women's and subsequently parent's efforts to attain gender equality and to pressure the university to support student and children's needs. The history of the SFU Daycare attests to what can be done with cooperation and

determination and it stands as a model for similar undertakings wherever socio-political conditions allow. Upon completion, the results of this study will be reported in a graduate thesis, the thesis will be available in the SFU library with the possibility of a subsequent published book, or it may appear in an article, a journal, or be presented at an academic conference. Also, with your permission, the interview tapes may be kept in the SFU Archives indefinitely.

Withdrawal Particulars:

Further to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Article 3.1(b) “to maintain the element of voluntariness, participants shall be free to withdraw their consent to participate in the research at any time, and need not offer any reason for doing so.” Although any interview participant may withdraw from the study titled, “Pioneering of the Simon Fraser University Daycare: The Early Years 1965 – 1973,” at any time without reason, the date of thesis completion, approximately 2017, is also the date of final printing and submission of the study and the written and submitted thesis will then be made available for public review and kept in the SFU library indefinitely. Changes cannot occur after this time. Meanwhile, If you would like to review your interview excerpt, or excerpts, that occur in specific sections of the thesis (ie: an entire chapter or subchapter where your words are recorded) please check the applicable box at the end of the consent form and this will provide you with an opportunity to review materials and offer feedback to the researcher before the thesis completion and final printing (approximately 2017).

Risks and Benefits of Participation: There are no foreseeable risks to you in participating in this study. You do not have to answer any question or respond to any prompt if you do not want to. Others may benefit from the compilation and documentation of information in this study, in which case you may derive satisfaction as a contributor. You are welcome to add or delete anything to this “Risks and Benefits of Participation” section, in which case your additions or deletions will be noted in pen on this consent form and initialled by both the interviewer and interviewee.

Study Procedures: If you choose to participate in this investigation

- you will be asked to take part in one-on-one noted or taped interviews conducted by Barbara Bates
- you may be asked to participate in more than one interview
- interviews will last approximately one hour and they will take place at a location and time agreed on by you and Barbara Bates.
- Interview tapes will in part or in whole be transcribed, and interview material may, or may not, be used in the final thesis. During the interviews you may be requested to reply to specific questions and/or you may be invited to reflect on historical matters.

(Please see attached, at the end of this consent form, possible semi-structured interview questions that might be asked during the interview.)

- I intend to do two kinds of interviews. The first kind involves adults who are willing to be identified with their given or legal first name and surname. The second kind involves adults who want to remain unidentified. In this second

- case, to insure identity remains private, there will be a number assigned to interviewees who want to remain unnamed and consequently a name/number associated log will be kept in a safety deposit box, after which a number will be attached to their interview tape and only that number will be referenced in notes, transcripts and all other material required for the thesis, thus protecting their identity. The unidentified interview participants will be referred to by pseudonym or by referring to “a daycare founder” or “parent involved,” etc.
- As per the conditions of the identified or unidentified Interviews referenced above, all interviews will be documented by hand written notes, or taped on an audio cassette or other technological audio device. All data associated with interviews like notes, paper files, tapes, memory sticks, paper or computer documented transcriptions, analysis, and thesis drafts, as well as any interviewee shared material like a photograph, minutes of a meeting, or a document, will be kept at the home office of Barbara Bates. When the final thesis is presented and defended and accepted by Barbara Bates’ supervisors and the Gender Sexuality & Women’s Studies Department at SFU, and when Barbara Bates is granted a doctorate degree for the aforementioned undertaking, all data associated with interviews as well as the name/number assigned logs kept, will be destroyed one year hence unless participants agree (see consent at the bottom of this form) to have material and taped interviews kept indefinitely in the SFU Archives. The anticipated date of Barbara Bates’ thesis completion, doctorate defense, and granting of a doctorate degree, and the consequent destruction of all interview

data, or alternately handing over to the SFU Archives, is approximately 2017.

However, all interview material that is referenced and printed in the final thesis will be available for public review and kept in the SFU library indefinitely.

Warning: At any point in the study, If you reveal that there has been an incident that involves abuse and/or neglect of a child or an elderly person (or that there is a risk of such occurring) please be advised that the researcher must, by law, report this information to The Ministry of Children and Family Development, who may choose to intervene and report the incident to the appropriate authorities.

Contact for Complaints: If you have any concerns about your rights as a research participant and /or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact Dr. Jeffrey Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics [...]

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Participant signature

Date (YYY/MM/DD)

Printed Name of the Participant signing above

 I wish my name to be cited as source wherever I am quoted. I do not wish my identity to be confidential.

_____ I consent to having my interview tape and material kept indefinitely in the SFU Archives. (this means the material is available for public access)

_____ I do not want my name or identity used in the thesis. My material may be used as long as I remain unidentified. My identity must be protected by exercising the confidentiality provisions detailed in this consent form.

_____ I release and consent to have included in the aforementioned thesis any data that I give to Barbara Bates (photograph, picture, letter, note, document, minutes of a meeting, etc).

_____ I agree to future contact by the researcher for further clarification or information, if required and related to the current study.

_____ I would like to review my interview excerpt, or excerpts, that occur in specific sections of the thesis (ie: an entire chapter or subchapter where my words are recorded) providing me with an opportunity to review these excerpts and offer feedback to the researcher before the thesis completion and final printing (approximately 2017).

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Possible questions that might be asked of the parents involved in the daycare up to and including 1973, are:

-What inspired you to act with other parents in the beginning?

-how did parents decide on various tactics? How did you decide on the sit-on: who would organize it/run it/participate in it? Were there arguments and/or disagreements about how to protest?

-what sort of ideal childcare did you imagine for your children? Did the SFU daycare live up to those ideals? Why or why not?

- How did you (and/or do you now) understand relationships between daycare activism and other political activism? Were you involved in other political movements at the time?

-In retrospect what inspired you socio-politically at the time? (ie: popular culture, social movements, or the quest for gender equality?)

-were you involved in other social movements (and if so, which ones, and to what extent?)

-was the fight for daycare apart from or a part of the other student protests on campus at the time? Did you feel supported by other campus activists? Why or why not?

-were you influenced by feminist theory? If so, which authors?