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REGULATION, RESISTANCE AND REPRODUCTION:
THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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B.A. (Honours), University of Saskatchewan, 1976

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

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Regulation, Resistance and Reproduction: The Politics of Public School

Teaching in British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the roots of contemporary conflicts between public school teachers and governments in advanced industrial nations, with specific emphasis on the province of British Columbia. In contrast to previous theories of teaching which depict teachers either as professionals in a neutral social context or as agents of domination who are dominated themselves by the state, I argue that teaching is shaped by contestation over the three Rs of reproduction, regulation, and resistance.

In advanced capitalist societies, public schooling has become a major site of social reproduction (especially of class and gender inequality), which in turn has become organized increasingly through the state. Teachers, as dependent employees, are regulated both personally and technically by the state to ensure appropriate educational outcomes. Teaching contributes to the reproduction of labour power which combines the development of definite skills with attributes of active human beings who possess moral and subjective qualities. This latter dimension allows teachers to retain some autonomy over their work, enabling them to contest and resist regulatory practices employed by the state.

The thesis presents six periods of teacher-state relations which have emerged in the context of capitalist development in British Columbia: colonialism, state-formation and the creation of a dependent teaching force (1821-1900); industrial development and the consolidation of the teaching force (1900-1947); educational expansion and a vision of teacher professionalism as quiet consultation (1947-1967); educational retrenchment and conflict (1967-1972); educational rationalization and intensified teacher-state struggle (1972-1983); and the reorganization of teaching amidst

wider economic and educational restructuring (1983-1988). Data are collected from three main sources - documents, memoranda and publications produced through the government of British Columbia and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF); interviews with eleven BCTF leaders and active members; and other published materials including federal government statistics and newspaper articles.

I conclude that state managers bring teachers under increased technical control to ensure high productivity and definite social outcomes. Teachers frequently have been complicit in state attempts to coordinate social reproduction with economic advancement. Nonetheless, while the state has altered and extended regulation to constrain teachers in and out of work as morally reliable workers, teachers potentially are able to develop alliances with pupils, other workers and community groups to alter social and educational priorities.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Public school teaching is in turmoil. In the 1980s, political antagonisms between teachers and governments have intensified against a backdrop of rhetoric marked by such notions as "lifelong learning," "educational excellence," and accountability which signal a fundamental shift in educational ideologies and operations. An attack on schools has been led by neo-conservative governments and corporate leaders on the fiscal, organizational and ideological grounds that existing educational structures are too costly and poorly equipped to deliver the types of services required in a competitive high technology world (see, for example, the National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1983). Teachers, by contrast, have advanced a liberal vision of a well-funded, open education system as the cornerstone of socioeconomic opportunity and human development. Teaching bodies in the advanced industrial nations have engaged in increasing numbers of strikes and other forms of industrial action to defend working conditions, job security and wages in the face of strong government measures to restructure, rationalize and centralize control over education. In Britain, teachers became enmeshed in a prolonged dispute with the national government in the mid-1980s amidst arbitrary government action to cut public expenditures and restrict teachers' pay increases; governments in Australia, Japan, and Sweden took reprisals against teachers who engaged in industrial action; and in Canada, governments in several provinces, most notably British Columbia, unilaterally altered collective bargaining processes for teachers and other public sector employees (Pietrasik 1987; World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession 1986, R7-11-12).

The emergence of teacher-state conflict has profound implications for state policy and industrial relations in general. Teachers comprise the largest category of workers in a massive education sector. In Canada, for example, education expenditures in the mid 1980s regularly consumed about seven percent of the nation's gross national product (Statistics Canada 1987, 6). The number of full-time public school teachers in Canada is over 258,000, while in terms of membership teachers' organizations are among the largest labour unions in most provinces (Minister of Supply and Services 1988; Statistics Canada 1987, 23). By virtue of its size and potential influence, the traditionally docile teaching workforce could exercise considerable political clout if effectively mobilized.

Why has such often fierce contestation emerged over an apparently neutral and uncontentious vocation like teaching? How are these struggles over educational funding and teachers' industrial relations linked to activities which take place in school classrooms? What are the likely outcomes and implications of such struggles for schooling?

This thesis presents the recent upsurge of teacher-state conflict as a manifestation of the three Rs of regulation, resistance and reproduction. Public school teaching is not a simple static channel for transmitting reading, writing and arithmetic. Instead, teaching is a changing political endeavour which contributes to enduring social distinctions, notably class and gender relations. Teaching is shaped within distinct phases of capitalist development by the historical activities of educational managers who regulate teachers as well as by teachers' actions to resist or accommodate to their circumstances.

TEACHER-STATE RELATIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The thesis is concerned with the specific case of teacher-state

relations in British Columbia, where one writer (Kilian 1985) has aptly characterized recent events involving the provincial teachers' federation (the BCTF), the provincial Social Credit government, and other educational participants, as "school wars." Especially since the late 1960s and early 1970s, when teachers responded to government measures to restrict educational funding by campaigning actively to defeat the government in a provincial election, teachers and the provincial government have been frequent combatants over education and social policy. By 1983, teachers were participating actively with other trade unions and community organizations in a province-wide Solidarity Coalition to protest against provincial government measures to restrain state spending and restrict human and trade union rights. In the mid-1980s, the BCTF's case against excessive provincial confinement of teachers' collective bargaining rights was presented for investigation by the International Labour Organization. More recently, in 1987, the provincial government introduced as part of a broad package of restrictive labour legislation a bill which outlined procedures to divide and weaken the provincial teachers' organization.

As important as these recent events are in their own right, however, they cannot be understood without reference to the definite material and historical circumstances within which they have emerged. Since the first schools opened in British Columbia in the 1850s, the province has experienced a rich and frequently turbulent educational history. Nonetheless, until the events of the 1960s and 1970s teachers were considered non-entities in the history and politics of the province. Wilson (1980) laments the near-absence of reference to any education matters in prominent historical studies of the province (e.g., Ormsby 1958, Robin 1972, Robin 1973), and observes that education appeared as a significant theme in historical writing on the province only in the late 1970s when Sutherland (1976) published a study on the relationship between public education and general institutional aspects

of childhood in B.C. and other provinces. Even discussions of events in the more recent periods in biographies of premiers W.A.C. Bennett and his son Bill, both of whom were involved in the escalation of conflict between teachers and the government since the 1960s, tend to ignore education (see, for example, Keene and Humphreys 1980, Mitchell 1983, Persky 1979, Persky 1983).

Much of the "hidden" nature of education and teaching in the province's history can be attributed to the emphasis by both commentators and teachers themselves on the evolutionary development of a quiet brand of teacher professionalism. In most traditional studies on teaching and the teachers' organizations in the province, represented in such work as Bruneau (1978), Campbell (1930), Muir (1968), North (1964), Roald (1970), and Skolrood (1967), the portrayal of teachers assumes a kind of natural progression to mature professional status. While each of these studies illustrates periodic difficulties and struggles along the way, internal tensions and external pressures are seen ultimately as minor obstacles on an otherwise linear pathway to professional respectability, devoid of any clear rationale for action by either the state or teachers.

A more critical analysis of the province's educational development has been provided in recent historical writing, represented by a growing number of studies, including the work of Dunn (1979, 1980) on the rise of mass public education and the emergence of vocationalism in B.C. schools, Mann (1980) on educational reform in the province in the 1920s and 1930s, Barman (1984, 1986) on boys' private schools in the province and on the formation of the province's public education system in the nineteenth century, Calam (1984) on early provincial Normal Schools for teacher training, and Child (1972) on conflict over the establishment of school district consolidation in the Peace River district in the 1930s. Each of these recent studies demonstrates that schooling in B.C. emerged within a specific social fabric

nurtured by the distinct and often conflicting visions held by diverse groups of educational reformers and participants. In none of these studies, though, has the analysis of teachers as major players or targets of state policy been a central concern.

Teachers and the problem of teacher-state conflict became a focus for more critical and conflict-based accounts following the movement of teachers into the political arena after the late 1960s. Repo (1974) and Yri (1979), for example, demonstrate how B.C. teachers, torn between militant and moderate factions, were motivated through skilled leadership to take political action in the early 1970s in order to challenge unpopular government moves to reorganize educational services. These studies highlight the strategic nature of teacher-state relations within a changing political context. Repo, more than does Yri, advances the analysis of teacher militancy by revealing that teachers and governments do not act simply as independent lobby groups. Repo grounds teacher-state conflict in fiscal crisis and educational retrenchment provoked by the state's prioritization of corporate investment over social services. A more comprehensive overview of the relationship between capitalism and the development of teacher-state relations in the province is provided by Warburton (1986), who argues that teachers are engaged in class struggle and encounter state rule as dependent employees. Warburton demonstrates how teaching and teacher-state relations develop through a dynamic "dialectic of control and resistance" modified in accordance with specific phases of the development of capitalism in the province.

Warburton provides a useful starting point for the analysis of teacher-state relations by demonstrating that teachers are not apolitical professionals but workers who are actively involved in contestation over their work and working conditions. However, greater attentiveness needs to be given to specific aspects of teaching which make possible state

regulation, teachers' claims to professionalism, and other forms of contention over teachers' working conditions, wages, and status. Teachers are constrained and empowered on the basis that they are not only workers, but educators who possess a "special" relationship with clients and publics. Consider the following recent comments made by or about teachers in British Columbia:

There are two inescapable realities about teachers. One is that they are educators; the other is that they are employees. - Report of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) Task Force on Bargaining and Professional Rights (BCTF 1986b, 4).

[The teacher] should maybe get a little bit educated in economics and get a real job. - British Columbia Minister of Education Jim Hewitt (quoted in Bowman 1986, 6).

Teachers must not only be competent, but they are expected to lead by example. - British Columbia Appeal Court Chief Justice Nathan Nemetz (quoted in the Vancouver Province 1987).

These comments serve at one level as ideological reflections, creating an image of teaching that is desired by representatives of particular social groups or interests. At the same time, they convey important messages about the contradictory ways in which teaching is structured and conceptualized. Teaching is a "job" or work, but it contains a quality or dimension which allows it to be considered distinct from other jobs. This paradox does not change teachers' class location which, as Warburton (1986) emphasizes, is constituted by teachers' employment dependency upon the state. Nonetheless, the recognition of teaching as an endeavour which possesses dual characteristics as a job and as something other than mere "work" raises important questions about the factors which underlie teacher-state relations.

In particular, my analysis of teacher-state relations in British Columbia is concerned with the following questions: In what ways, and in response to what factors, has public school teaching been defined and shaped by teachers and the state since its inception? How has teaching been regulated? How have teachers' organizations, as a whole as well as by

various factions within the occupation, responded to the conception and regulation of their work? By addressing these questions, I will elaborate my major research concern - to describe and explain the changing historical relations between organized teachers and the state in British Columbia which in the last two decades have taken the form of teacher-state conflict.

THE ANALYSIS OF TEACHER-STATE RELATIONS

Teaching and teacher-state relations generally have been analyzed through traditional, critical and historical materialist perspectives. Traditional approaches, dominated by pluralist and functionalist analysis, emphasize the utility of teaching to society as a whole. Functionalists see the primary role of teachers as contributing to social integration (e.g., Parsons 1959), while pluralists view teachers as constituting an interest group which either defends or obstructs educational progress (e.g., Roy 1983). Traditional approaches commonly portray teachers as professionals who in classroom and industrial relations settings are expected to be concerned with the socially benevolent virtues of education; the educative and worker functions of teaching are compartmentalized into two separate spheres, generally to the neglect of one or the other. Teacher-state conflict, viewed from traditional perspectives, is an abnormal occurrence which emerges when one party or the other, or both, overstep the bounds of legitimate educational authority such as in the current climate of educational unrest where the state has moved to intervene in the classroom while teachers have sought general political action. Within the traditional approach, educational problems are solved by teachers becoming more professional in their classroom duties and orientations to work. The focus on professionalism is useful insofar as it points to certain dimensions of teaching over which teachers can gain privileges and control. Nonetheless,

the factors which constitute teaching are held to be relatively unproblematic within traditional studies. With their emphasis on consensus and uncritical notions of professionalism, traditional approaches are limited in their ability to account for why teacher-state relations change.

Critical approaches, by contrast, portray teaching as a vehicle for meeting the needs of dominant social groupings rather than as a socially benevolent profession. By bringing to light how teaching serves specific interests, defined primarily in class or gender terms, critical views of teaching emphasize that teaching is a political endeavour (e.g., Acker 1983, Bowles and Gintis 1976). Critical approaches, by making such connections, stress that teaching is not merely a social service but a form of work which is subject to the intervention of managers and other authorities. An emphasis on teaching as work commonly gives rise to a proletarianization thesis which contends that teaching becomes progressively deskilled as working tasks are fragmented and constrained by the encroachment of central managerial dictates (Braverman 1974, Oppenheimer 1973). Nonetheless, writers who adopt a critical perspective on teaching often place too much emphasis on the rationality of educational management and teaching for particular ends, without considering either the contradictory nature of teaching or the active role that teachers play in accommodating to or resisting the requirements laid out by governments and educational managers.

Recent work by writers such as Apple (1983, 1986), Carnoy and Levin (1985), Grace (1987), and Ozga and Lawn (1981) has employed a social conflict-based historical materialist approach as an alternative to traditional and critical perspectives. Unlike other approaches to the study of teaching and teachers' organized activities, historical materialism presents teaching as an activity which is defined and produced through social structures which shape and are shaped by various groups of educational actors, including teachers themselves. The analysis is historical not in

terms of attempting to provide an exhaustive account of educational development but in the sense that social relations are examined as actively constituted by human beings within definite social contexts. It is materialist in the sense that concrete social interests or practices are emphasized as the basis for historical activities and transformations.

Within historical materialism, research, following the method of political economy as outlined by Marx (1973, 100-108), involves proceeding from abstract, general characteristics of social structures to concrete, historical practices which characterize given societies within definite modes of production. Social reality is presented as a complex totality. As Keat and Urry (1975, 113-114) observe,

For Marx the correct method is as follows. First, any scientific analysis must begin with a certain preliminary observation and conceptualization. But second, the scientific method proper is to use the abstract general principles to reconstitute the concrete as a highly complex combination of many determinations, 'a unity of the diverse' (Marx 1973, p. 101). We analyse how the objects of analysis are determined by the complex combinations of relations between the various abstractly realized notions. Thus, a given social group is not seen abstractly but as determined by the 'rich totality of many determinations and relations' (Marx 1973, p. 100). . . . [Marx's] clear intention [is] to produce descriptions of structures of modes of production.

Research proceeds within a general framework of abstraction which outlines the most significant relations within a given mode of production or type of society as defined by prevailing forms of material activity. The specific interrelationships among particular phenomena are then "tested" or given substance in connection with concrete historical practices.

While several ethnographic accounts influenced by historical materialism have helped to illuminate the politics of teachers' workplace, i.e., the classroom (e.g., Connell 1985; Sikes, Measor and Woods 1985), greater attention needs to be given to teachers' political activities outside the classroom. As Lawn and Grace (1987, viii) stress, "we still have relatively few studies which have looked in detail at the formation of teachers'

organisations; their socio-historical origins; internal groupings and divisions; struggles and conflicts; occupational ideologies and relations with the state and other agencies." Addressing this concern, my focus in this thesis lies primarily with the ways in which teachers' organizations and governments interact to mediate between wider socioeconomic demands upon schooling and what actually happens in schools.

My analysis draws upon major themes identified in recent historical materialist analysis of teacher-state relations. Regardless of the extent to which teaching is considered a profession or self-directed vocation, teachers are dependent employees who do not have the autonomy to set the terms and conditions of their work (Ozga and Lawn 1981, Warburton 1986). Teaching is also gendered labour which involves common notions of teaching as "women's work" as well as more hidden ways in which women's positions and activities within school systems are not only different than but subordinate to those of men (Apple 1983; Apple 1986; Connell 1985, 8-9; Danylewycz and Prentice 1986). Teachers are employed by the state, usually through local education authorities, as agents who must in some way be committed or coerced to carry out state educational policies. This is not merely a mechanical or one-way relation. I conceptualize the state, following Carnoy and Levin's (1985) social conflict view of the state, as the public institutional sphere which includes government bureaucracy, defense, law, education, and social welfare services, through which political tensions between capitalist production and democratic participation are channelled. The nature of teacher-state relations depends upon the place of public schooling within the state, which in turn relies upon the political, economic and social forces which prevail upon state activities. In other words, teaching is shaped at particular historical junctures by the demands that are made by various sectors or social groups on the state for educational services and the kinds and extent of educational services the state is able to provide.

Historical materialist approaches portray teaching and teacher-state relations as contradictory, changing endeavours. They situate the teacher as a worker who is both constrained by state policies and managerial initiatives instituted within the development of capitalism and active in resisting state intervention into their work. Apple (1982a, 143; 1983, 614; 1986) provides one of the clearest statements about the shifting nature of regulation and resistance in teaching. He argues that traditional personalized patterns of control over teaching are losing ground to more technical control procedures drawn from industry. Traditional forms of control are characterized by direct personal supervision, commonly in the form of paternalism and patriarchal power relations signified by the dominance of males over females in the educational division of labour (e.g., male administrators/female teachers; male secondary school teachers/female elementary school teachers). These relationships, Apple contends, are being encroached upon by technical or industrial control procedures. The emergent forms of control over teachers are governed by the dual rationality of efficiency and cost-effectiveness through industrial development and state activities which produce demands for a technically competent workforce and fiscal responsibility. In other words, as employers assert the need for schools to produce in an efficient manner workers with specific trained competencies, educational management relies more fully upon centralized decision-making and technical devices which are built into curriculum and educational procedures than upon more personalized, gender-based forms of control and direct supervision of teachers. This is not to suggest that the previous forms of control have disappeared, but their continuation poses likely barriers to increased corporate demands for efficiency and technical competence. These changes are not unique to education. Technical regulation often builds upon personal and paternalistic regulation, especially in workplaces like the bureaucratic office which is characterized by high proportions of female

employees:

Traditional forms of control - usually based on the dominance of the male boss - are being altered. Technical control, where one's work is de-skilled and intensified by the 'impersonal' machinery in the office, has made significant inroads. While certainly not eliminating patriarchal domination, it has in fact provided a major shift in the terrain on which it operates. Capital has found more efficient modes of control than overt patriarchal authority (Apple 1983, 613-614).

In schools, this transformation often means that the major educational decisions are made away from the classroom. Rather than having to perform adequately for a visiting school inspector, teachers now are faced with such concerns as completing specified units of work on time or making detailed individual learning and social assessments which are set by the agendas of educational managers within distant state or corporate centers (Apple 1983, 619).

Teaching is presented as a labour process which takes shape through an ongoing dynamic of control and resistance. Apple's concern lies primarily with the analysis of how curricular and textual materials reflect class and gender interests which structure the schooling process. Consequently, like other writers such as Connell (1985), Connell, Ashenden, Kessler, and Dowsett (1982), and Danylewycz and Prentice (1986), Apple concentrates on the pervasive but contested development of control over teachers through curriculum, particularly in textbooks, mass-produced curricular materials, and school administrative practices. New techniques of control and state intervention have "not sprung out of nowhere, but ... [have] grown out of the failures, partial successes, and resistances that accompanied the earlier approaches to control" (Apple 1983, 617). Within the classroom, for example, teachers may have some discretion to rearrange the pre-programmed objectives and pacing of new corporate-produced "teacherproof" packages of curricular materials (Apple 1982a, 143-156; Apple 1983, 619).

Although Apple's analysis of classrooms and curriculum packages offers useful insights about the often hidden processes through which teaching is

given shape within the educational sphere, I am more concerned with the political sites in which teacher-state relations are constituted around schooling. In particular, I want to show how changes within schooling are to a large extent consequences of the ways in which teachers and state officials publicly contest the definition of teaching, the introduction of curriculum, managerial techniques, and other schooling practices which shape teaching not just as "work," but as reproductive work. I will apply Apple's thesis that technical regulation has tended to supersede personal regulation to an analysis of teacher-state relations in British Columbia, but I view the shift in more fluid terms through changing patterns of teacher resistance and state regulation defined and organized on the basis of two components of teaching as reproductive work which I call the moral/subjective and productive dimensions.

Historical materialist studies, like traditional and critical approaches, tend not to elaborate underlying aspects of teaching around which state management and teacher resistances are organized. Teachers, as Curtis (1988, 13) emphasizes, are not simply labourers, but workers who are involved in a moral project advanced by bourgeois political authorities to create persons who "internalize and embody principles of social tolerance, respect for legitimate authority, and for standards of a 'collective' morality."

The historical development of teaching and teacher-state relations, I contend, is a consequence of the ways in which teaching is organized as both work and moral enterprise as expressed, for example, in the quotations cited at the end of the previous section. I argue that teachers are workers who are engaged in the contradictory endeavour of social reproduction, contributing to the education and training of children who are simultaneously "free" individuals and possessors of distinct class, gender, racial, age, and other social characteristics. Teachers, in the language of historical materialism, are engaged in the production or reproduction of labour power,

which is the active, conscious capacity of human beings to transform nature and themselves (Marx 1977, 274-275). Like other persons such as parents and health care workers who contribute to personal care and development, the teacher has a special relationship with the child or learner which often involves particular expertise and shared experiences which are difficult to penetrate from outside the relationship. However, the teacher is also a paid agent of the state with a legally enforced universal clientele (through compulsory school attendance legislation).

Schooling serves, in Bernstein's (1971, 141) terms, to "make people safe" within existing social arrangements. Because teachers are state employees responsible for the care, discipline and education of young people for large segments of a person's childhood years, the teacher also must be "made safe." As with work involved in the production of other commodities, teaching has a productive dimension through which it is arranged and controlled by management decisions concerning the allocation of resources, standards of productivity and quality, and so on. More than in most other forms of employment, however, teaching is also governed by a moral/subjective dimension which extends public scrutiny over the teacher's personal character and moral worthiness by virtue of his or her relationship with the human learner. These two dimensions - the productive and the moral/subjective - which characterize teaching as reproductive work are socially defined and organized, utilized in distinct ways by employers to regulate teaching and by teachers to resist or accommodate to such regulation. Social requirements for the reproduction of labour power vary with different phases of capitalist and state development, contributing to changing forms of state regulation over teaching and providing teachers with opportunities to maintain some autonomy and control over their work. I argue that it is the interplay among the three Rs of teaching - regulation, resistance, and reproduction - which provides the basis for shifting teacher-state relations within the

development of capitalism.

REGULATION, RESISTANCE AND REPRODUCTION IN TEACHING

As an introduction to my discussion of the theoretical foundations of the concepts of reproduction, regulation and resistance in chapters two and three and the substantiation in subsequent chapters of major trends in specific phases of teacher-state relations in British Columbia, I provide in this section a brief summary of my analysis of the three Rs.

Teaching is reproductive labour oriented to produce individuals as distinct subjects within definite political and economic contexts. Teaching, through the official mechanism of schooling, prepares people for work and citizenship roles by offering legitimate knowledge, credentials and social experiences; by virtue of its formal detachment from particular social interests and its ability to service a near-universal clientele, the school has become a major site for social reproduction in advanced industrial societies, supplanting church and family since the nineteenth-century as the central "ideological state apparatus" (Althusser 1971). The reproduction of capitalist society, founded upon privately-owned production of goods and services for profit, involves the continual production of a pool of propertyless workers who must sell their labour power for a wage in order to purchase commodities for their own sustenance. The maintenance of capital accumulation and inequalities based especially upon class and gender relations involves both necessity (dominant and subordinate groups depend upon one another for their continued existence) and mystification (denial or lack of consciousness of the true bases of social inequalities). Class refers to social relations which emerge around people's ownership and control of productive resources (or the means of producing wealth which perpetuates social inequalities) while gender relations refer to the socially produced

practices in which distinct gender roles and identities are organized in terms of differential power, resources and opportunities (Connell 1985, 8-9; Wotherspoon 1987, 4-5).

I conceptualize reproduction as a dynamic process which is subject to competing arrangements and visions of how social practices should be structured. Central to the school's reproductive tasks are questions of control - that is, how can teachers be assured that students will emerge from the schooling process with traits socially defined as desirable at a given point in time, and how can persons with an interest in the outcomes of the education system be sure that teachers are doing the jobs entrusted to them? The conception and organization of teaching, I emphasize in my discussion of teacher-state relations in British Columbia, are determined by the success of particular groups in shaping schools in line with characteristics of the provincial economy, the province's workforce, and state policies and priorities. Increasingly in the twentieth century, buttressed by claims for scientific legitimacy and economic advancement, various groups have relied upon education and other social reproductive agencies to produce definite, predictable outcomes within highly regulated economic and organizational circumstances. These matters are political questions which are worked out at several levels - through direct supervision or control in the ongoing day-to-day realities of the schooling process, in the structure of evaluated school programs and expectations which provide measures of productivity, and in patchworks of laws and administrative circulars which regulate minute details of school activity.

Regulation over teaching is oriented to the two main facets of teaching which I identified in the previous section - its moral/subjective and productive dimensions. My analysis of teacher-state relations in British Columbia substantiates these forms of regulation with reference to educational practices and formal guidelines which have prevailed at specific

periods in the development of the province's public education system. Because of the responsibilities which follow from their relations with pupils (the subjects of school work), teachers are scrutinized on the basis of their overall moral character or apparent worthiness to teach by parents, school boards and other persons who have a stake in schooling. This surveillance constitutes personal regulation through which employers and educational planners and managers have authority to enforce particular codes of conduct and monitor teachers in accordance with qualities and attributes which do not enter directly into the performance of specific teaching competencies (as expressed, for example, in the judge's comment, cited earlier, that teachers are expected to lead by example). Personal regulation is illustrated through instances of specific legislation, directives and practices which entail governance over teachers by educational authorities on such criteria as individual disposition, character, habits, and behaviour in and out of the classroom. A second form of regulation over teachers derives from school officials' expectations that teachers perform various tasks associated with transmission of the curriculum, pupil evaluation, classroom discipline, and so on. Teachers are subject to formal or technical regulation which ensures that these activities are conducted adequately under given conditions. Technical regulation allows educational managers to codify and organize teaching in a formal manner in accordance with specific organizational objectives such as cost-efficiency, high productivity, and explicitly defined teaching and learning outcomes. Measures of performance, codified behavioural objectives for teaching and learning situations, increased record-keeping, centrally-controlled examinations and grading systems, specified evaluation standards, and strict timetabling requirements serve as examples of technical regulation oriented to the reproduction of specific outcomes under definite conditions.

My analysis of resistance emphasizes the collective actions developed by

and within the teaching force in conjunction with particular educational policies and practices. I take as indicators of resistance statements and activities produced collectively by teachers to gain improved working conditions and occupational welfare, greater job security, and increased control over the conception and performance of their work. The thesis attempts to move beyond common debates over whether teachers are professionals or unionists by focusing upon the conditions under which teachers adopt various kinds of ideologies and organizational strategies. Teacher resistance can take many forms, ranging from a simple expression of frustration or disagreement with particular educational practices to participation in wider struggles to transform social organization. Teachers are active in educational practices especially through either accommodation to existing school structures or the development of a systematic critique and promotion of alternative visions of education and society (Aronowitz and Giroux 1985). Teachers are not, however, always unified or cohesive in their collective actions. Teacher-state relations are commonly characterized by struggles among competing factions within both the state bureaucracy and the teaching force (such as alignments in favour of rights for women, rural or classroom teachers in opposition to the interests of urban male school principals). I argue that teacher resistances, in conjunction with state regulation of teaching, take on distinct forms within specific historical periods.

In summary, I analyze teacher-state relations, expressed as relations of regulation and resistance, by means of a conception of teaching as work which contributes to social reproduction through the reproduction of labour power. Teaching is organized around distinct, often conflicting visions of education within a school system which is structured and operated within the state to provide for the preparation of heterogeneous and unequal categories of workers and human subjects suited to participate in various phases of the

socioeconomic and political development of the province. I situate the growth of public schooling systems within a general tendency towards the central coordination of social life by state and corporate interests which are concerned to maintain social harmony and which advance demands for profitable and productive economic investment. I identify within this framework six historical periods, characterized by distinct types of state-centered efforts to regulate teaching and teachers' organized initiatives to accommodate to or resist such regulation: colonialism, state-formation and the creation of a teaching force of dependent employees (1821-1900); industrial development and the consolidation of the teaching force (1900-1947); a phase of educational expansion reliant upon teachers as state-sponsored professionals (1947-1967); educational retrenchment and conflict (1967-1972); educational rationalization and the intensification of teacher-state struggle (1972-1983); and educational restructuring amidst attacks on the welfare state and organized labour (1983-1988).

I conclude that overt political contention over teaching intensifies as centralized control over social reproduction increases. Through each of these periods, teaching is shaped by a general tendency to produce more highly predictable or definite social outcomes. While teachers have been accomplices in this process, allowing them to enjoy professional freedoms such as privileged working conditions, status and wages after World War II, teachers' continued dependent employee status has made them vulnerable to intensified government regulation amidst state restraint and rationalization policies in the 1970s and 1980s. State initiatives to produce accountable, rational education systems are accompanied by measures to constrain teachers' actions both in and out of the classroom. Teachers have responded to such policies through union militancy and political action. However, such action is oriented primarily to protecting existing wage and working conditions without a clear analysis of how and why teaching is regulated and

reorganized. Consequently, teachers are often complicit in the process of rationally organizing the education system in directions which they often define as being educationally or developmentally unsound. I suggest that in the 1980s, education systems are undergoing a fundamental transformation which is not simply a matter of reform or new priorities, as many commentators and teachers' organizations assume them to be, but a shift towards a drastically-revised, centrally-coordinated education system that is more directly responsive to capitalist economic demands. It is likely that teachers will contribute to social transformation more than to repression only with a clear analysis of their contradictory service to labour power development.

RESEARCH METHODS

Historical materialist analysis, as a form of scientific realism, is concerned with "a description of structures and mechanisms which causally generate the observable phenomena, a description which enables us to explain them" (Keat and Urry 1975, 5). I am concerned in this thesis with the historical development of public school teaching in western capitalist nations, with explicit reference to teacher-state relations in British Columbia. I present in chapters two and three a detailed analysis of the nature of teaching as a state activity within capitalist societies. Teaching is structured, I argue, as a contradictory activity organized around moral/subjective and productive dimensions of labour power reproduction. Most of the thesis consists of a description or account of teacher-state relations and the political economic context within which teaching and schooling have emerged in order to concretize the major structures and mechanisms identified as social reproduction, regulation, and resistance. Several themes in the development of specific periods of teacher-state

relations are highlighted in the presentation of the data in chapters four to nine, including changes in the structure and operation of public schooling; conceptions of teaching held by teachers, state officials, and other groups at various points in time; shifts in the mode of regulation over teaching employed by the state officials and educational managers; political and labour strategies employed by teachers in response to this control and as means to assert alternative visions of teaching; and teachers' class and gender relations.

I have collected data for the thesis from a variety of sources. The major source is provided by documents and publications produced by or within the British Columbia Teachers' Federation and the government of British Columbia. Regular publications, including The B.C. Teacher (the official magazine of the BCTF, published from eight to ten times yearly between 1921 and 1988), the BCTF Newsletter (containing news of teachers' and educational affairs in the province, published one or two times monthly between 1961 and 1988), and the annual reports of the government Department of Education (or Ministry of Education after 1973), published yearly since 1872, provide ongoing descriptions of current education developments as well as periodic statistical or summary overviews of various aspects of the province's education system. The thesis also relies upon other documents produced by the government and the BCTF, including news releases, briefs and position papers.

A second data source is provided by archival documents related to government education activities, BCTF affairs, and personal papers of BCTF officials. These documentary sources contribute insight into the day to day affairs of teachers and government officials, and often offer "inside" personal observations about events and relationships. Unfortunately, collections of such records are often incomplete or partial. Personal records, for example, are often disposed of while many early government

records have been discarded or destroyed by fire. Nonetheless, three major sources of documentary records are useful to this study. The archival records of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation include documents from the early part of this century to the present day, such as correspondence by federation officials, internal memoranda, meeting notes and minutes, and position papers. The University of British Columbia archives hold the papers of Harry Charlesworth, the first general secretary of the BCTF, and Larry Kuehn, president of the BCTF from 1981 to 1983. The archives of the province of British Columbia contain records of the department of education from various periods, notably, for the purposes of this study, correspondence and documents related to teaching in the province for the period from the early 1950s to the late 1960s.

A third major source of data is provided in the form of interviews. I conducted personal interviews with eleven teachers, most of whom had served terms as president of the BCTF, selected primarily on the basis of availability and long-term involvement in teachers' affairs in the province. The interviews, tape-recorded and transcribed, and ranging between one and two hours each, are useful to evoke important periods and events, highlighting and elucidating information derived from other sources and offering insight into specific events in the development of teaching in the province. In addition, a government perspective is provided through transcripts of interviews conducted by Valerie Giles with six provincial ministers of education who served between 1953 and 1979, made available by Ms. Giles (see also Giles 1983).

Finally, in order to provide context and further elaboration of the major themes, the thesis draws upon a range of other published sources, including studies cited in my reviews of the literature on teaching and schooling in British Columbia. Data are also drawn from newspaper clippings, statistical reports and documents produced by the governments of Canada and

other jurisdictions, and reports produced by or about other teachers' organizations. Among the most useful are such documentary accounts as D.L. MacLaurin's (1936) thesis on the early development of the B.C. education system and periodic statistical compendiums published by Statistics Canada (formerly the Dominion Bureau of Statistics).

Some problems and limitations associated with the study also need to be acknowledged at this point. In particular, because the study is focused on the politics of teacher-state relations in British Columbia, my analysis rarely carries over into the classroom where most teaching activity is performed. While the study is intended to complement rather than reject the substantial literature which has emerged to explore the details of in-school politics and labour processes, I discuss on occasion the impact of particular policies or teachers' collective actions on classroom practices. In addition, it is necessary to recognize that the patterns I observe with respect to British Columbia are not fully generalizable to situations in other jurisdictions, although I show periodically how events in B.C. are strongly related to wider trends beyond the province. A problem which arises with reliance upon historical documentary sources such as position papers, formal regulations and policy statements is that there may be no assurance as to how much or in what ways the official written word is translated into concrete activities, and there may be missing information which would be necessary to uncover all details associated with particular events. This limitation is important particularly with reference to much information which has been collected at an aggregate level, which does not allow the examination in detail of the characteristics of specific segments of the teaching force or contending positions at certain points in time. The absence of more detailed data is not a major problem where the focus is on the general strategies and ideological conceptions employed by various groups with respect to teaching; nonetheless, I attempt whenever possible to provide

some indication of actual school practices in order to make the necessary connections between the events and phenomena which I have determined to be most significant for the study.

It is necessary to make one final comment about the nature of this study. As with all historical and social analysis, the study constructs from a wide range of possible observations an account of particular events and patterns which highlights some phenomena and ignores or relegates to the background others. The data are historical in nature, often involving extensive contextual descriptions of events and practices, but I do not present a complete, all-encompassing description of every activity engaged in by teachers and governments in British Columbia. Rather, my account attempts within the theoretical framework I have developed concerning reproduction, regulation and resistance in teaching to make sense of and illustrate the changing patterns of teacher-state relations in British Columbia. I argue, tested and substantiated with the data I have collected, that such a framework provides a more adequate explanation of teacher-state relations than do studies grounded in traditional and critical approaches.

The thesis is organized into three major sections - an introduction and theoretical discussion which elaborates the significance of regulation, resistance and reproduction for an analysis of teaching (chapters one to three), the more substantive discussion of teaching in British Columbia through the interplay of regulation and resistance in each of the six historical periods I have identified (chapters four to nine), and a concluding chapter which observes that despite the recent intensification of both personal and technical regulation over teaching, teachers retain some capacity to transform their work and the social context within which it is performed (chapter ten).

CHAPTER TWO - SCHOOLING, REPRODUCTION AND THE STATE

In this chapter I argue that public school teaching in advanced industrial nations can best be understood as reproductive work. Like many statements about education, the observation that teachers are employed to educate and prepare children for full participation in social life is both markedly obvious and deceptively complex. I present a historical materialist analysis that stresses, in contrast to traditional pluralist and liberal views which portray teachers as neutrally providing pupils with necessary values and knowledge as well as to critical economic and cultural reproduction theories which view teachers as controlled agents of class domination, that social reproduction is neither a mechanical nor inevitable process. Teaching contributes to the reproduction of labour power which is embodied in the active, malleable human subject who possesses "schooled" competencies and productive capacities. The contradictory character of labour power endows teachers with moral/subjective and productive dimensions which are socially defined and arranged, often through contestation. The capitalist state has emerged since the late nineteenth century as a response to social struggle and attempts by contending groups to coordinate economic production and social reproduction. For teachers, the major consequence of the rise of the state has been a general tendency to incorporate schooling within the rationalization of reproductive services, accompanied by periodic shifts in the relationship between state regulation of teaching and teachers' collective resistances. Following discussions of each of these points, I conclude the chapter with a context for examining teacher-state relations in British Columbia by outlining six distinct historical periods through which social reproduction processes are organized through the state: state

formation and early industrial development (1800s-1900); harmonization of the industrial order (1900-1940s); the rise of the welfare state (1950s-1970); state crisis and conflict (late 1960s-early 1970s); rationalization of the welfare state (early 1970s-early 1980s); and the restructuring of state services (1980s).

THEORIES OF SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

The schools in which teachers work are reproductive institutions which contribute to the continuity of social practices over time. They impart knowledge, produce future workers, develop social skills, and provide experiences which are deemed necessary for individuals' participation in social life. The nature of the "fit" between schooling and other social practices, however, is highly debatable. This section provides a context for the analysis of teaching by examining four major theoretical approaches to the study of schooling as a reproductive institution. I argue that each of the first three - the traditional approach, theories of economic reproduction, and theories of cultural reproduction - fails to address adequately the most important linkages between schools and other sites of economic production and social reproduction. Alternatively, I advance the fourth approach, historical materialism, as the most useful to understand the contradictory enterprise of schooling. In particular, an historical materialist approach emphasizes schooling as an ongoing state activity oriented to mediate relations between the economy and other spheres of social life.

Traditional analysis - Traditional sociological analysis, especially with the emergence in the late 1950s of a sustained expansionary thrust in education systems, has emphasized the ways in which schools have come to take, an

increasingly more central economic and cultural role in industrial society (Dahrendorf 1959, Parsons 1959). Writers within the traditional approach, dominated by functionalist and liberal perspectives, do not refer specifically to social reproduction, but instead characterize schools as institutions which allocate young people for necessary social roles and socialize them to accept legitimate values and orientations in order to promote social cohesion and the maintenance of cultural patterns. Functionalist analysis is most concerned to place the individual in structurally-determined roles within a given social context, showing how, for example, curricula and general school experience contribute to the learning of norms for socially-appropriate behaviour (Dreeben 1968, Parsons 1959). Liberal analysis starts with the individual and proceeds to examine how school success depends upon a series of rational choices to conform to general social expectations (Dahrendorf 1959, Jackson 1968). Nonetheless, both variants within traditional orientations present schools as relatively unproblematic agencies operating within a pre-given, politically neutral social universe. Teaching is represented within traditional analysis as a model for class and gender roles outside the classroom. In the classic statement of these relations, for instance, Parsons (1959) asserts that women teach in the primary grades and men teach in the senior grades in order to provide a smooth transition from the affective, particularistic mother-centered home environment to the instrumental world of work. The only major problem that teachers appear to pose to the education system lies with their conservatism, commonly attributed to the high proportion in the occupation of women with little training and low career commitment, which stands as a hindrance to social progress in advancing industrial societies (Scimecca 1980, 68). However, the traditional approaches offer little analysis of the historical and social structural factors which underlie these apparent realities. As Giroux (1983, 49) observes, traditional studies of

schooling and reproduction "offer relatively bland descriptions of how structural processes such as crowds, power, praise, and the homogeneity of classroom tasks reproduce in students the dispositions necessary to cope with achievement, hierarchical work roles, and the patience and discipline required to function in the existing society." There is no recognition of the possibility that social practices, and the place of schools within society, are the historical products of activities undertaken and often contested by diverse social groupings. As influential empirical findings from the 1960s and 1970s, notably those provided by Floud and Halsey (1961), Coleman (1966), and Jencks (1973), demonstrate, however, schools are not immune to variable social opportunities and persistent class, gender and racial inequalities which, in turn, require explanation. Consequently, critics of the traditional approach emphasize analysis of the connection between schooling and these inequalities.

Theories of economic reproduction - Economic reproduction theorists view schooling as the embodiment of a fundamentally unequal social structure. This view is represented most prominently by Althusser's (1971) analysis of schools as "ideological state apparatuses" and the economic "correspondence" theory of Bowles and Gintis (1976). Theories of economic reproduction stress that schools serve to process successive generations of students into a stratified workforce with differential access to selected hierarchies of knowledge. The keynotes within economic reproduction theory are domination and ideology rather than the more neutral-sounding terms such as socialization and normative behaviour which traditional approaches rely upon. Althusser, for example, argues that social institutions like the school which operate in a realm distinct from the economic base of society nonetheless replicate the organizational and ideological structures required for the reproduction of capitalist economies, while Bowles and Gintis show how

schools are periodically reorganized to produce workers and values which conform to transformations in the economy. Schools, according to theories of economic reproduction, operate with some relative autonomy from capitalist production, but their primary role is to reproduce wider systems of class-based economic and political domination.

The work of writers like Bowles and Gintis and Althusser is important for its elucidation of the capitalist relations which condition the context within which schools operate. Capitalism is an historical mode of production characterized by particular class relations and the dynamics of capital accumulation. Class is organized around people's relations to the means of production in such a way that a fundamental dichotomy exists between those who own productive resources and those who do not, and who must therefore sell their capacity to work in return for a wage. The accumulation of capital proceeds from the exploitation of labourers by capital owners - where workers are paid wages which are less than the value of the products or services they produce - combined with the buying and selling of these goods and services in a competitive market. In the words of Bowles and Gintis (1977, 201):

Capital accumulation has been the driving force behind the transformation and growth of the American economy. Labour is combined in production with increasing amounts of machinery and other capital goods. At the same time, labour is itself augmented by schooling and training. Two important aspects of the process of capital accumulation may be identified. The first is the expansion of the technical forces with a consequent rapid and sustained increase in the output of goods and services per worker. The second is an equally dramatic transformation of the social relations of production. Capitalist control over production is widened through the integration of ever-increasing segments of the population into wage labour, and deepened through the extension and refinement of the hierarchical division of labour.

This statement outlines the fundamental logic to capitalist development. Capitalism is, above all else, a rationally organized system of production, circulation and consumption (Marx 1977, Weber 1964). Accumulation depends upon the accurate calculation of assets, incomes and costs. Scientific

knowledge and the application of scientific principles of control to production and other areas of social life are important to the steady growth which underpins the capitalist system.

The social relations of production - which for Marx "consist of the relatively enduring connections between people, and people and things, which result from the functions to be fulfilled in the process of production and in the control of the forces of production" - interact with the forces of production - which include "land, labour power, raw materials, plant, machinery, tools, technical and scientific knowledge, and the technical organization of production" - in such a way that capitalist control over labour power, products and markets is continually extended and production is increasingly more mechanized (Keat and Urry 1975, 101-105).

According to theories of economic reproduction, the primary function of schools and other reproductive agencies is to create individual subjects and a general ideological atmosphere which will facilitate in a positive way the maintenance of overall capitalist relations. Through this emphasis, as critics have pointed out, economic reproduction theorists share with traditional functional analysis a similar view of the mechanisms which govern schooling, differing substantially only in their assessment of the nature of society and its prevailing power relations (Carnoy and Levin 1985, 22; Sarup 1978, 179-182). The observer is left with a reductionist portrayal of educational practices and change which undermines the complex and often contradictory activities which are carried into, worked out within, and brought out of the schools. There is no dialectic of regulation and resistance, but only control exerted by dominant classes in insidious ways from the top down. In particular, there is little room for resistances, either in various sites of production or in a more organized way outside of production. When reproduction in the strictest sense, whereby individuals are expected to fill given social positions, is seen as the major task of an

institution like the school, there is little room for questions about how strong the fit is between schools and the economy, what happens to alternative forms of consciousness and behaviour, and what the significance is of school content and cultural factors.

Theories of cultural reproduction - A third approach to the analysis of schooling and reproduction, expressed through theories of cultural reproduction, addresses questions about the cultural and social aspects of schooling which are given scant attention within traditional and economic reproduction theories. According to Giroux (1983, 87), "theories of cultural reproduction are concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to repeat and reproduce themselves, but the focus of their concern with issues of social control centers around either an analysis of the principles underlining the structure and transmission of the cultural field of the school or questions of how school culture is produced, selected, and legitimated." As represented by the work of Bernstein (1973; 1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), and the early work of Apple (1979; 1982a) and Giroux (1981), cultural reproduction analysis concentrates on the symbolic importance of school practices. Ideology and consciousness are not mechanically produced to service employers' work force requirements, but are actively generated within a range of alternatives; schools are not the rational institutions, governed by precise calculation of means, ends and costs, that many educational practitioners and critics make them out to be (Hurn 1978, Karabel and Halsey 1977, Nelson 1982). Theories of cultural reproduction, while not disputing the argument employed in economic reproduction analysis that schools are heavily influenced by class-based systems of domination, emphasize the processes by which those structures are replicated or altered within schooling. The analysis of schooling, Apple (1980, 61) emphasizes,

should not take for granted that what the school consciously wants to teach is what is learned. It should examine the lives of the "client group" in a way that clearly illuminates the students' reasons for curricular acceptance and rejection. And, finally, it should situate all of this in an integrated way back into the complex, and often contradictory, socioeconomic realities in which schools find themselves.

Unfortunately, much of the cultural reproduction literature tends either to undermine or oversimplify the link between schools and the socioeconomic context within which they are embedded. Cultural reproduction theory often merely substitutes cultural factors for an otherwise reductionist view of schools' economic functions. Bernstein (1973) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), for example, discuss how "cultural capital," or the possession of socially valued knowledge and symbolic content, plays a role similar to wealth or property in the reproduction of class structures and other social hierarchies. The material bases of ideas and cultural practices are often given little more than a passing acknowledgement, with no detailed discussion of how power is translated into effective curricular forms. Moreover, domination based on important social factors like gender and race is often overlooked in the analysis (Arnot 1981, Giroux 1983). Like economic reproduction analysis, theories of cultural reproduction frequently produce a vision of a given social order which is continuously replicated over time, regardless of alternatives which might otherwise present themselves. Consequently, cultural reproduction emphasizes control without concerning itself with possible resistances to regulation.

More recent strands emerging out of cultural reproduction theory have attempted to address these issues. Apple (1982b, 1986) and Giroux (1983) emphasize that schooling must be understood with reference to interactions among schooling practice and schooling structure, social structure and human agency, and economic and cultural factors. Apple (1982b, 22) comments that he strove to eliminate functionalist tendencies in his work as he "began to see the need to interpret schooling as both a system of production and

reproduction. Our analysis of what gets into schools and why, of what counts as legitimate knowledge and values, would be incomplete unless we saw the complex and contradictory roles schools play." The analysis of life in and out of schooling requires an understanding that human beings and social structure interact mutually with one another in highly complex ways. Social structures are constituted and reproduced by relations among active human subjects and the objects and ideas which are produced through that activity. Schools are important for their contribution to the reproduction of forms of domination as well as to resistances and alternatives to existing patterns of thought and activities (Apple 1982b, Giroux 1983). Social structural elements, in turn, set parameters for the types of human subjects which emerge within schooling and other particular social situations and the range of actions which is possible for any situation (see Giddens 1979, Giddens 1984, Hindess 1986, Keat and Urry 1975). Within these general guidelines, schools contribute both to economic activity and to the symbolic and moral development of human subjects and the social milieu (Apple 1982b, 3-8; Durkheim 1977).

On the basis of insights about the dynamic nature of resistances and social structures, it is necessary to develop a clearer understanding of the historical circumstances under which social reproduction and transformation become possible. The analysis of schooling, for example, must be informed by an awareness of particular connections among schools, the state and other social sites in addition to knowledge about what happens in schools and how school practices are linked to general cultural and economic structures. These concerns are addressed by the fourth approach to the analysis of schooling and reproduction, historical materialism.

Historical materialism - According to historical materialism, society is a totality which shapes and is shaped by historical practices or social

relations (Marx 1973, 100-101). The approach is historical in the sense that people are both active and conscious in making their own history, and it is materialist "both in the assumption that there is a real world and in the claim that material conditions set the parameters in any society" (Armstrong 1984, 39-40). Like economic reproduction theories which are also derived from Marx's analysis, historical materialism emphasizes that for any given type of society, the arrangement of social life and the dominant ways of thinking develop in accordance with the organization of production of major goods and services. However, unlike the predominant emphasis in economic reproduction theory, historical materialism does not view the relationship between economic production and life in civil and political society as necessarily entailing a direct or automatic connection, for all social relations depend upon the active participation of members of society. It is also not a consensual relationship, because of the possibilities for unequal distribution of resources and divergent interests among the population. Therefore, historical materialism identifies class, based upon people's relations to the means of production, as a central organizing principle within social life, but unlike economic reproduction theory, it also emphasizes the interconnected roles played by other bases of organization and identity, such as gender and race, within capitalist societies.

Viewed within this broad framework, schools contribute to three major processes in capitalist society - capital accumulation, legitimation, and production (Apple and Weis 1983). The first refers to the organization of schooling in accordance with the needs of the capitalist economy, the second to the ways in which schooling engenders a sense of complacency or "correctness" about the organization of society (including one's place in socially-defined class, gender and racial hierarchies), and the third to the role of educational institutions (particularly universities) as sources of technical and administrative knowledge. Schools contribute to the

reproduction of patterned inequalities of class, gender and race at the same time as they attempt to convince us that these inequalities and their effects are not significant.

The historical materialist position that economic production and social reproduction both shape and are shaped by one another is shared by a growing body of literature by writers - including Gough (1979) and Jessop (1982) on the state, Aronowitz (1973) on class, Armstrong and Armstrong (1983), Barrett (1980) and Smith (1977) on gender, members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1978) on ideology, and Apple (1982a; Apple and Weis 1983), Carnoy and Levin (1985), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), and Livingstone (1983) on education - who are concerned with social reproduction in a variety of spheres of social life. These writers emphasize that social reproduction involves processes of contradiction, resistance and struggle. The identification of social or system needs for reproduction is treated not as the nexus for analysis, as in traditional and economic reproduction theories, but as a starting condition. That is, given that the continued existence of class and gender-divided societies depends upon conditions favourable to capital accumulation, patriarchal relations, a compliant work force, markets for buying raw materials and selling finished commodities, and so on, analysis proceeds to investigate how that system is maintained, what contradictory forces are in operation, and how it may be transformed.

As with theories of economic reproduction, historical materialism recognizes the importance of capitalist relations of production to other spheres of social life. However, within historical materialism is the recognition that capitalism is not organized strictly around production and defined around clear-cut class divisions subject to the domination of capital except in the most abstract way. Under capitalism, commodities are produced and consumed by heterogeneous populations operating across diverse venues of social life. Such diversity and change are characterized by contestation,

involving regulation by dominant forces and resistances by subordinate groupings, within and among sites of production and reproduction.

Social variations are revealed in several ways. Neither capital nor the labour force are organized as unitary forces. According to analyses of split labour markets, for example, production and the labour force are divided into a primary segment composed predominantly of white males who are relatively skilled, organized, well-paid, and secure in employment, and a secondary segment made up mostly of non-whites and women who are relatively unskilled, non-unionized, poorly paid, and subject to occupational instability (Edwards, Reich and Gordon 1975). Even within a single occupational category, employees often perform different work and receive differential wages; colour, gender and age bars, in particular, effectively work to the disadvantage of racial minorities, women, and youth (Armstrong 1984, Bolaria and Li 1988).

In a more general way, not all labour is regarded and remunerated as "work." Domestic labour, childcare and other reproductive activities tend to be structured and treated as "duties" to be performed mostly by women in the confines of the household (Fox 1980). Racism and patriarchal structures of control in the household and workplace ensure that an important infrastructure of labour-intensive tasks such as routine meal preparation or cleaning work which are deemed unpleasant or insignificant to mainstream economic activity, for example, are performed cheaply by persons who occupy subordinate class, racial, and gender positions.

Ironically, such socially-divisive practices which are "irrational" in the sense that they are based upon ascribed statuses, emotional ties and unscientific claims serve useful functions in perpetuating the rational organization of capitalist production and reproduction. The whole process whereby labour which "keeps society going" - i.e., reproduction which is essential for the continuation of production - can be discounted as

"unproductive" activity requires effort to be sustained. In their social activities, individuals gain a sense of propriety about the world and their identity and place within that world. At the same time, this individual activity contributes to the reproduction of class, gender and racial divisions.

However, in accordance with what I have argued so far, the whole process does not happen mechanically or automatically. The "needs" or "demands" of the system are not self-generated, but develop and must be maintained through particular social and productive alignments. The continuity of the system depends upon reproduction, but such reproduction is not assured or inevitable. Reproduction is an outcome of social relations which occur across a broad array of interrelated sites of social production (Apple 1980; Dickinson and Russell 1986; Giddens 1979, 66; O'Brien 1981; Urry 1981, 73), notably the school, household and workplace. If, as traditional theories of reproduction and the reductionist strands of economic and cultural reproduction theories suggest, simple reproduction of the individuals and activities required by a society took place from generation to generation, there would be a total articulation among each of these sites. However, I have characterized social production and reproduction as being dynamically interrelated. Capitalism, as economic reproduction theory emphasizes, is driven by pressures for profit, economic growth, the mechanization of production, and commodification of goods and services. At the same time, industrially advanced societies are characterized by diverse populations and tasks. Just as the social production of material and ideal products depends upon human activity to transform existing conditions, so is social reproduction oriented to meet changing rather than static relationships, particularly at conjunctures in which productive forces and social relations of production are in contradiction to one another (Keat and Urry 1975, 116).

In other words, the kinds of subjects, ideas and social relations which

are socially produced and reproduced are likely to be transformed within the general parameters established through the development of capitalist societies. Historical materialist analysis is concerned to describe those transformations and explain them with reference to specific social, political, economic, and ideological circumstances.

It is with respect to the reciprocal relationship between production and reproduction that the dynamics of regulation and resistance become important. The forms of regulation employed by persons and groups in positions of power and authority in order to sustain their domination are likely to change in accordance with material and ideological circumstances and new forms of resistance they encounter.

The general points I have made about an historical materialist approach to the analysis of social reproduction have several implications for the conceptualization of teachers as workers who operate within the socially important reproductive institution of schooling. Teachers serve as intermediaries between individuals and certain aspects of the wider society. In particular, because it is a social process which contributes to the development of active human subjects who can participate productively within a given social realm, teaching has both a moral/subjective and productive dimension. Teachers' labours are exerted in formal institutional settings which operate in definite organizational forms of economic production to shape not inanimate objects but human agents. Under such conditions, teaching must be structured so as to produce individuals who possess both specific productive capacities and more general orientations to the world.

In summary, an historical materialist analysis of teaching and schooling as reproductive enterprises recognizes, unlike more mechanistic approaches, that what happens in schools is based upon the interaction of active human agents within a framework of pre-existing structural patterns or expectations. My concern, in particular, is with the activities which

characterize political relations between organized teachers and the state. Teaching takes place within the context of schooling which contributes to the perpetuation of distinct class and gendered patterns of economic and social activity. To a large extent, bourgeois, industrial and patriarchal interests are maintained by the schooling process in conjunction with other spheres of social life, including the workplace and household. At the same time, as my critique of theories of economic and cultural reproduction has emphasized, it would be misleading to suggest that these interests have been entirely successful in imprinting their aims onto the school system. One has only to observe the broad and often ambiguous range of criticisms and policy options directed at schools by diverse class and interest groups in order to recognize that schooling does not completely "fit" anyone's agenda (Goodlad 1984, Livingstone 1983). In the words of Giroux (1983, 115-116), "the school is neither an all-encompassing foothold of domination nor a locus of revolution; thus, it contains ideological and material spaces for the development of radical pedagogies."

These ambiguous or contested characteristics of education and teaching are often attributed to some mystical source, as in descriptions of the "mystique" of professions and the "special but shadowed" status of the teacher (Johnson 1972, Lortie 1975, Waller 1965). However, these relationships can be expressed another way through the language of historical materialist analysis. Teaching involves the use of particular forms of labour power which are oriented to the production or reproduction of other labour power. Reproductive workers have a degree of autonomy, or a relationship with the subject, which becomes difficult to define and penetrate from outside the relationship. Reproductive work is characterized by what Jamous and Pelouille (1970) call "indetermination," which, in contrast to what they refer to as "technicality," arises from aspects of work which are difficult to define, codify or express in the form of transmittable

rules. In teaching, I argue, such indeterminacy is contestable, and can be attributed to the teacher's role in the reproduction of labour power. Although educational authorities attempt to define and regulate teaching in a variety of ways, teachers retain spaces within which they may develop organized resistances as, for example, through claims of professionalism. Within capitalism, the dual character of teaching, having moral/subjective and productive dimensions, has its foundation in the distinct properties of labour power as a commodity.

TEACHING AND THE REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR POWER

Labour power is the capacity of human beings to labour or engage in productive activity (Keat and Urry 1975, 106-107; Marx 1973, 274-275). The essential qualities of labour power are its active, creative attributes which can be utilized to serve the individual as well as other persons or enterprises which control the use of the labour power. The specific nature and qualities of desirable labour power are characterized by historical variation; in agricultural societies, for example, labour power which is physically robust and knowledgeable about herding and cultivating practices may be desirable while manual dexterity and time-work discipline are more likely to be required for industrial settings.

Within capitalism, which is driven by the private production of commodities for profit, labour power is commodified insofar as possessors of labour power must sell their labour power in exchange for a wage. Capitalism requires a "free" labour force in which individuals simultaneously are able to dispose of their own labour power as they see fit and possess no alternative means of sustenance (Marx 1977, 272-273). The capitalist purchases the use of labour power for a given quantity of time, leaving non-working time to the worker's discretion. However, the worker remains

constrained by the necessity to work and maintain a readiness to work which involves further limitations to the individual's freedom.

Labour power, although potentially valued by employers as an abstract input into production systems, is in fact embodied in human beings who possess specific needs, traits, and capabilities. Consequently, labour power is unique relative to other commodities because it possesses the capacity to resist its consumption in the productive process and because the determination of its value varies according to a "historical and moral element" (Marx 1977, 275). Unlike other commodities which are the products of human activity, labour power is defined by its sociability and historical character:

The value of the labouring power is formed by two elements - the one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its **ultimate limit** is determined by the **physical element**, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessaries absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. . . . A quick succession of unhealthy and short-lived generations will keep the labour market as well supplied as a series of vigorous and long-lived generations.

Besides this mere physical element, the value of labour is in every country determined by a **traditional standard of life**. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up (Marx 1970, 72; emphasis in original).

In other words, labour power is characterized by social activity in which cultural and moral development transcend mere physical survival. Labour power, embodied in active human subjects, is both the producer of commodities and other cultural products and the consumer of such products.

Reproductive processes such as teaching both empower and subordinate the individual. The person's moral/subjective and productive capacities are conferred actively in the process of reproducing labour power. Marx (1977, 716-718) emphasizes that labour power reproduction is an "absolutely necessary condition for capitalist production," which capital "may safely leave . . . to the worker's drives for self-preservation and propagation" as long as workers are dependent on wage labour to provide the means for their

sustenance. Insofar as an infinite supply of capable workers is constantly available for exploitation, employers do not need to be concerned with the reproduction process. However, Marx (1977, 719-724) further recognizes that the reproduction process is not strictly self-regulating. Capitalist production, driven by economic growth, competition and conflict, is characterized by changing levels and forms of technology, skill, and knowledge which require continual modifications in labour power requirements. The composition of labour power also varies as individuals and social groups engage in attempts to improve their labour market position. Under these conditions, employers concerned with the production of commodities for profit cannot leave to chance the likelihood that workers will possess skills and attributes required to produce those commodities. Consequently, there is an impetus for some sort of central coordination of social reproduction as capital intervenes to regulate the supply and production of workers and consumers suited to particular economic activities.

The state has emerged as the major site for such coordination and regulation in advanced capitalist nations. As Gough (1979, 44-45) emphasizes, the modern welfare state involves "the use of state power to modify the reproduction of labour power and to maintain the non-working population." Capital, in its endeavours to secure appropriate labour markets and conditions for the realization and accumulation of surplus value, has used the state to advance the commodification and regulation of significant aspects of private life. The working classes, concerned with such issues as political rights, job security and the maintenance of adequate living standards, have also used the state to protect their interests. Within these general alignments, the reproduction process and the provision of state services have emerged as major arenas of class and social struggle (Carnoy 1984, Dickinson and Russell 1986, Piven and Cloward 1982, Urry 1981).

The examination of transformations in state management of reproductive

practices provides a focal point for understanding the development of relations between organized teachers and the state. Schooling, I argue, has emerged within the state as a particular form of reproductive intervention, guided by periodic challenge and reformulation. Teachers, because they are both possessors and shapers of labour power, are subject in their work to specific forms of regulation although they retain certain levels of autonomy in accordance with prevailing demands for labour power reproduction. Teachers' association with children who are expected to fill diverse labour force and citizenship roles after schooling accounts for the orientation of teaching to both moral/subjective and productive dimensions. The manner in which educational managers regulate teaching, expressed as either personal, governing the teacher's moral character in and out of work, or technical, based upon specified work competencies and outcomes, depends upon definite sociohistorical contexts. I examine the nature of regulation and resistance associated with teaching more fully in the next chapter. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the state and the historical organization of social reproduction within capitalist societies which serves as the framework for the analysis of teacher-state relations in British Columbia.

REPRODUCTION AND THE CAPITALIST STATE

The state has a dual importance for the analysis of teaching as reproductive work. First, the state is an employer and regulator of teachers. Second, and of more direct concern in this section, social reproduction in advanced capitalist nations tends increasingly to become organized through the state. These two combined factors have contradictory implications for public school teaching because teachers are employed to conduct state business even though the interests of teachers and other state

branches may at times be antithetical to each other. This section provides a theoretical account of these relationships. I make reference briefly to theories of the state associated with traditional and critical views of teaching and reproduction before discussing how a historical materialist view of the state as both a focal point for the political and ideological organization of classes and other social groupings, and a major arena of struggle, contributes to the analysis of social reproduction.

The state is commonly viewed within liberal and pluralist analysis as either a device to mitigate market disequilibrium (Dahl 1956, Drucker 1985, Schumpeter 1962) or a neutral arbitrator among diverse interest groups (Friedman and Friedman 1979). Such a model, which locates the basis of political power in diffuse individuals and institutional centres, is adopted explicitly or implicitly in most traditional analyses of teaching such as studies by writers like Dreeben (1968), Jackson (1968) and Parsons (1959) which focus on the importance of teaching to the learning of norms for individual adaptation to society. In addition, as will be noted in the next chapter, writers like Moskow (1966) and Muir (1968), for example, identify teachers' organizations as groups which are able to seek power on their own terms, defined independently of their relationships with other groups or social structures. The emphasis on normative order, individualism and market voluntarism, to the neglect of actual bases of domination, structured inequalities, and systematic concentrations of wealth and power limit the ability of pluralist analyses of the state and teaching to account for developments like state restrictions on collective bargaining for teachers in British Columbia and elsewhere.

Critical Marxist or economic reproduction approaches, by contrast, emphasize the state's role in class-based economic and political domination. Although there are several divergent strands of critical or class-centered state theory, I identify, following Carnoy (1984) and Jessop (1982), three

main approaches which emphasize the importance of the state to capitalist reproduction: (i) instrumentalism, represented by Lenin (1965) and Miliband (1969), which contends that the state is organized to serve the political interests of the dominant economic class; (ii) capital logic approaches which locate the structure of state organization in the organization of capitalist production, through either the organic fusion of monopoly capital with the state (Fine and Harris 1979) or the grounding of "both the specificity of the political and the development of political forms firmly in the analysis of capitalist production" (Holloway and Picciotto 1978, 3); and (iii) structuralist positions which posit the state as a relatively autonomous structure which reproduces contradictions that emerge from production and are dispersed throughout the wider society (Poulantzas 1975). While each of these approaches, unlike liberal and pluralist theory, emphasizes that the state does not exist independently from class-based economic and political domination, the state tends to be analyzed in a reductionist or functionalist way, structured largely in accordance with the needs of capitalism and the capitalist class (Urry 1981, 81-83). However, neither the state nor the capitalist class are unitary forces, and models of the state which view the state's primary role to foster economic reproduction overemphasize the extent to which reproduction of social and political practices follows from economic relations (Carnoy 1982; Carnoy and Levin 1985, 46; Jessop 1982, 221-228).

More recent Marxist analysis has emphasized the importance of class struggle to the state. For some writers, like Block (1977), Offe (1984) and A. Wolfe (1977), the state, through the growth of its bureaucratic organizational structure, becomes more an independent arbiter of class struggle and domination than an instrument of the capitalist class. While such a view captures the political nature of the state as an arena of conflict whose outcome is not automatically assured or reproduced, it is important to recognize that the state does not stand outside of, but is

infused with, the struggles of competing classes and interests (Carnoy and Levin 1985, 45-46). As Gramsci (1971, 229-239) emphasizes, the state and social life are characterized by a continuous "war of position" in which dominant and subordinate class interests engage in constant manoeuvring to gain political and ideological advantage.

Consistent with historical materialist analysis of social reproduction, I adopt what Carnoy and Levin (1985, 46-47) call a social conflict theory of the state which places such social struggle at the heart of the relationship between the state and social and economic life:

Attempts by the capitalist State to reproduce the relations of production and the class division of labor confront social movements that demand more public resources for their needs and more say in how those resources are to be used. The capitalist State and its educational system are therefore more than just a means for co-opting social demands, or for simply manipulating them to satisfy dominant class needs. Social demands shape the State and education (Carnoy and Levin 1985, 47).

The state, to be a capitalist state, must facilitate the conditions by which the processes of extraction, accumulation and realization of surplus value which define capitalist production can continue. This is part of the process of economic reproduction discussed earlier in this chapter. Conditions reproduced by the capitalist state include the opening of opportunities for private investment, maintaining supplies of raw materials and labour power, creating markets for finished products, and providing a system of infrastructural and service supports (Urry 1981, 31). In other words, at its most abstract level, capitalism is driven by particular antagonistic relations of production, in general between capital owners and employed commodity producers. All of these activities proceed in a material and social context which presupposes the existence of active human beings. Capitalist social organization is strongly characterized by divisions which are not always aligned in accordance with class interests. In general terms, real historical practices are characterized by "popular-democratic struggles"

which entail organization of subjects on the basis of such characteristics as gender, racial, age, occupational, and regional attributes (Laclau 1977, 107-109; Urry 1981, 67-68). Therefore, the state is likely to play an active role in the constitution of human beings as labour power and as subjects who are gendered, racially-divided, and so on.

In order to generate conditions which facilitate the accumulation of capital, the state must draw from already existing sources of surplus value. The fiscal stability of the state depends upon prevailing economic strength (i.e., profitability) but at the same time, the conditions of capitalist development exert contradictory pressures to increase state involvement in investment, economic regulation, social welfare, support services, and so on (O'Connor 1973). Consequently, as the state takes an active role in reproducing wider social relations, particular relationships are formed within and around the state itself (Offe 1984).

The state serves legitimation and coercive functions in order to prop up the accumulation function and respond to the vagaries of social conflict (Panitch 1977, Miliband 1969). The state cannot operate effectively if there is absent both a commitment on the part of the population to state goals and methods and the repressive tools to enforce the state's will (Althusser 1971). However, while these features are required for the reproduction of the capitalist state, they are not automatically or mechanically assured. Although the various institutional forms adopted by the state (including legislatures, government administration and other branches of the government and government programs) provide the state with a powerful social presence, the state is not a monolithic force which operates outside of definite social circumstances conducted by active human beings.

The specific interests which state activity is oriented towards and the ways in which the state operates are subject to contention within and outside of state affairs by various social groupings. The conjuncture of these

social interests under particular conditions, rather than any purely mechanistic or voluntaristic processes, contributes to the social practices which are reproduced or transformed over time. Among the most significant of these characteristics are gender divisions. The social division of labour is marked by legal frameworks, social structures, and practices which place women in distinct and inferior positions in the social order relative to men. Just as productive and reproductive processes are inextricably interrelated, so are forms of inequality and domination based on class and gender divisions strongly intertwined with one another in complex ways (Armstrong and Armstrong 1983). Men and women, for example, tend to be relegated in divisions of labour and in common discourse to respective realms of the "public" and the "private;" at the same time, women more than men occupy wage labour positions in clerical, service and manufacturing sectors which are most susceptible to reorganization by employers concerned to reduce wages and increase labour productivity (Apple 1986, Armstrong 1984, Lowe 1987). Thus, for example, while workers in general may have some interests in common, divergent interests are likely to be held by workers in different sectors of the economy, by male and female workers, by persons not in the labour force, and so on.

What is defined as political is subject to ideological struggle just as the terrain of politics is fraught with ideological manoeuvring. The hegemony of a particular social interest depends upon its ability to define the scope of legitimate activity and belief (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1981, 28). Institutions like public schooling which emerge through political struggle within the state are therefore open to contestation over how their arrangements will serve the interests of one or another social group; in addition, the very existence of schooling and related organizational practices sets boundaries on discourse concerning other political alternatives (Wotherspoon 1987).

I have argued that the state in capitalist society has a certain relative autonomy from dominant social interests. The structure of state organization and activity flows not only from the functions that have accrued in maintaining and regulating productive activity but also from alignments and contradictions within social life. The state is not simply a **capitalist** state inasmuch as the character of state development depends upon the input of subordinate social groupings such as working class, women's, and racial minority-based organizations as well as the economic requirements and political input of capital.

A social conflict view of the state has two main implications for the study of teachers as reproductive workers. First, the schools within which teachers work contribute both to the domination and the empowerment of individuals and groups. Capital, as it seeks conditions favourable to capital accumulation, exerts pressures which contribute to increasing rationalization and coordination of social life. Where economic production is dependent upon new technology, knowledge and skills, for example, capital may value schooling for its ability to provide a suitable workforce whereas schooling may be subject to reorganization and retrenchment during periods of economic decline. At the same time, however, working classes and other social interests look to schooling to provide training and opportunities to increase their life chances. School programs, the curriculum and the ways in which teaching is defined and organized are influenced by the relative strength and cohesion of major social interests (Cañoy and Levin 1985, Livingstone 1987).

A second implication for teachers of the social conflict model of the state is that teachers and government personnel are actors within the state. As reproductive workers, teachers are employed and regulated by the state and act as regulators of labour power which is reproduced in part within the jurisdiction of the state. As transformations occur in capitalist productive

forces and the balance of class and political alignments, existing teaching definitions and practices are open to overt contestation by educational managers, state officials, teachers, and groups outside the education system as each party attempts to use schools to guide or restrict social change. In that sense, teaching is not a static endeavour, but involves ongoing activities shaped by regulation and resistance. Educational contestation and the dynamics of regulation and resistance, I contend, can be analyzed in terms of distinct periods of state organization which reveal a general tendency towards the rationalization of social reproduction.

THE RATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF REPRODUCTION

Public school teaching constitutes individuals as workers and citizens who engage actively, productively and "safely" in ongoing social relations. Because subjects and workers are formally free under capitalism, they are potentially able to nurture as they see fit their own capabilities as well as the capabilities of their dependents. The operation of labour markets provides, however, a disciplinary influence on both workers and employers to ensure that appropriate types of workers are available for given jobs or conditions of economic development. Labour markets and jobs, though, do not merely exist; they are produced and organized as historical activities within definite social contexts (Myles 1988, Polanyi 1944). In a related way, the organization of social reproductive processes is also subject to periodic transformation through efforts by capital and the state to intervene in a realm which is commonly perceived as the autonomous preserve of families and individuals. As economic production is increasingly oriented to systematic large-scale coordination and rational organization, pressures intensify to rationalize social reproductive processes to bring about definite social outcomes.

My argument is that the rationalization of reproduction, expressed in large part through the development of formal public education within the state sphere, contributes to shifts in the nature of the teaching force, the forms which regulation over teaching takes, and the organized political responses taken by teachers. As a context for the analysis of teacher-state relations in the province of British Columbia, I outline six distinct periods in the organization of social reproduction in Canada and other advanced capitalist nations: (i) state formation and early industrial development (from the mid-19th century to about 1900), in which social institutions like the school were promoted by state and bourgeois authorities to create a political unity within new economic formations; (ii) the search for a stable, harmonious industrial order (1900 to the 1940s), in which corporate interests, working through the state and scientifically-trained professional occupations, created a loosely-organized infrastructure of welfare and social services to compensate for the destabilizing effects of industrial reorganization; (iii) the expansion of social wages and the welfare state (1950s to late 1960s), in which welfare and social services expanded to create social stability and high levels of commodity consumption; (iv) fiscal crisis and state conflict (late 1960s-early 1970s), in which measures to restrain state services like in education were met with resistance from teachers and state employees; (v) state rationalization (1970s to the early 1980s), in which the organization of state and reproductive services became subject to pressures to become more highly integrated and efficient; and (vi) initiatives in the 1980s to restructure the state and reorient reproduction in accordance with capital's drive to increase productive output, accommodate market flexibility, and extend international economic competition.

It is important to recognize that each of these processes is a product of complex historical activity, and cannot be strictly confined within a rigid time frame. Nonetheless, the brief overview which follows highlights

the relationship between productive organization and social reproduction as a context for detailing in subsequent chapters state regulation and teacher resistance as expressed in substantive educational developments and teacher-state relations in British Columbia.

(i) **State Formation and Industrial Development (1800s to 1900)** - The emergence of capitalist relations transformed the nature of reproduction and reproductive work throughout industrialized societies. Family and social structures which previously had been unified around work relations became organized as distinct entities. Household and workplace became separate realms; men worked outside the home, working class women were forced to uphold the domestic sphere as well as perform labour outside the home in order to maintain the family unit, and bourgeois women were excluded from productive work (Hamilton 1978, Smith 1983). Although labour power reproduction was accomplished in the family and in the workplace, conflicting demands between the sites (as the household was responsible for security and stability to regenerate working capacities and the work enterprise demanded specific know-how so that work could be performed efficiently in order to stimulate productivity and growth) produced a fragmented population. The displacement of family and community structures, the dispersion of individuals to seek employment, uneven wage rates, and variations in the types of work available, generated social instability.

Under these conditions, political and economic authorities feared the rise of anomie and the collapse of society. Consequently, state regulation was promoted in the interests of the bourgeois order as an essential means of creating social cohesion (Durkheim 1933). In Canada, as in other emergent capitalist nations in the late nineteenth century, social relationships began to be altered drastically by corporate and state intervention into people's daily lives (Berkowitz and McQuaid 1980). Social assistance to mitigate the

worst effects of unemployment and underemployment was accompanied by labour legislation in order to "devise a system that [would] allow individuals and families to subsist independently of markets, but simultaneously induce them to participate in markets" (Myles 1988, 86).

Human beings could not be allowed to participate in society by chance. The state became a focal point for endeavours to transform human subjects into political subjects, primarily through the introduction of mass public schooling. This process involved the deconstruction of a diverse and, to state authorities, unpredictable social conglomeration, so as to be replaced by new political subjects who were internally disciplined to accept willingly and happily rule within the bourgeois state (B. Curtis 1983; Curtis 1988; Corrigan, Curtis and Lanning 1987; Corrigan and Sayer 1985, 135-141). Schooling attempted to embed within the individual a moral foundation which was suited for the emergent bourgeois hegemony. In a context which preceded any significant industrial development, educational reformers sought in the mid-nineteenth century not so much the anticipated creation of an industrial workforce as a politically unified basis for state rule (B. Curtis 1983).

It is important to recognize, though, that once in place, the new public education system was not necessarily antithetical to the interests of industrial capitalists. Schooling, in order to produce the new human subject, usurped activities which had formerly been the domain of other institutions like church and household. Separated in space and organization from the family, schools habituated the child to patterns of discipline and routine which were compatible with corporate relationships that prevailed in factory regimes (Schechter 1977, Spring 1972).

At the same time, however, the existence and content of schooling were subject to contention by different groups, such as recalcitrant parents or industrial employers who had more productive uses for the child and who needed to be assured that time spent in school was useful time. Subsequent

struggles over the shaping of public schooling paralleled closely the development of capitalist economic relations (Bowles and Gintis 1976), but not in any automatic or mechanical fashion.

(ii) **The search for industrial harmony (1900 to late 1940s)** - The widespread emergence of mechanized production and factory organization accelerated the rate and volume of productive output, altering the flow of goods and services which were available for consumption. The wartime economy between 1914 and 1919 created new jobs and products, and temporarily alleviated the problem of absorbing surplus goods and services. However, the post-World War I period was beset by new problems. Labour organizations clamoured for greater shares of productive surplus and input into processes through which jobs were being transformed. As the nature of work changed, the combined effects of men going to and returning from war and women moving into and being forced out of the work force had a destabilizing effect on social organization (Moscovitch and Drover 1987, 22-24).

The role and nature of the state were also being transformed. In the first half of the twentieth century, states became more involved with systematizing reproduction processes. Class conflict and social disorganization were ameliorated in a variety of ways, including greater state investment in and coordination of health, education and welfare programs, the introduction of social assistance schemes such as veterans' pensions and mothers' allowances, gradual recognition of trade union rights, and the implementation of taxation schemes to finance these programs (Armitage 1975, Guest 1979, Russell 1984). The rise of ideologies which promoted the benefits of scientific knowledge, often supported by corporate philanthropic foundations, provided legitimation for intervention by professionals and other "experts" into the organization of production and reproduction (Popkowitz 1984). The "helping professions" such as teaching,

social work and psychiatry expanded as people were deemed socially incapable of providing independently for their own needs (Lasch 1977, 15-19). Social or structural problems could be translated into problems of individual adjustment which became subject to prevention or treatment in centres like the school, hospital, and psychiatric institution. With increased client loads and responsibilities, combined with claims to a rational grounding in science, these institutions and the workforces which provided their major services tended to become bureaucratically organized and coordinated in "the public interest" within the state (Dickinson 1989). The economic crisis of the 1930s and military mobilization for World War II presented further impetus for large-scale coordination of social and economic activities, and accelerated state growth.

(iii) **Expanding social wages and the welfare state (1950 to late 1960s)** - The search for social stability and market security facilitated the rise of a "social security welfare state" which combined state policies to promote a rising standard of living, secure corporate profit margins, and high-wage, high-productivity economic growth (Finkel 1977, Myles 1988). An apparent post-war consensus relegated individuals and agencies to relatively uncontested positions in the social division of labour. The household's responsibility was primarily as a unit of consumption to maintain the flow of commodities. The domestic sphere also came under intensified scrutiny for making children receptive to the benefits offered by schooling in order to produce high quality labour power which could compete in an industrially advanced world.

State provision of a mass, comprehensive and compulsory system of schooling became widely recognized as the one common, legitimate basis of individual experience in advanced capitalist society (Althusser 1971). Consequently, educational credentials, regardless of what their true worth or

meaning might be, came to be used by employers, workers, occupational organizations, and other interested parties to signify such attributes as employability, work competence, skill attainment, and individual predisposition to various tasks. Schools acquired a central, even if often unquestioned, importance in social life to carry the individual from the "private" or personal world of the family into the "public" worlds of work and polity (Bowles and Gintis 1976, Parsons 1959). However, the contestable nature of state policy became apparent as fiscal and managerial considerations guided the state's delivery of educational services. As the highest-growth areas in the post-war state, reproductive expenditures in health, education and welfare became subject to increasing pressures for cost-containment and reorganization.

(iv) **State fiscal restraint and conflict (late 1960s to early 1970s)** - Limitations to the state's ability to finance social programs and facilitate economic growth became increasingly visible starting in the late 1960s amidst economic decline. The state's problems were magnified by the rise of vocal protest movements concerned with such issues as the unpopular United States war in southeast Asia, gender and racial equality, and mounting recognition that educational credentials were not in themselves indicators of occupational success (Lockhart 1979, Shor 1986). In this volatile climate, state initiatives to restrain expenditures and reorganize services were met by overt resistance which appeared in such forms as widespread teacher militancy. The social and political struggles which began in the late 1960s set the stage for more formalized restructuring of state and social services associated with a general reassessment of state growth patterns in the 1970s.

(v) **The rationalization of state services and social reproduction (1970s to early 1980s)** - By the early 1970s, economic and political leadership in

capitalist nations was increasingly concerned with efforts to restructure reproductive agencies as well as to coordinate more fully connections among various sites of reproduction including schools, hospitals and community services (Deaton 1972, Martell 1974b). At the same time, the politicization of reproduction through feminism, educational struggle, and the development of new reproductive technologies contributed to a breakdown of traditional distinctions between public and private realms. Paradoxically, as the state came under attack for offering excessive costly services, pressures for state involvement in social life increased with demands for the introduction of new services and initiatives such as pupil-centered curricula in schools and medical technologies in hospitals. The impact of these programs was compounded by the extension of professionals, experts and information-gathering agents in the community and home. With respect to schooling, for example, Magnusson and Langer (1984, 247-248) observe that in the 1970s,

schools have increased their responsibilities and their services by serving a more diverse student population, developing alternate programmes for potential drop-outs, offering more subjects in specialized programmes, providing services for physically and mentally handicapped students, strengthening fine arts and performing arts programmes, improving library services, providing for pre-school and kindergarten programmes, and improving counselling services and career preparation programmes.

(vi) **The extension of reproductive control (1980s)** - The restructuring of work in accordance with the introduction of new information technology, automated production, and crises of profitability in the 1980s has intensified pressures to rationalize reproductive processes. Capital, buttressed by right-wing ideologies, has successfully infused into the public consciousness the case for market economies, workforce flexibility, and lean, efficient state operations. This has been translated into a diminishment of rights and services for labour and disorganized public groups and a transferral of state resources to successful capitalist enterprises on a

global scale through such measures as privatization of state services, deregulation of market conditions, and selective placement or removal of restrictions on international trade (Carnoy and Levin 1985, Warnock 1988). Capital, in the process, has sought to dismantle a costly and potentially "inflexible" or politically dangerous state which includes a large reproductive labour force. As part of their agenda, corporate interests have attempted to gain simultaneously greater direct or "quality" control over the population through initiatives like mandatory drug testing, specific work training and retraining programs, concern with individual lifestyles, close monitoring of pre-natal, neo-natal and early childhood well-being, and calls for reproductive "fitness" (Bolaria 1988, David 1983). Reproductive workers such as teachers experience intensified contradictions; their wage levels, job security and conditions of work are threatened at the same time as their role in contributing to a rationalized system of production and reproduction is enhanced. With respect to schooling, for example, attempts are made:

(1) to restructure the work of teachers so that it is linked more directly to specific behavioral outcomes and directed by managerial techniques and ideologies, and (2) to more closely specify and monitor curricular goals and materials to bring them into line with the industrial, military, and ideological 'needs' of a relatively small but powerful segment of the American public (Apple 1986, 8).

Teaching, as Apple (1983, 1986) emphasizes, becomes increasingly technical in nature in accordance with rational management techniques which intensify teachers' workloads and heighten teachers' dependence upon centrally-imposed curricular guidelines. Nonetheless, because teachers' work with human clientele cannot completely be codified or technologically specified, there remains scope both for educational managers to regulate the teacher in a personal as well as a technical sense and for teachers to take action to protect their special working relationships. It is the struggle over this terrain, I contend, that is the source of teacher-government conflicts in the 1980s.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has provided a context for an understanding of teaching as reproductive work. I have advanced a social conflict-based historical materialist approach to the analysis of social reproduction and the state which views social reproduction in capitalist societies as an ongoing, contested process. The development of capitalist relations of production involves the progressive commodification and coordination of resources and social practices, accomplished increasingly through state institutions like public schooling. However, capitalism is also premised upon human agency, possessed by socially and culturally differentiated, "free" individuals. These latter characteristics tend to become antithetical to rational principles on which the development of the capitalist system is based. The intensification of contradictions between the rationalization of social life and the retention of human agency, I argue, is revealed through the experiences of reproductive workers like teachers whose work is organized around moral/subjective and productive dimensions. These social tensions are expressed in changing patterns of teacher-state relations which shift according to the six historical periods outlined above in the development of the capitalist state. In the next chapter, I turn my attention to state regulation of teaching and teacher resistance which involve the political channelling of teachers' activities in particular directions within the general framework of social reproduction.

CHAPTER THREE - REGULATION AND RESISTANCE: THE POLITICS OF TEACHING

This chapter examines the implications for teacher-state relations of my analysis of teaching as reproductive work. I argue that, as with theories of social reproduction discussed in the previous chapter, neither traditional approaches to the analysis of teaching, which tend to concentrate on questions of teacher professionalism, nor critical approaches which focus on issues related to social control and the proletarianization of teaching, adequately expresses the changing, contradictory nature of teaching. The chapter depicts teachers as gendered state employees engaged in the (re)production of labour power embodied in conscious human beings. Through their working relations, teachers are both empowered and constrained on the basis of moral/subjective and productive attributes. I contend that teaching is a political endeavour shaped by the active interplay of state regulation (typified as personal and technical in nature) and resistance (typified as accommodative or transformative in nature) within the periods of capitalist organization described at the end of chapter two.

TRADITIONAL AND CRITICAL APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF TEACHING

Most commentators, contrary to my emphasis, do not conceptualize teaching as reproductive work. This section reviews the main currents in the analysis of teaching, organized around what I call traditional and critical approaches. Traditional approaches concentrate on questions concerning teaching as a profession or the degree of professionalization within the occupation, while critical approaches are concerned with teaching as a vehicle for social control or the proletarianization of the occupation. Both

perspectives, I argue, raise important questions about the bases on which control and resistance in teaching have been able to develop. Nonetheless, traditional and critical approaches tend to portray teaching in terms of what Ozga and Lawn (1981) describe as either a "sterile dichotomy of professionalism versus unionism" or else a form of "disembodied structuralism." These approaches, in contrast to historical materialist analysis, underplay the analysis of teaching as a social process which is actively constituted within the context of capitalist societies.

Traditional approaches to the analysis of teaching - Teaching, traditionally, has been analysed in terms of the degree to which it is, can be or should be a profession. The major themes conveyed in traditional studies of teacher-state relations are revealed in three approaches identified by Ozga and Lawn (1981), in a comprehensive overview of the literature on organized teachers' activities in Britain, as the historical approach, the sociology of the professions approach, and the pressure group theory approach.

The historical approach is characterized by studies such as those by Roy (1968) and Tropp (1957) which emphasize a straightforward evolutionary development of teaching towards professional status, wherein teachers' organizations are seen to adopt primarily a reactive posture to state educational policies (Ozga and Lawn 1981, 3). Typical of these studies is Paton's (1962) discussion of teachers' organizations in Canada. Paton identifies four stages in the evolution of Canadian teachers' organizations: organizational meetings conducted by school inspectors and senior educational authorities (1850-1914); a period of struggle for improved occupational welfare, corporate unity and self-determination (1914-1935); struggle for official recognition and participation in educational policy-making processes (1935-1955); and a search for professional power and responsibility (1955-1975). Other historical studies, such as Phillips's (1957) account of

the progressively higher standards of training and occupational status attained by the Canadian teaching force, Chalmers's (1968) history of the Alberta teachers' association, and Skolrood's (1967) study of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, offer a similar assessment of the development of teaching as an occupation which has advanced from problem-laden early days in the nineteenth century towards the pinnacle of professionalism after the middle part of the twentieth century. The concluding statement in Johnson's (1964, 253-254) overview of the development of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation is typical of the focus in the historical studies: "it can be said that [the BCTF's] leaders and members have striven unselfishly to win for teachers status and respect as members of a profession in the truest sense of the term." What a "true profession" is and why it is a worthy objective are not clarified.

The historical studies provide a wealth of information about teachers' organizations and their relations with governments, often revealing frequent bitter confrontation between the two parties. Nonetheless, such studies provide little analysis of why periods of struggle and cooperation existed, except in terms of the events of the day. The emergence of teaching and education systems generally is interpreted as a series of progressive developments portrayed unquestioningly as a "good thing" (Wilson 1980, 8).

As with the historical studies, a sociology of the professions approach to the analysis of teaching assumes professionalism to be generally socially beneficial, regardless of the political, economic and social contexts within which it is defined and practiced. Three major types of studies characterize the professions-based approach to teaching: trait-based, functionalist, and interpretive studies.

A trait orientation deems teaching to be a profession when the occupation or its practitioners possess a set of predetermined characteristics or traits such as specialized, university-based training,

high occupational status, occupational autonomy, and altruism revealed in dedicated service to clients. Analysis then proceeds to examine the degree to which teaching does or does not approach the professional ideal (see, e.g., Langford 1978, Meyers 1973, Miffen and Miffen 1982, Moore 1970). Unlike the historical studies, which generally conclude that teaching has made progress towards "true" professionalism, many of the trait-based studies emphasize that teaching remains a semi-profession which lacks crucial measures of autonomy and status compared to full professions like law and medicine (Carr-Saunders 1966, Etzioni 1969) or a quasi-professional occupation frustrated by the bureaucratic structure of schools and school systems (Anderson 1968, Corwin 1965, Hilsum and Strong 1978). However, like the historical studies, trait-based approaches assume professionalism to be a desirable ideal, with little or no analysis of the virtues of professionalism or the consequences of not being a profession. Functionalist studies, like trait-based approaches, also assume professionalism to be an occupational virtue, although the former locate the source of professional strength, autonomy and authority in the functional importance of an occupation for society as a whole. Professional occupations like teaching serve as the rational embodiment of values and practices which are required for social maintenance and integration (Parsons 1959, Parsons 1968), although professional activities are often complicated by the need for mechanisms to alleviate the conflicting demands within a role-set (Merton 1957). Merton's analysis is pertinent to an interpretive approach to the study of teaching as a profession, although the latter concentrates on classroom practices more as independent sites of social interaction than as constituents of social structures. Thus, for writers such as Kelsall and Kelsall (1969), Martin (1976), Musgrave (1965), and Waller (1965) who adopt an interpretive perspective on the analysis of teaching, teacher professionalism is accomplished through the maintenance of social order in the face of

conflicting demands on a day to day basis. While interpretive studies provide a rich body of detail on the intricacies of life in schools and classrooms, such analysis tends to ignore the structural and historical context within which schooling is located.

What is most useful in the sociology of the professions approach to the analysis of teaching is not the question of whether teaching is a profession but the insight that teaching is characterized by variable degrees of autonomy which constitutes part of the definition or working out of professionalism. It allows us to see that there is a basis of activity, which is often subject to contestation, that lies at the core of teaching processes and teachers' organized activities. The sociology of the professions literature is limited especially, because of its ahistorical nature and its unproblematic acceptance of unexplored ideals of professionalism (Johnson 1972). However, it does point the way to an historically-grounded understanding of how teaching is defined and acted upon by teachers and others, often in the name of professionalism.

A third group of traditional studies examines teaching within the context of interest group politics. These studies, which concentrate on teachers' organizations as interest or pressure groups, tend to elaborate more fully than do the historical and professional-centered approaches the conflictual nature of the politics of teaching, but provide little detailed conception of the fundamental structures of power and domination which give rise to and are affected by teaching (Ozga and Lawn 1981, 22-23). In most cases, studies of teaching as an interest group emphasize the relative powers of teachers' organizations, governments and other groups which participate in education systems to influence educational policy and practices. Most such analysis, in common with the historical studies of teachers' organizations, highlights the steady gains made by teachers in Canada, the United States and Britain through the combined force of professionalism, union organization,

and collective bargaining (Downie 1978, Martin and Macdonell 1982, Moskow 1966, Stinnett 1968, Wildman 1971; studies by Muir 1968, North 1964, and Roald 1970 which make specific reference to the BCTF provide conclusions that are essentially the same as in the other studies referred to here). Downie (1978, 14), for example, highlights the increasing "power of teachers' organizations to become partners in school board decision making and to remove the vestiges of trustee paternalism and universal decision-making." This insight is important in contrasting distinct phases of control over teaching, but, like other interest group studies, it details and often classifies teacher-state relations without providing a central rationale or explanation for why, and under what conditions, observed changes have occurred. Muir (1968, 316), for example, offers a comprehensive account of the often stormy development of collective bargaining by Canadian teachers' organizations, pressing his analysis no further than the conclusion that, "the social, cultural and historical development of each province is unique which has resulted in different approaches to collective bargaining being developed in each province." While the dynamics of each situation are important, it is also necessary to have some basis to understand what factors characterize each situation and how it stands in relation to others. Interest group theory, however, tends to present teachers, governments and other groups as independent entities, acting and responding to one another on a socially neutral terrain.

Not all writers who adopt an interest group approach to the analysis of teaching agree that teaching has moved towards greater professionalism. Cole (1969), for example, argues that the adoption of trade unionism by the American Federation of Teachers created strong barriers to attainment of the mature professional status sought by teachers. Other writers, however, attribute the frustration of teachers' professional aspirations to state and trustee guardianship of education which has not always been consistent with

what teachers regard as being in their best interests or in line with "educational" priorities (Burke 1971, Manzer 1970). As several commentators, including Farrell (1972), Lawson and Woock (1987), MacKinnon (1962), Manzer (1969), and the authors of papers on teaching collected in Stevenson, Stamp and Wilson (1972) observe with respect to Canadian experiences, there exists an inherent conflict between ideals of teacher professionalism and state control of educational services. Coates (1972) provides one of the clearest discussions of the ways in which teachers' organizations have shifted their strategies in response to changing government policy, especially with the onset of centralized economic planning in the 1960s. Coates's analysis, more than the others mentioned in this section, presents teacher-government relations as a dynamic expression of a wider social, economic and political terrain. Nonetheless, Coates's study, characteristic of the interest group theory approach in general, adopts a pluralist view of teacher lobbying efforts which ignores specific dimensions of states and societies characterized by systematically structured social inequalities such as class and gender. Moreover, while Coates recognizes that teachers' organizations undertake periodic tactical shifts in their relations with government, he represents the organizations as internally cohesive at each point in time, ignoring the possibility of strong cleavages within the occupation.

In summary, traditional approaches to the study of teaching and teachers' organized activities offer the insights that teaching and teacher-government relations are subject to historical variation, based in part on teachers' claims to professionalism and government-imposed regulations or constraints emerging within the structure of education systems. Nonetheless, these approaches are limited in their ability to identify and analyze contradictory aspects of teaching and the social context within which teaching takes place. The result has been "a liberal, evolutionary, social mobility view of organised teachers [which] has failed

to illuminate the actual class and gender relations of teaching; the contradictions which have arisen for teachers in particular socio-political periods or the complexities and contradictions of teacher-state relations" (Lawn and Grace 1987, ix).

Critical approaches to the analysis of teaching - Critical perspectives on the analysis of teaching view teachers as subjects or agents of political and economic domination rather than as neutral professionals or professionally-oriented pressure groups. I will provide a brief critical evaluation of two predominant themes in the critical approach - teaching as a form of social control and the proletarianization of teaching - before proceeding to elaborate an alternative historical materialist approach which, arising out of critical perspectives on the analysis of teaching, incorporates class and gender relations, regulation, and resistance within a conception of teaching as reproductive work.

A social control orientation to the analysis of teaching views teachers as social agents working directly or indirectly in the interests of dominant social classes. However, because teachers are subject to repressive state policies, they are expected in their collective activities to become conscious of their position as members of the working class. This approach is characterized by theories of economic and cultural reproduction which were identified in the previous chapter, represented in the succinct comment by Bowles and Gintis (1976, 218) that, "Preparing youth for alienated jobs is hardly calculated to produce a feeling of integration of teachers with their labours." Such a portrayal does not fully analyze teaching, but rather asserts that teachers play a role in social domination. Although this role is often viewed as contradictory in nature, revealing teachers' divided loyalties to both rulers and the ruled (e.g., Harp and Betcherman 1980, Harris 1982), teaching ultimately remains functional to the reproduction of

capitalist societies. Thus, social control approaches to the analysis of teaching portray teaching as reproductive work, but it is a highly determined form of social reproduction which leaves little room for the actions and organized resistance of either teachers or their pupils (Giroux 1983).

Studies which emphasize the proletarianization of teaching also raise questions about social control, but view teachers as the controlled more than as the controllers. Proletarianization is often portrayed as the polar opposite of professionalization, concentrating on the loss rather than the enhancement of teachers' autonomy, status and ability to determine their work (Oppenheimer 1985, 146-147; Ozga and Lawn 1981, vii-ix). I argue that, like professionalization, proletarianization highlights an important dynamic which is realized in teachers' ongoing work processes and collective activities, but it does not in itself explain these processes.

The impetus for recent analysis of the proletarianization of work has emerged through Harry Braverman's (1974) account of managerial initiatives to extend capitalist control and degrade the labour force. The proletarianization process is epitomized in Braverman's argument that all forms of work in capitalist society, including professional and supervisory work, become subject to pressures to destroy established skill levels and cheapen labour costs. According to Braverman, capitalist management efforts to taylorize, or deskill and fragment, jobs results in the proletarianization of ever greater segments of the work force. Conceptual control over work becomes centralized within and among productive endeavours as planning is separated from the actual conduct or execution of the various detailed job tasks. Ultimately, the population becomes polarized into a small core of managers with a monopoly of control and knowledge, and a mass of workers who are governed by this control and knowledge.

Braverman has been criticized on a number of counts, notably his failure to consider the impact on the labour process of worker initiatives and

struggle, his exaggeration of the degrees of adoption and centrality of taylorist strategies and deskilling processes in twentieth century work organization, and his confinement of labour process analysis to a sphere of production unaffected by political, ideological and social struggles (Burawoy 1978, Elger 1982, Littler and Salaman 1982, Stark 1980). Substantial empirical support does exist, however, for the general thesis that managers have been increasingly concerned with extending their control over labour processes. Several writers have emphasized the ways in which employer control is intertwined with cultural factors, labour market forces, and employee resistance. Palmer (1983), for example, discusses how authority in nineteenth century Canada was expressed in the ethos of paternalism which bound subordinate social groupings to their "superiors" in a complex network of personal obligations and relations, as compared to the cultural fragmentation of mass culture under twentieth century monopoly capitalism. Edwards (1979) observes how "simple" control expressed through the personal exercise of power by employers and managers in small, competitive firms has given way to "technical" and "bureaucratic" control embedded into the structures of larger organizations and more complex work processes.

Analysis of the proletarianization of teaching has tended to follow Braverman's general deskilling thesis. Teachers, as professional workers, are salaried employees who operate within the bureaucratic structure of school systems which place strict regulations on the nature and conduct of each employment situation (Derber 1983, Oppenheimer 1973, Oppenheimer 1985). These factors are complicated by employers' demands for efficiency and cost effectiveness, particularly during periods of declining profitability. Within the state sector, shifts in priorities and expenditure patterns provide a rationale for restructuring work in accordance with strict managerial dictates. At such times, teaching and other reproductive work which is normally based on interpersonal relations and the provision of

services which are resistant to specific measurement become subject to pressures for increased efficiency and accountability (Apple 1982a; Oppenheimer 1985, 152). Deskilling contributes to increasing fragmentation of an occupation like teaching within the educational division of labour (Harris 1982). Many areas of work which were once the domain of a single profession (i.e., teaching) have given way to the proliferation of new occupations based upon specified technical and clerical operations. With respect to teaching, for example:

Increasingly in the twentieth century more of the teacher's responsibilities have been eroded to form the basis of another occupation's activities. So we have a counselling profession, an educational psychology profession, various forms of social work bodies which deal with curriculum theory, and so on (Esland 1980, 229-238).

However, while it is true that teaching has been partially fragmented into a variety of associated occupations, the fundamental responsibility for the provision of educational services remains in the hands of a large group of classroom practitioners who continue to be identified as teachers. Occupational specialization can mean that teachers have greater opportunities to exercise their discretionary professional skills without having to attend to distracting technical functions or it may signify that the most meaningful skills and decisions in teaching have been usurped by managers or other occupations (Danylewycz and Prentice 1986, 77-78). In other words, despite the intensification of teachers' work and status as dependent employees through processes of proletarianization, there are several problems associated with claims that teaching is subject to a simple logic of progressive deskilling and proletarianization. Public school teachers have rarely if ever been a highly skilled and autonomous workforce. Scientific management techniques and other control devices were introduced to schooling early and on a sustained basis so that school administrators could control the pace and outcomes of the schooling process (Robinson 1981, 123-124, 136-137). These measures meant that teacher autonomy was often more apparent

than real. Gitlin (1983) observes that through prepackaged curricula and other components of school structures, teachers may be subject to external control even when they have some ability within the classroom to regulate both planning and execution of their work. Derber (1983, 334-335) argues that professional workers are subject to ideological proletarianization, or loss of control over the goals or ends around which work is organized. Successful management control over policy, budgeting, training and certification procedures, and client-selection decisions reduces the need for such workers to be subjected to complete technical proletarianization entailing the worker's loss of control over the actual production process. At the same time, however, there have been countertendencies to deskilling as teachers have gained new skills or competencies in areas like curriculum development and counselling which have been introduced into the schooling process (Danylewycz and Prentice 1986).

Based on these observations, it would be misleading to claim that teaching is subject to a strict process of deskilling. The ongoing, active problems associated with controlling work within the development of capitalism are stressed in Marx's (1977) conceptualization of the proletarianization process. Marx emphasizes that within capitalism, control over workers is something to be accomplished by employers rather than a given or automatic state of affairs. He argues that there are two sides to the loss of worker control, which he identifies as the real and the formal subordination of labour to capital. This distinction flows from the recognition that through the wage relation, employers are entitled to modify the production process in accordance with their own objective interests. In the face of worker recalcitrance and competitive requirements for increasing productivity, capital owners seek to translate the formal subordination of labour, whereby the employer acquires the right to the use of given quantities of labour power, into the real subordination of labour, through

which the employer attains direct control over the labour process. In a general sense, despite broad trends toward increases in the real subordination of labour, there are limitations to the subordination process. As Storey (1983, 179, 182) argues, real subordination is incomplete, since ultimately, "all attempts at the real subordination of labour founder on the rock of the final reliance of capital on workers operating, handling and/or monitoring the inanimate and inert factors of production." For reproductive workers such as teachers, whose work involves relations with animate, active human subjects, real subordination becomes even more problematic because both workers (teachers) and the objects of their work (pupils) have the capacity to resist work processes and arrangements. The terrain of struggle is not merely technical, concerning the productive organization of the labour process, but also ideological and moral/subjective, related to workers' character and degree of commitment to the enterprise.

In summary, critical perspectives identify in processes of social control and proletarianization important dimensions which have contributed to changes in teaching as work. Teachers are externally regulated, just as they are regulators of others, and such regulation changes in accordance with the development of capitalism. However, it is important to recognize that control is not mechanically asserted and achieved. The proletarianization of teaching, for example, is not a linear process but one which affects in different ways particular different segments of the teaching force under distinct historical circumstances. To account for such variation, it is necessary to take into consideration two factors which are absent or underplayed in the critical approaches I have discussed - human agency and the indefinite social relationships around which claims to professionalism emerge. Agency is important insofar as teachers are active in resisting or accommodating to mechanisms of control and transformations in the labour process. Teachers' ability to act, individually and collectively, to modify

their circumstances is particularly important given the nature of their work with pupils (or clients) in settings which are not always monitored directly by supervisors. In other words, while teaching is subject to supervision and control by employers or managers, such control is not accomplished in an automatic and unproblematic manner, as tends to be suggested by critical approaches to the analysis of teaching. In particular, as was suggested in the previous chapter, much of the uncertainty and contestation over teaching processes arises from the nature of teaching as work oriented to the reproduction of labour power. These points are elaborated below through a discussion of processes of regulation and resistance associated with teaching, as viewed from an historical materialist analysis of teaching as reproductive work.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND THE ANALYSIS OF TEACHING AS REPRODUCTIVE WORK

I am now in a position to advance a conception of teaching as reproductive work analyzed through historical materialism. Before I do so, however, it may be helpful to reiterate briefly the major implications arising from the discussion of the traditional and critical approaches to the study of teaching. Traditional approaches, although too often preoccupied with a static and taken for granted conception of the virtues of professionalism, lead to the important recognition that there are aspects of teaching, such as the teachers' relationship with the learner and practitioners' possession of some degree of autonomy, around which claims to professionalism can be made. Moreover, especially as suggested in interest group and historical analysis presented by writers like Coates (1972), Muir (1968), and Paton (1962), such claims and the ways in which they are organized and responded to by teachers and the state are historically diverse. The critical approaches offer a more firmly grounded basis from

which to assess these claims and how they are responded to; in particular, studies which emphasize social control and teacher proletarianization have shown that teaching is not an autonomous, neutral vocation or occupation but is a work form organized around distinct social interests, rooted especially in class and gender relations. Nonetheless, I have observed that control by and over teachers is not achieved in a uniform or unproblematic fashion. Struggles to define, direct and control the occupation involve a shifting terrain of sometimes competing, sometimes allied groupings within and outside the occupation.

The analysis of schooling as a political enterprise, subject to contestation by various social groups, enables us to view school practices which are often interpreted as conservative, professional or overly dominating in nature as strategies and products of social activity rather than as inherent characteristics or ends in themselves. An uncritical acceptance of norms of professionalism or patterns of subordination obscures the political manouvering which underscores given conceptions and practices associated with an occupation like teaching (Freidson 1977, Giroux 1983, Johnson 1972, Larson 1977, Parry and Parry 1974).

Teaching, as argued by writers such as Apple (1986), Lawn and Grace (1987), and Ozga and Lawn (1981) who adopt a historical materialist approach to the analysis of the occupation, is more usefully understood with reference to political alternatives structured around control and resistance. I locate the sources of changing patterns of teacher-state relations in the historical variability that arises from the nature of teaching as work oriented to the reproduction of labour power. Labour power, produced within a shifting terrain of social and economic relations, has both a productive dimension (related to the performance of specific competencies) and a moral/subjective dimension (related to the individual's capacities as a conscious human subject). State managers rely upon particular forms of regulation over

teachers, and teachers employ distinct strategies of resistance, as changes within capitalism contribute to new demands for the production of labour power and social capabilities. The remainder of this chapter examines three major aspects of teaching as reproductive work: first, teaching is discussed within the context of class and gender relations; second, a framework is presented for the analysis of state regulation over teaching and collective resistance by teachers; and finally, I claim that the forms of regulation and resistance vary in accordance with the periodization outlined at the end of chapter two with respect to successive phases in the organization of state-centered social reproduction.

CLASS, GENDER AND TEACHING

Teachers act, and their actions are given shape, within definite social relationships. Just as teachers are involved in the reproduction of unequal and hierarchical social patterns, so teachers' actions and orientations exemplify and are influenced by enduring forms of social differentiation, the most significant of which are class and gender relations. Most analysis of stratification associated with teaching has tended to be preoccupied with questions of where teachers fit into social structures rather than with the consideration of teachers' actual social activities and relations. This section provides a brief overview of the major currents in the analysis of teachers' class relations (illustrated with reference to Weberian and Marxist analyses which locate teachers in contradictory class positions) and gender relations (highlighted by liberal, radical and socialist feminist analysis). I contrast these positions with an historical materialist analysis which views teachers as social actors whose actions take place within distinct but changing parameters. More explicitly, changing state regulation and teacher resistance are framed within the constitution of teaching as a gender-divided

workforce of dependent state employees.

In Weberian analysis of class, which emphasizes market relations and questions of occupational structures, teachers are viewed as part of a middle stratum of workers or professionals who have successfully maintained income, status and occupational rewards against infringement from lower level workers and, to a lesser and diminishing extent, against institutionalized forms of control. Mills (1951), for example, views white collar workers as a moderating force in class divisions, Dahrendorf (1959) and Westergaard and Resler (1975) place teachers in a small but problematically-defined group of service professionals which, in Dahrendorf's (1964, 314-315) words, "provides a bridge between rulers and ruled," and Giddens (1973) recognizes a large, distinct middle class which is demarcated from other class groupings by educational or technical qualifications. Although this approach establishes the importance of assessing processes of occupational closure and conflict, it tends to ignore major dimensions of change in the workplace.

Marxist approaches, which view class as grounded in relations of production rather than of exchange, nonetheless share with Weberian analysis many similar insights into the positions of professional and middle class occupations such as teaching. In Marxist analysis, teachers are commonly viewed as part of a distinct new middle class or professional-managerial class which does not own means of production but which actively contributes to the repression or suppression of the working classes (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979, Poulantzas 1980) or as occupants of a contradictory class location holding simultaneously capacities in common with and antagonisms toward the two major class groupings without maintaining existence as a separate class (Harp and Betcherman 1980, Harris 1982, Wright 1978). Teachers, like other workers in contradictory class locations, are portrayed as being dominated by capital and corporate structures at the same time as they carry out functions of domination over other labour power.

These Weberian and Marxist approaches to teachers' class location hold in common the assessment that teachers and other workers who make claims to professionalism have managed to retain conditions of work which allow them certain status privileges and some discretion over how their work is organized and performed. Where the approaches differ is in their reading of the ideological and political significance of such status and working conditions. The Weberian perspective sees teachers either becoming bureaucratically subordinated or continuing to enjoy certain privileges which set them off from other workers while the Marxist views concentrate on teachers' significance in wider transformative struggles (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, and Giroux, 1988, for example, advance a conception of teachers as transformative intellectuals).

Unfortunately, most of these discussions of teachers' class location tend to be preoccupied with what Abercrombie and Urry (1983) call the "boundary problem" which concentrates analysis around questions of the demarcation of class categories to the neglect of ongoing social and historical relations. An historical materialist analysis of teacher-state relations, in contrast to approaches which are concerned primarily with attempts to situate agents within particular class locations, begins with a general description of antagonistic class positions and proceeds to examine how class characteristics and alignments unfold through particular historical conjunctures. Class, in this view, is not a static thing, category or group but, rather, a set of social relations organized around definite social practices.

In their class relations, teachers participate as social actors who are continually constituted and regulated through the wage relation as dependent employees (Marx 1963, 15, 124; Marx 1976, 3-4; Ozga and Lawn 1981; Warburton 1986). This means that in exchange for a wage and other possible benefits, teachers cede to the employer the right to organize and control their labour

power for given periods of time. Within the wage relation, teachers are employed by state or school authorities according to specified conditions, including the possession of adequate training and certification to qualify for employment, the performance of certain duties, and the levels of salaries and benefits. As educational priorities change and as education systems expand in size and scope, regulation of teaching tends to entail a movement away from the arbitrary right of the employer to establish these conditions towards more clearly formulated procedures and principles which specify the terms and conditions of teachers' employment and which also alter teachers' consciousness of their work (Whiteside and Bernbaum 1979, 96).

Teaching is also a labour process which is organized in definite ways to ensure the adequate delivery of educational services. As employees, teachers are active in performing a wide range of tasks related to their classroom and wider educative responsibilities. Teachers have some freedom, generally associated with the indeterminate or subjective dimensions of teaching processes and teacher/pupil relations, to plan and carry out their work. Nonetheless, because they are dependent employees, teachers are subject to the control of employers and other educational authorities. In other words, regardless of what actually happens in schools, the formal authority for delivery of educational services is vested in the state and authorized state agents. Like workers in other enterprises within capitalism, public school teachers are subordinate to the control of employers.

However, teachers do not constitute a homogeneous group of employees. Like other social actors, teachers are subjects who possess social attributes including age, ethnicity, and so on. The most notable characteristic of the public school teaching force is its gender composition. Unfortunately, much of the analysis of teachers and class is prone to "sex blindness," ignoring important questions about gender relations (Crompton and Mann 1986). Such an oversight is a serious inadequacy, in that most teachers are women while

within teaching men and women occupy different positions, with men concentrated in high school teaching and school administrative positions and women in elementary grades and general classroom teaching. As with class, gender relationships are relatively enduring, but not static.

Questions associated with patriarchal forms of domination, or the subordination of women by men and male-oriented structures of power and thought, prevail in discourse concerning gender relations in much the same way as questions about capitalist forms of domination are prevalent in class analysis. Most commentators identify three main strands in feminist analysis - liberal, radical and socialist feminism (Gaskell and McLaren 1987; Maroney and Luxton 1987). Liberal feminist analysis presents socioeconomic and political disparities between men and women not as matters of domination but as unequal opportunities which may be eradicated through political reform within a given social framework. From a liberal perspective, removing barriers to equal opportunity for women in teaching is doubly significant for creating positive role models for girls to follow in the schools and for allowing greater chances for women to advance their careers in the school system (Byrne 1978, Chapman 1986). Radical and socialist feminist analyses, by contrast, identify the bases of gender inequalities in social structures and institutions (Gaskell and McLaren 1987, 15). Radical feminist analysis argues that patriarchy is essentially a different, and more fundamental, form of domination than is class. Common to capitalism and other patriarchal forms of social organization is a separation of spheres of activity for men and women, with a devaluation of women's roles. Radical feminists argue that patriarchal society relegates women to a "private sphere" characterized by domestic mothering, nurturing and caring tasks which, buttressed with ideologies and material practices, are treated as inferior to men's work in a "public" sphere encompassing productive activity (Maroney and Luxton 1987). Under these conditions, teaching is "women's work" occupied by a compliant,

low paid female labour force performing work which is an extension of household duties (Lather 1986, Sugg 1978). Socialist feminism concentrates more fully on the ways in which capitalism and class structures shape the oppression of women. Although the approach contains several conflicting emphases (see Barrett and Hamilton 1987 for details), all socialist feminist analysis shares a concern with the interrelated and mutually reinforcing nature of capitalism and patriarchy (Weiler 1988, 29). Teaching according to such analysis serves to reproduce prevailing class and gender relations which allocate women to subordinate roles that emphasize mothering and domestic tasks in both paid and unpaid labour (Deem 1978, Wolpe 1978).

While liberal, radical and socialist feminist analysis has highlighted the variable opportunities and ideologies associated with boys and girls and men and women in the school system, there has tended to be a preoccupation with how particular patterns are reproduced within given institutions or structures, offering little discussion of possible transformations and resistance within these structures. Historical materialist analysis, by contrast, is concerned to clarify the specific forms which reproduction takes within particular sociohistorical circumstances, associated with social activity, resistance and possible social transformation. While there is a growing body of literature on teachers' contradictory involvement in reproducing and transforming capitalist and patriarchal structures through activities within the school (Acker 1983, Apple 1986, Arnot 1984, Connell 1985, Weiler 1988), less attention has been paid to the ways in which these relationships are worked out politically through changing teacher-state relations (Lawn and Grace 1987). As Prentice (1977a, 1977b) has demonstrated, for example, the shift to a feminized teaching force, represented most prominently in the general movement of women into classroom teaching positions and the concentration of female teachers in elementary grades, did not happen automatically or all at once. The transition was

uneven, accelerated especially by the growth of larger urban schools and school districts (Danylewycz, Light and Prentice 1987). Segmentation of wage rates and variations in teachers' experiences tended to be less pronounced in rural one-room school houses than in larger bureaucratic school systems where the nature of teaching was altered and different teachers began to perform different types of work (Apple 1986, Strober and Lanford 1986). These factors had a strong impact on teachers' ability to organize to resist managerial pressures and create alternative conditions of work, pay and status. Many of the challenges and responses undertaken by teachers have been organized along gender lines or around issues that have different implications for teachers with particular occupational or gender characteristics. Campaigns for wage parity among men and women, for example, are in part necessitated by the historical suppression of women's interests by men within the teaching profession, while the level of feminist consciousness within a teachers' organization influences the acceptance or subversion of sexist curriculum materials (Apple 1983, Deem 1978, Gorelick 1982). Consequently, an analysis of regulation and resistance associated with teaching must take account of how decisions about teaching and changes in the occupation are likely to have a variable impact on teachers who are differentially situated according to gender, teaching position and other personal and occupational characteristics. I examine the general nature of regulation of teaching before returning to the problem of organized teacher resistance.

THE REGULATION OF TEACHING

Various groups have an interest in making sure that teachers perform their expected duties within prescribed or desired guidelines. In other words, educational managers must somehow be assured that teachers will comply

with major educational goals and practices or else they must compel teachers to perform duties which arise under particular circumstances. Teaching, as a wage relation, a labour process, and gendered labour, is subject to regulation which governs the occupation according to distinct forms of managerial constraint. Drawing upon analysis developed by Michael Apple (1983, 1986), I identify two major forms of regulation over teaching, personal and technical regulation, and argue that school management in the twentieth century has tended increasingly to emphasize the latter. Unlike Apple, I argue further that these regulatory forms correspond to the nature of teaching as reproductive work - personal regulation is associated with the subjective/moral dimensions of teaching while technical regulation is associated with the productive dimension of teaching. As such, the regulatory emphasis varies in accordance with the ways in which the reproduction of labour power is defined and structured through schooling.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, teaching and other professional work tend to be characterized by labour processes which involve a relationship between the worker and client or object of work which is often difficult to penetrate from outside. Consequently, professional workers have a potential base of autonomy which they can use to protect against the incursion of real subordination or technical proletarianization by managers to codify and control work processes. At the same time, however, employers may respond to such a condition by either broadening the parameters within which the work relationship is defined, in effect monitoring the life of the individual worker, or adopting measures in the workplace which minimize the realm of worker autonomy.

Apple's (1983, 1986) analysis elaborates the dual character of regulation with direct reference to teachers. Apple argues that historically teaching has been subject to two general forms of regulation - traditional patriarchal control and technical control. The former, based on the

domination of male bosses over a predominantly female workforce, has given way to the latter through deskilling, rational decision-making procedures, and industrial control measures as schools have become organized for efficiency. As occurs with occupations in other industries through the development and extension of capitalist productive relations, periodic economic, political or organizational problems induce educational managers to reorganize teaching to increase productivity and control over the outcomes and procedures associated with the teaching process.

Like other forms of reproductive work, notably work involved in "mothering" and childcare which are concerned with the well-being of children, teaching is subject to patriarchal control and other measures that I call personal regulation. Teachers, as guardians of malleable persons, are expected to perform their duties as conscientious and obedient individuals. Personal regulation is oriented to a broadly-defined range of surveillance and constraint over several facets of the worker's life beyond labour performed in a given work setting. Through such regulation, the kind of person the teacher is (his or her character, personal attributes and orientations to the world) and what he or she does outside the classroom are at least as important as his or her accomplishments in the work setting; the teacher is held up as an example to children and the community rather than regarded as a worker performing labour in a given workplace. Personal regulation, in other words, ensures that the worker is personally "safe" both as an agent of the employer and, in the case of workers like teachers whose duties require extensive contact with children and other malleable human subjects, as a person who will advance rather than harm the development of the individual client.

Personal regulation tends to be moral, paternalistic or patriarchal in nature. Regulation on moral grounds applies to enforcement of a teacher's conduct or beliefs in accordance with prevailing community or ideological

standards. Thus, for example, a teacher may be hired, fired or disciplined based upon loyalty and conformity to organizational principles such as service to clients, contributing to what Derber (1983) calls ideological proletarianization. The worker is defined not as a mere employee, but as a stakeholder in the enterprise. (Inducements to workers' ideological commitment, for example, are emphasized increasingly as a management strategy to stimulate productivity through human relations practices in contemporary corporations such as the food service industry. See Silver 1987). Paternalistic aspects of control appear when specific individuals, such as school board officials, state school inspectors or school administrators have considerable discretionary authority to outline teachers' duties and enforce particular standards of conduct. The process of professional training and certification, for example, is often oriented to producing practitioners whose personalities and attitudes are amenable to existing working demands. In addition, personal regulation often appears in the form of patriarchal control, which in its simplest form is expressed as male authorities planning and supervising the work of female labourers. Effective adherence by a workforce to such stereotypically feminine attributes as quiet subordination and unquestioning performance of duties, for example, provides employers with extensive control to carry out desired objectives. However, patriarchal control is also more complex, appearing in the form of the general subordination of women through recurrent social structures and practices.

In general, personal regulation is effective when individual teachers can be monitored on an ongoing basis and subjected to strong disciplinary measures such as personal reprimands, wage loss or job insecurity. Personal regulation refers to an individual's fitness to teach. Teachers working in classrooms without the regular presence of supervisors can be "kept in line" with the fear that whatever they say or do may be reported to educational authorities as evidence of lack of such fitness. Consequently, through

personal regulation, teachers may exercise self-restraint or be subject to the constraint of other teachers who have knowledge about or authority over them in the school system.

Despite the potential advantages which personal regulation over teachers holds for educational managers, such regulation may prohibit the attainment of particular educational goals or practices. Personal regulation may be counterproductive to a school system, for example, by its emphasis on interpersonal ties and authority patterns which create power blocs and contribute to structures which may not be cost-effective or which run counter to new educational priorities (Lortie 1975, 183-184). Consequently, educational managers or other agents may turn to formal or technical regulatory procedures in order to advance their interests.

Technical regulation emerges as an occupation is restructured in accordance with definite rational principles to reduce costs and increase productivity. The purpose of such regulation is to eliminate uncertainties or inequalities associated with personal regulation in order to facilitate routine work relationships and ensure predictable outcomes of the labour process. As productive employees, teachers are subject to formal or technical regulation based upon specified organizational procedures, legal and contractual arrangements, or scientific principles which emphasize productivity, efficiency and predictability. Technical regulation provides for the formal determination of matters like wages and conditions of work according to industrial management practices. The introduction of merit-based methods of pupil and teacher evaluation and the development of learning modules and behavioural objectives which formalize curriculum practices around scientific principles provide examples of the application of technical regulation in schooling (Harris 1982, 135-137). Proletarianization, intensification and deskilling of work progress as educational planners and managers extend their use of technical regulation.

It is important to recognize two interrelated points about the regulation of teachers. First, personal and technical regulation are not necessarily antithetical to one another, but are often used in conjunction with each other either by competing interests or by a single group of managers trying to assert control over an entire range of occupational activities such as the formal tasks and indefinite aspects of teaching. Second, regulation is not simply asserted and gained by educational managers or employers, but is something which is worked out in the course of changing social activities and relationships. Teachers are not mere bystanders amidst efforts by others to control their work. Instead, teachers develop particular responses to regulation which serve to block or, in some cases, extend effective managerial control. At the same time, modifications in regulation often follow from organized actions of teachers which are counterproductive to managerial goals.

My argument is that transformations in the regulation of teaching, expressed by a tendential shift from personal to technical regulation, are produced by the more general process of the rationalization of social reproduction within the development of capitalist societies. Within the general trend towards technical regulation, however, teachers and educational managers contest the ways in which teaching is defined and regulated as reproductive work. The next section provides a brief discussion of changing forms of teacher resistance within this framework, followed by a broader consideration of how reproduction, regulation and resistance have been historically interrelated with one another in the development of teacher-state relations.

ORGANIZED RESISTANCE AND THE POLITICS OF TEACHING

Teachers' collective political actions tend to be highly complex in

nature, drawing upon a broad range of potential strategies and tactics which reflect both divisions within and pressures from outside the occupation. In many instances, these actions are accommodative, or circumscribed within the realm of existing educational practices and relationships. However, teacher resistance can also be oriented to more fundamental educational and social change. The range of forms of teacher actions and resistances is summarized in four positions outlined by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985, 36-40): hegemonic intellectuals, accommodating intellectuals, critical intellectuals, and transformative intellectuals. The first two positions are characterized by their service to dominant classes and social interests; the latter two are oriented to alternatives to the status quo. Hegemonic intellectuals act self-consciously as agents of dominant social groups while accommodating intellectuals are often unaware of, or gloss over, their connections with particular social interests through claims of scientific objectivity or detached professionalism. By contrast, critical intellectuals view their role as one of critique of existing social patterns, although like accommodating intellectuals they see themselves as transcending politics or affiliation with particular material interests. Finally, transformative intellectuals are distinguished by their commitment to the unity of theory and practice demonstrated through dedication to empowering both themselves and the community they serve to overcoming material and ideological domination: "Central to the category of transformative intellectuals is the task of making the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical" (Aronowitz and Giroux 1985, 36).

The typification of teachers in terms of their contribution to a range of positions in support of or opposition to existing social orders is useful for advancing an understanding beyond the common, often unquestioned dichotomy of professionalism versus unionism. In particular, it allows us to see professionalism, unionism and other political or occupational activities

as subject to historical variation. I will comment briefly on the literature concerning teachers' organized activities in three spheres - professionalism, trade unionism, and political involvement - before contextualizing teacher resistances within six historical periods of social reproduction and teacher-state relations.

Relations between teachers and the state are played out on a shifting terrain defined by wider sociohistorical factors. As Grace (1987, 195) emphasizes with specific reference to Britain but in a statement which appears to have much wider applicability, the development of teacher-state relations "has been an extended war of position over the terrain of professionalism and its assumed correlates." In general, teachers have tended to pursue strategies which they identify as "professional" when education has been given increasingly high priority by the state, and turn towards "unionist" orientations when control over teaching has become increasingly visible. Within these general trends, however, it is important to recognize that teachers and governments are often subdivided by various fractions or groupings which have their own distinct positions and strategies. Teachers working under harsh conditions in small isolated schools, for example, are likely to seek immediate militant action to redress their problems in contrast to their organization's long-term strategy to promote a quiet, "professional" image of teaching. Viewed in these terms, professionalism and unionism as expressions of teacher resistance take on a variety of meanings when employed in different contexts by fractions that exist even within a single occupation such as teaching (Ozga and Lawn 1981).

The definition of professionalism, as well as the adoption of professionalism as a strategy, is subject to contestation. Professionalism may signify the cultivation of responsible expertise within a given educational framework, related to what Aronowitz and Giroux call an "accommodating intellectual" position, or it may constitute a basis for

demands to reorganize teaching and the education system in line with clearly formulated political alternatives, related to a "critical intellectual" position (Grace 1987, Lawn 1985). Consequently, under some circumstances appeals to professionalism can be used to subdue teacher militancy or other overt forms of political action. If, for example, professionalism is defined in terms of a worker's autonomy to conduct services based on the responsible application of individual discretion, workers are likely to develop individualized and fragmented responses to changes in the occupation and working environment which may in fact be designed to reduce the worker's autonomy. At the same time, however, inadequate working conditions, wages or status may violate a concept of professional privilege, leading to increased militancy or political activity within the occupation.

The meaning and nature of unionism, like professionalism, vary from one group or situation to another. Unionism may signify teachers' recognition of their status as dependent employees, associated with the embracement of working class consciousness or radical labour strategies. However, unionism also emerges through teachers' concern to gain ~~formal~~ participation in a regulated system of industrial relations. As Lenin (1947) makes clear, the adoption by workers of trade union consciousness is quite distinct from the adoption of counter-hegemonic political alternatives to capitalism. The establishment of trade union practices and collective bargaining procedures constitutes in many ways a closer integration of workers into formal capitalist relations, not a radical alternative to existing social and political structures. Harp and Betcherman (1980) observe, for example, that teacher organization and protest in Ontario have been oriented consistently to economism, or a narrow concern with wages and salaries within existing employment relations. As such, the extension of technical regulation and movement away from personal regulation over teachers may be in part a managerial response to formalize teachers' resistances in such a way as to

leave fundamental education structures and processes intact. Nonetheless, teachers have on occasion responded to the proletarianization of their work through more critical and militant responses. Teachers' organizations like the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec in the 1970s have framed their actions in terms of a clear analysis of their wage labour status and involvement in class relations (Charbonneau 1974, Lawn 1985).

Unionism may signify additionally an attempt to advance the rights of particular segments of the workforce at the cost of other workers. Union leaders and rank and file workers often have divergent interests associated with their positions in workplace hierarchies. This occupational fragmentation is especially noteworthy in occupations with a heavy concentration of women where men in union leadership positions may reinforce male privilege through a favoured position in work and domestic divisions of labour which allows them greater time and access to political channels and provides them with an opportunity to set union agendas and priorities (Gannage 1986). Women's lack of participation in teachers' organizations, for example, is commonly associated in traditional studies of teacher unionism with lack of professional commitment, apathy and the conservatism of teaching (Downie 1978, Lortie 1975, Moskow 1966, Wildman 1971). However, as Ozga (1987) indicates, the apparent apathy of women in teachers' union affairs, expressed through their lack of participation in the more public or ritualistic aspects of union activities such as chairing meetings or holding office, is often a reflection of real or perceived union hostility to women's occupancy of such positions and frequently overshadows the highly active roles played by women in day to day union affairs. The pursuit of sectoral interests and adoption of diverse strategies within teachers' organizations undermines teachers' abilities to engage in transformative struggles even if some teachers are conscious of the need for broad political action based on working class or gender interests.

While teachers' organizations have at times embraced unionism and political action, they have in general tended to adopt a stance of detachment from class-oriented action and union affairs. Cole (1969, 6) observes that the American Federation of Teachers, with the support of the American Federation of Labor, was in the 1960s the "only national labor union to have a no-strike policy." He adds that organized labour actually opposed teacher strikes by virtue of the political nature of such activity and the negative impression that a teacher strike would leave upon other professional, service and clerical workers who were being wooed by the labour movement (Cole 1969, 166-167). On the one occasion between the end of the second World War and 1966 that teachers in the U.K. collected strike notices, teachers in Durham in 1954 overwhelmingly indicated their support for a strike to prevent a "closed shop" policy of compulsory membership in the National Union of Teachers (Roy 1968, 9). In the political sphere, teachers' organizations for the most part have refused adamantly to throw their organizational support behind any particular political party (Roy 1968, 101). This is consistent with an image of professionalism which emphasizes the ability of an occupation to conduct its own affairs unencumbered by bureaucratic hindrances and the need to pay political dues of various sorts. However, teachers' reluctance to engage in partisan politics indicates also their sensitivity to political control and to the volatile nature of educational matters. Created by the state, the teaching profession has constantly had to wrestle with the state to gain any input into the governance of the profession and the direction of educational policy (Grace 1987, Parry and Parry 1974, Tropp 1957).

Teachers have at various times and places exhibited characteristics indicative of each of the four positions outlined by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985). The definition and employment of these aims and strategies have varied in accordance with the level of political organization of the teaching

force and the ways in which teaching has been regulated by and through the state. Of particular interest is the general tendency for teachers to adopt accommodative rather than transformative strategies without extinguishing their potential to become transformative intellectuals. I contend that the variation in regulation over teaching and teachers' political responses is a reflection of the dual orientation of teaching as reproductive work containing productive and moral/subjective dimensions. Historical materialist analysis can elucidate the processes by which teachers and the state are involved in the periodic conceptualization and transformation of teaching as reproductive labour through the general framework outlined at the end of chapter two. I will now comment briefly on how changing historical patterns of social reproduction can be linked to the analysis of state regulation over public school teachers and teachers' collective resistance. Subsequent chapters offer a substantiation of the relationships among regulation, resistance and reproduction with reference to each of the six phases of teacher-state relations in British Columbia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

THE CONTESTED DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER-STATE RELATIONS

It is important, in understanding the development of teaching, to recognize the dual orientation of the occupation to moral/subjective and productive purposes which subject teaching to contradictory pressures from within and outside the occupation. Within a general tendency in the development of capitalist societies towards the rationalization of socially reproductive processes, teachers and other social agents or groupings attempt, through the state, to mould teaching in specific directions for particular purposes, providing a continuous interplay between shifting forms of regulation and resistance.

The rise of mass public schooling in the late nineteenth century involved the replacement, expansion or integration of existing schools, which served divergent purposes for specific classes or religious groups, into a single state-governed system of education concerned with the constitution of persons as political subjects in an emergent bourgeois, democratic social formation. Schooling provided a common base of experience for children to overcome the fragmented nature of work and household life. State authorities defined teaching as a "duty," subject to personal regulation in and out of the classroom, in order to ensure that teachers, like "good parents," had the strong moral discipline and proper habits in order to perform their socially important tasks of stabilizing and acculturating a transient, changing population (Corrigan, Curtis and Lanning 1987). As long as a supply of ideal, morally upright and legitimately schooled, and therefore politically "safe," teachers - primarily men to ensure that the paternalistic interests of school system authorities were properly maintained - could be produced, school promoters required little direct control over teaching. However, a variety of factors, including economic and political limitations to the establishment of stable schools in many localities and differential labour force opportunities for men and women, contributed to slow, uneven growth of the school system and a feminized teaching force by the end of the nineteenth century. The absence of an ideal highly trained, morally reliable teaching force led school promoters to increase personal control over teachers' lives as well as to introduce technical regulatory measures to specify what and how teachers could teach. Except for teachers in larger schools or urban school districts, especially the most highly educated and better-paid male teachers who had opportunities to develop their sense of occupational solidarity, most teachers could not engage in organized resistance because of the strong patriarchal and paternalistic control of school authorities and the isolation of teachers in widely scattered school districts.

Industrial development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced conditions which increased the social importance of and made the organization of teaching and schooling subject to demands for productivity and efficiency. Mass public schooling was oriented to produce a population which stood simultaneously as a political unity and a differentiated pool of workers and subjects. The size and social significance of formal educational endeavours grew relative to the household while the nature of household work and commodity markets was transformed with the emergence of capitalist industrial development. Goods and services that could once be produced within the household were subject to commodification through mass production or, as with education and health care services, to organization within the state. These transitions potentially freed some household members (mostly women and older children) from work in the home while all persons became increasingly more dependent on the wage form in order to purchase commodified consumer goods and services. Larger numbers of women who required employment were channelled, by sexist or restrictive ideologies and practices which favoured male opportunity, into careers in teaching and related fields such as health care which tended to be extensions of "woman's role" in the household but which also provided certain options for independence and status that were otherwise closed to young women from working and middle class backgrounds (Armstrong 1984, 52; Danylewycz, Light and Prentice 1987). Tensions which had previously characterized teaching were exacerbated as schooling increasingly assumed from the household a "mothering role" associated with the disciplining, socialization and care of children as well as a vocational role associated with training for new industrial occupations. The former task, considered by school authorities as an extension of home "duties" deserving low pay and status, was performed in elementary schools by increasing numbers of women who entered teaching; the latter, combined with the overarching school function of providing social

stability, tended to be reserved for better paid and higher status male school administrators and teachers in the senior grades (Gaskell and McLaren 1987, 21-28; Hearn 1982; Prentice 1977b, 108-109). Amidst differential treatment and teaching conditions, teachers began to organize in order to respond collectively to contradictory pressures related to the interplay of conflicting industrial, economic and political agendas within the school system. Senior male teachers adopted strategies for teacher professionalism which would upgrade the status of the occupation and allow teachers greater input into the determination of educational practices while teachers in subordinate teaching positions and isolated and economically unstable districts had more immediate concerns to ameliorate undesirable living and working conditions.

Strains within the teaching force and problems arising from the regulation of teachers appeared to be tempered with the rise of the post-World War II welfare state as schooling gained prominence as a legitimate social institution and credentialing agency in a context of overall economic growth. Teachers, under the guise of a quiet, socially-responsible form of professionalism which did not interrupt stable educational relations, were freed from much of the direct personal regulation which characterized their work earlier in the century, as they gained increased autonomy in the classroom and greater formal recognition of their rights to improved status, higher wages, and collective bargaining procedures. These conditions were also associated with an influx into the occupation of more highly educated career-oriented teachers, predominantly men, reinforcing the gender division of labour and other cleavages in teaching and contributing to conflicting occupational strategies. By the late 1960s, when it became apparent that the state was not providing the educational and occupational conditions to which many teachers believed they were entitled, the strains within teaching and between teachers and the state

were fought on a more openly political and industrial terrain. The expansion of education in the 1950s and 1960s promised a general convergence between teacher and state interests within the post-war framework of economic growth. However, even the apparent similarity of interests was underscored by divergent goals. The common notion of a widespread consensus that prevailed in post-World War II educational relations in advanced industrial nations allowed the state to regulate teaching through a trade-off between restricted wage scales and professional concessions for teachers (Finn, Grant and Johnson 1977, 167). Coates (1972, 41) makes this clear in his discussion of the altered significance of a public sector wage regulative agency (the Burnham Committee) as the economic course changed directions:

Machinery created to plan a socially just structure of prices and incomes in an expanding economy became, in a period of economic retrenchment, a mechanism of wages control rigidly enforced in the Burnham Committee, whilst applied with dwindling rigour to the private sector.

In their search for an appropriate response to a relative decline in their power and income in the late 1960s, teachers were pressured by state spokespersons to make a decisive choice between trade unionist militancy and professional self-government.

Fiscal crisis and the reorganization of state priorities beginning in the late 1960s produced an extension of technical regulation over teachers, which was met by an initial flurry of teacher militancy. As state services became rationalized and centralized, teachers and other public sector employees struggled with more appropriate, enduring political responses. The economic and social importance of schooling had provided teachers with relatively favourable conditions, compared to other workers, which they did not want to jeopardize by encouraging the wrath of governments and publics. However, the reorganization of educational administrative practices and school programs was moving in a direction that many teachers identified as being contrary to their role as educators in a democratic, individually-

oriented school system. Measures to further transform education and intensify technical regulation over teaching to generate an efficient, economically-responsive school system have been extended amidst the restructuring of capital in the 1980s. As people's everyday lives and future orientations are affected by these changes, state and corporate officials have been concerned increasingly to regulate civil society and social life in order to promote stable "adjustment" to emergent political and economic patterns. Paradoxically, an ethic of individual responsibility and market competitiveness has emerged at the same time as greater rational coordination of social and economic life is underway at national and transnational levels. While the lives of all persons in and out of the labour force are becoming affected by official state and employer sponsored programs directed at individual lifestyle and fitness, sexual responsibility, and healthy family practices, teachers and other reproductive workers are most highly subject to personal regulation to ensure their fitness to perform their work responsibilities as well as their duties as guardians of the public safety and morality. Although teachers have become more sophisticated in meeting these changes through overt recognition of their dual status as employees and professionals, their organizational energies have tended to be directed at accommodating to rather than proposing alternatives to new educational structures.

What follows is a test of this general framework of reproduction, regulation and resistance. The six periods of teacher-state relations in British Columbia are discussed in chapters four through nine.

**CHAPTER FOUR - THE CREATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF A PROVINCIAL TEACHING
FORCE: FROM SUBORDINATE PARTNERS TO DEPENDENT EMPLOYEES, 1821-1900**

This chapter examines the development of British Columbia's teaching force in the nineteenth century. The chapter analyzes two transformations - one the creation of a relatively autonomous state-centered public school teaching force during the demise of colonial rule in the 1860s, and the other a shift to a highly regulated occupation constituted as dependent employment amidst pressures for industrial development starting in the late 1870s. The first transformation was driven by bourgeois reformers' desire for a strong teaching force of university-educated men who had the skill and moral authority to create out of a heterogeneous population of immigrants and colonial subjects a new order with a unified political purpose. The second transformation signified a compromise of the reformers' vision under a fluctuating provincial economy and widespread skepticism about the need for public schooling. Under these conditions, consistent with the findings of Apple (1986) in the United States and Danylewycz, Light and Prentice (1987) in Ontario and Quebec, there existed in British Columbia by the turn of the century two streams of teachers, with one composed of relatively highly educated career-oriented men and the other of women classroom teachers with low formal educational credentials. This bifurcation of the teaching force, I argue, both hastened and was a consequence of increasing state regulation over teaching as both a moral/subjective and productive enterprise.

The creation and regulation of teaching did not emerge simply as the result of benevolent state interests in social progress, as traditional views of teaching and schooling suggest (e.g., Phillips 1957). Nor was teaching strictly a product of economic needs for a competent, disciplined industrial

work force as critical writers like Bowles and Gintis (1976), Katz (1968) and Schecter (1977) contend. Even as British Columbia began to develop a strong industrial base at the end of the nineteenth century, industrial interests expressed little direct interest in and even antipathy towards the school system. Rather, as Bruce Curtis (1983, 1988) argues, the rise of public schools and school teaching was accomplished through the efforts of bourgeois reformers in constructing a stable base of political rule amidst a class, gender and racially diverse population. Schooling, organized in the public sphere, could contribute to new forms of social reproduction by producing subjects who were internally disciplined to accept the legitimacy of the bourgeois order. Class and gender distinctions which prevailed in the household and workplace were not fully abandoned but reoriented to accommodate bourgeois relations of property and authority. Consequently, state officials were concerned to select and personally regulate teachers to ensure their "safe" moral character and commitment to educational goals.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, state authorities, increasingly sensitive to industrial economic priorities, reinforced personal regulation with an array of formal paperwork and other technical requirements which highlighted teachers' status as dependent employees. With teachers often working in isolated regions under the tight regime of regulation, little organized resistance was possible although regular teacher supervision was also difficult. However, the career teachers who held higher formal credentials and possessed an affinity with bourgeois reformers, attempted to organize to offset their loss of influence, status and occupational benefits in a technically reorganized school system. By the end of the century a combination of factors, including state regulation of teaching, economic and political compromises, and the political actions of the senior teachers had reinforced an enduring occupational split between senior, qualified male teachers and female classroom teachers in elementary

schools.

COMPANY AND COLONY, 1821-1869

Social reproduction in early nineteenth century British Columbia involved the maintenance of strongly-defined hierarchical patterns of class, gender and ethnicity. Little formal schooling was offered in the territory that was to become British Columbia until after the emergence of what one writer depicts as "the company province" as the post-1821 fur trading hegemony of the Company was translated into governance and British colonial rule over Vancouver Island in 1849 and the British Columbia mainland in 1858 (Robin 1972, 13-14).

Education was offered primarily through family and religious spheres in order to ensure that each child grew up immersed in the expectations of his or her lot in life. The centrality of the Hudson's Bay Company to life in the northern Pacific and northwest regions of North America was evident in the region's social structure. The highest political and social status was reserved for company officials and representatives of the British crown, with many privileges extended to their wives and children. Ranking lower in the social hierarchy were shipping and trading post officials, followed by company employees, Indian trappers, and other native people (Bourgeault 1983). The transient population of a fur-based economy was not amenable to schooling, but Company Rules and Regulations of 1836 encouraged fathers to provide fundamental education for their children in leisure hours, and several fur traders extended to their children principles for the development of "morality" and "habits of industry" (Ormsby 1958, 52; Johnson 1964, 15).

The company also provided aid to sectarian missions for both general "civilizing" work within the aboriginal and non-native populations. With Britain's declaration in 1849 of colonial status for the island territory,

the company secured a chaplain-schoolmaster to establish and operate a boarding school for the children of its officers, while a Roman Catholic mission provided schooling for the children of the company's French Canadian labourers (Johnson 1964, 16-17). The introduction of schooling until the 1860s was accomplished with the aid of men, and occasionally women, teachers whose own worthy educational backgrounds and social statuses assured a mercantilist and colonial elite that formal education would reinforce the existing social hierarchies.

Two factors in particular contributed to the initial expansion of educational provision beyond these modest beginnings. First, the extension of settlement throughout the American west prompted British authorities to hasten the development of colonization in the British Columbia and Vancouver Island territories. Second, the stagnation and subsequent demise of the fur trade industry necessitated a quest for economic diversification which was spurred on by the discovery of gold in the Fraser Valley in 1858.

Colonial development, and especially the gold rush, opened the colonies to new classes of entrepreneurs, fortune-seekers and settlers who did not fit readily into the company-centered hierarchy. Colonial authorities promoted rudimentary schooling, often offered by religious denominations, to manage the growing population. James Douglas, who in 1851 assumed the dual role of Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor of Vancouver Island, urged the provision of elementary schooling to facilitate social stability and economic development. Schools for "children of the labouring and poor classes," Douglas argued, could instill "'a proper moral and religious training' and prevent children from 'growing up in ignorance and the utter neglect of all their duties to God and to Society'" (Ormsby 1958, 114). In 1852 and 1853, three colonial schools opened, financed by a combination of government and company grants and annual tuition fees paid by parents (Ormsby 1958, 114-115; Phillips 1957, 159).

A wide range of schools and school programs operated in the years immediately following colonization, dedicated to serve particular sponsoring interests. By the 1860s, approximately eleven pupils were enrolled in denominational or private schools for every four enrolled in colonial schools (Johnson 1964, 30). Roman Catholic and Anglican denominational schools and other private schools exerted a strong influence in the colonies until the 1870s, Christianizing the population and ensuring the colonies a core supply of good British subjects. All schools in the colonies were intended to promote virtues of Christian dedication, moral discipline, and obedience to authority, along with basic knowledge deemed crucial by the various school operators.

The colonial model assumed that social stability was dependent upon a hierarchical class structure (Barman 1984, 6-7). Explicit class, gender and racial divisions were maintained in a number of ways. Segregated boarding schools, differential fee rates within the Hudson's Bay Company private school, the development of distinct common, private and denominational schools, and the tailoring of special programs for the unique "needs" of native children and future "wives and mothers" all contributed to overt and distinct patterns of social differentiation (Johnson 1964, 20-21).

Teachers in colonial schools were mostly men of British origin or the wives of teachers and other colonial officials. The teachers were appointed, paid and subject to scrutiny by company and government authorities. However, teachers in the colonial schools, as in denominational schools, carried a relatively high social status on account of their formal educational backgrounds and personal selection by colonial officials. Once approved to teach, teachers had authority to set programs and conduct school affairs. Teachers' own backgrounds determined the lessons they taught as pupils were tutored in basic subjects like reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, and religious instruction insofar as textbooks and other resources

permitted. Teachers were able to charge pupils for boarding, based on fees set by the colonial council for children of colonists and Hudson's Bay Company employees and negotiated by parents and teachers for other children. Nonetheless, teachers' financial security was not assured. In 1854, for example, school master Robert Barr's personal expenditures involved in preparing the schoolhouse for occupancy exceeded his income by over thirty-six pounds, and the schoolmaster at Craigflower, one of the first colonial schools, resigned in 1861 on account of an inadequate salary (Vancouver Island 1853, 12; Vancouver Island 1854, 13-14; Vancouver Island 1861b, 331).

Teachers and other school promoters faced a major problem in generalized indifference to schooling within the community. The earliest school inspector's reports contain accounts of deficiencies in provisions of books and other materials, uneven curricular offerings, irregular attendance, and high levels of pupil attrition, including an expulsion "for immoral conduct" and several pupil withdrawals "on account of the state of the weather" (Phillips 1957, 159). Public opposition to schooling mounted when fees and other levies were collected.

These difficulties reflected in large part the class composition of a staples economy, and encouraged the most ardent educational advocates - primarily newspaper owners and other representatives of an emergent local bourgeois class - to campaign for a system of free public schooling (Barman 1986, 245-246; Warburton 1986, 214). The vulnerable resource-based economy was highly dependent upon foreign markets and stable access to supplies of raw materials and labour power. Robin (1972, 15) cites a colonial occupational census which reported "2,300 persons in mining, 1,800 agriculture, 1,300 trade, and only 400 in manufacturing" as late as 1870-71. While colonial officials like Governor Douglas encouraged settlement, British authorities in general were more concerned with protecting their territory,

and other interested parties, especially the hordes of gold seekers after 1858, were dedicated primarily to the quick extraction of resources and fortunes. In this context, support for schools and other state-building enterprises was uneven, confined for different reasons to colonial leaders, bourgeois interests, school teachers, and new settlers who desired "common schools" along the lines of schools established in eastern regions of the continent.

In 1860, Governor Douglas announced to the Vancouver Island House of Assembly that public education would play an increasing role in colonial development as the Hudson's Bay Company severed its ties with the colony. Greater public support was required for schooling, especially to allow for due recognition of teachers. Douglas suggested that teachers would be prominent officials in the colony, and observed that,

the teachers' salaries are disproportionately small for their station in life, and inadequate in amount for their support in a decent position. . . . A larger salary, by making the office desirable, will secure efficiency & high attainments in the teachers, and, with respect to the existing schools, may, by an increase of fees, be allowed without adding to the public burdens (Vancouver Island 1860, 156).

Despite these high ideals, the colonial government and the Hudson's Bay Company were reticent to provide sufficient funding for the schools as long as concern for economic development prevailed. Education funding for the Vancouver Island colony was 450 pounds out of a total budget of over nineteen thousand pounds in 1861, while in 1864 funding for education in the combined colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia had only risen to five hundred pounds in a total budget of over 108 thousand pounds (British Columbia 1864, 182; Vancouver Island 1861a, 442).

Bourgeois reformers' demands for a strong common school system organized in the public sphere rather than under the control of sectarian and British colonial authority reinforces the view that the origins of public schooling lay more in political and social than purely economic purposes (B. Curtis

1983). Support for public education was declared prominently in the columns of newspaper editors Amor de Cosmos on the Island and John Robson on the mainland (Johnson 1964, 26-30). A single system of publicly funded, non-denominational schooling organized in accordance with school systems in eastern Canada and the United States would stabilize and Canadianize a local population which was otherwise susceptible to British and, increasingly, American domination. The new business and commercial class saw in the development of an independent Canadian-based settlement a source of resources and markets which could be expanded by promoting relatively untapped east-west Canadian connections. Schools would remove children from the fragmenting effects of colonial and sectarian authority in order to create a new political unity amenable to national political and economic development. At the same time, agitation for free non-denominational schooling was mounting from parents who did not want to or could not pay fees and hesitated to expose their children to Anglican or Catholic dogma (Barman 1986).

With new demands and possibilities raised by increased settlement and an expanded range of economic activities, the reformers eventually prevailed. In late 1863, the Vancouver Island House of Assembly struck a committee on education. Appointed by the new governor, A.E. Kennedy, who was sympathetic to the principles of non-sectarian schools, the committee was composed of members like William Fraser Tolmie and Israel Wood Powell who would later play important roles in the development of British Columbia as a Canadian province (Johnson 1971, 43, 50). The committee, which reported back to the house in 1864, recommended the establishment of a system of non-sectarian common schools, "conducted by thoroughly competent trained teachers wherein the physical, intellectual and moral training would be such as to make the Schools attractive to all classes of the people" (Vancouver Island 1864, 208-209). The committee's recommendations constituted the basis for An Act respecting Common Schools (or the Common School Act), which was introduced

shortly after presentation of the report and passed by the colonial assembly in 1865.

It is important to recognize the Common School Act as a political measure introduced by legislative reformers whose long term goal was independence from the British crown and the creation of a new state linked to eastern Canada (see Shelton, 1967, for details of events and debates surrounding British Columbia's entry into confederation). In this context, schooling was valued as a device to create new categories of publics and interests outside of the rigid hierarchical distinctions which prevailed under colonial and denominational authority. Teachers, in the eyes of the reformers, were agents who could guide social change, but only under assurance that the teachers were loyal to the reformers' cause. Consequently, the reform agenda required a state-centered educational authority, even if for the moment that authority was the colonial governor.

The Common School Act set the terms for a highly centralized free school system with distinct channels of authority flowing from the governor, who was to appoint a superintendent, a nine person General Board, local boards, and persons "he shall think fit" to be teachers. The General Board was entrusted with school property, and empowered to select and prescribe courses of study, disciplinary procedures, and textbooks, as well as to order and direct the duties of teachers. Approved books were suitable if they could inculcate "the highest morality" but were to be non-denominational in character. The Board was also responsible for setting and directing the duties of teachers. The Superintendent of Education would assist the Board and visit and report on each school (MacLaurin 1936, 49; Vancouver Island 1865, 302).

While school reformers saw in a single school system the possibility to encompass greater public support and a broader clientele than had been attained by colonial and private schools, in practice the public had little input or inclination to support such a system. While Barman (1986) argues

that common schooling was widely supported among the population, she fails to recognize the class character of the school promoters. As Phillips (1957, 160-161) observes, the new school system remained a vestige of corporate paternalism rather than a triumph of popular demand:

Although the attainment of free schools, even temporarily, provided educational benefits remarkable in a colony founded only sixteen years before, it should be observed that the action was taken not by the people but by a government formerly associated with a powerful company. . . . All that the people had been asked to do, formerly, was to pay fees if they had children. With the exception of certain efforts made by the residents of the district of Esquimault, there was no direct co-operative action of citizens locally to take control and pay the cost of education.

On the mainland colony of British Columbia, a greater extent of public participation was evident. Several residents of New Westminster, organized around the vehicle of John Robson's newspaper, the British Columbian, worked to persuade colonial authorities to establish a publicly-supported common school in the early 1860s. As on the island, schooling was intended to prepare the British Columbia colony for eventual stable political rule based on bourgeois sensibilities and rooted in European experience. To serve the existing population, listed by the British Columbian in 1865 as 8,000 whites, 3,000 Chinese and 50,000 Indians, and prepare the way for an anticipated white-dominated society, the New Westminster common school opened in 1863, supported by parent fees and governed by a provisional committee of locally-appointed citizens (MacLaurin 1936, 59-62; Johnson 1964, 33). The approved duties of the committee were similar in scope to the General Board on Vancouver Island, with some evident differences; although the committee was given no specified authority over the course of studies, it did have the power to dismiss a teacher "for inefficiency or immorality" [the terms of which were not declared] (MacLaurin 1936, 61-62). As in the colonial and denominational schools, teachers could be allowed relative autonomy to conduct school affairs if their personal worthiness, as determined by their compatibility with bourgeois reform goals, could be assured.

In both colonies, however, the delivery of educational services was governed by more than the intentions of the participants. The colonial economy was devastated by the sudden collapse of the gold mining industry in 1866. Within several months of the legislative commitment to build a public school system, the operation of most schools was in jeopardy. In the summer of 1866, teachers along with the Superintendent of Education, the clerk of the assembly, and the clerk of the post master and harbour master were informed by the governor of the Vancouver Island colony that they were not likely to be paid their salaries after August 31 of that year because of fiscal exigency. In the context of economic crisis, school board meeting attendance waned, teachers went unpaid or were paid late for their services, and schools were closed to such an extent that by 1869, as much as ninety percent of the school age population did not attend any school (Johnson 1964, 36-37; MacLaurin 1936, 55-56; Vancouver Island 1866, 226-227). The colonies united in 1866 in an effort to economize and lessen the effects of recession, but the school system was left at least temporarily in a state of uncertainty.

STATE FORMATION, 1869-1878

Colonial unity provided school promoters with an opportunity to reassert their support for a stable system of common schools staffed by formally educated teachers sympathetic to the eventual goal of gaining provincehood for British Columbia. However, fluctuating political and economic conditions repeatedly jeopardized the integrity of that vision. Between 1869 and the late 1870s, the development of teaching and the school system was beset by two sets of tensions. First, bourgeois reformers had to contend with both the recalcitrance of the colonial administration and economic development priorities. Second, advancement of the agenda for a post-colonial state

required both centralized political authority (including control over schooling) and broad participation to secure public support for the new state institutions. The interplay of these tensions resulted in the development of a teaching force recruited as subordinate partners in the bourgeois project but subject to increasing regulation and fragmentation as the territory's ability to provide a strong public school system became jeopardized.

Frederick Seymour, who assumed the governorship of the united colony of British Columbia in 1866, was opposed to extensive government involvement in a public education system. Contrary to the designs held by school promoters like Robson and de Cosmos for a vital, state operated system free from sectarian control and substance, Seymour believed that free common schooling would cause the masses to become fiscally irresponsible and dissatisfied with their plight in life. With government's role restricted to providing limited funding for denominations and other agencies to conduct school operations, colony schools were plagued by fiscal insecurity in the late 1860s. In Victoria, for example, the schools remained open into 1868 by virtue of funds raised through a public benefit concert (Higgins 1967, 27; Johnson 1964, 36-37; Johnson 1971, 54, 57; Phillips 1957, 161-162).

A new piece of legislation, the Common School Ordinance of 1869, reflected tensions between the school promoters and colonial and religious authorities who opposed free, non-sectarian common schools. To ensure a firm guiding hand over the school system, the ordinance extended the high degree of centralized paternalistic authority which was established by the 1865 Common School Act. The Governor in Council which directed the united colony's legislative assembly was given virtually free rein over the education system, which in 1869 was composed of nine schools open to children between the ages of five and eighteen. The legislation empowered the government to create school districts, allocate school grants, appoint, examine and remove teachers, inspect the schools, administer school lands,

and make rules and regulations for the management and operation of the schools. The legislation also enabled the government to establish elected local school boards. However, public participation was intended primarily to facilitate the government's work in each school district. School boards were to manage school property and collect through money by-laws a yearly tax of two dollars per adult resident in order to supplement the annual state grant of five hundred dollars per teacher (Johnson 1964, 37; Johnson 1971, 59; MacLaurin 1936, 98-102, 121).

The new act was less specific on the content of the school program, although the government was empowered to scrutinize textbooks to ensure that they were "of a proper non sectarian character" while teachers appointed by the government were to be examined "as well as regards efficiency as character." An amendment to the act a year later reinforced these last provisions. It emphasized the principle and practice of non-sectarianism and outlined the appointment of two new bodies - a board of examiners to examine teachers in order to grant certificates of competency, and a school inspector to file an annual report based on the regular examination of teachers and pupils. The inspector's duties concerned assessment of "the management, character, efficiency, and general condition" of the schools, and of "the character and qualifications of the Teachers" (cited in MacLaurin 1936, 103). The amendment further tightened provisions to ensure that school funds would be collected locally.

Several points of note are to be seen in this early legislation which was to set the foundation for twentieth century schooling in British Columbia. Schooling, linking state and community, was itself to be stabilized within the emergent bourgeois state in order to serve as a socially stabilizing force. While non-sectarian in nature, schooling emphasized high moral standards. Teachers were appointed by, and the nature of the occupation was defined by, the state. Johnson (1964, 39) observes

dryly that the legislation "added the rather heavy obligation of sanctity to the manifold duties of teachers."

In practice, teachers retained considerable discretion over daily classroom affairs. Because few people in the growing towns where schools were located possessed formal educational credentials, the teaching force of educated men and a few women who were wives and daughters of educated men shared relatively high levels of occupational discretion and social status with other respectable, educated citizens like doctors, ministers and merchants (MacLaurin 1936). Nonetheless, the teacher's position as moral guardian employed by the state left the teacher's personal conduct and "character" both in and out of the classroom open to the disciplinary authority of school officials.

In addition to providing for the personal regulation of teachers, the 1869 school legislation, through the introduction of formalized procedures such as exam-based teacher certification and school inspection, made possible the technical regulation and proletarianization of teachers. Procedures for reporting on schools and examining teachers and pupils facilitated the systematization of school practices by allowing for the emergence of normative standards. The appointment of the state school inspector signified a growing central presence inside each classroom, even if only for very short intervals at any given time. Teachers were constituted as subordinate partners in the state-building enterprise, with steps outlined by legislation to ensure that teachers remained loyal, trustworthy and capable of working under conditions set by the government.

Initially, the intricacies of state regulation over the education system were overshadowed by a sharp decline in the resource-dependent British Columbia economy in 1869-70 (Phillips 1967a, 58-59). In 1870, the government reduced its school grants to \$480 per district, with the result that several municipalities created smaller new school districts in order to gain access

to state funding. The New Westminster council, for example, claimed that it could not operate its schools on less than \$480 per school, and when its request for additional funds was denied by the government, the council quickly established a neighbouring school district at Sapperton (British Columbia 1870, 146, 148). Consequently, the school system came to be composed of a number of smaller school districts which were financially unstable, each of which required funds to build and maintain school houses and hire teachers. In addition, in the towns and cities, the legislation had given local educational authority to municipal councils which often had little interest in or commitment to educational matters. Local educational fund-raising efforts were often severely inadequate, particularly in New Westminster and Victoria. Unable to raise essential funds, school authorities were faced with the choice of closing schools or compromising their stringent criteria to hire and supervise teachers to staff and maintain the schools.

The most noteworthy illustration of the depth of school problems was in Victoria. In 1869, the local council was remiss in levying and collecting taxes as residents refused to surrender a \$2.00 per head tax in support of education. At the end of the year, six months after enactment of the Common School Ordinance, the lack of school funds left Victoria teachers well short of the wages to which they were entitled. The Governor and the Colonial Secretary, at the request of the colonial school inspector, urged the local board to collect the school funds and pay teachers the arrears. While the government authorities threatened to withhold the 1870 grant to the Victoria school board, they took no further action, claiming that the colonial government did not have adequate funds to pay teachers directly and expressing fears that intervention in local affairs and entitlement for teachers to seek government aid would set dangerous precedents. In a similar manner, after the Victoria school board prepared to summon before a

magistrate all persons who refused to pay the school tax, the board chairman revealed that payment would not be enforced. The matter was unresolved after a year of inaction when, in the fall of 1870, teachers in the Victoria school left their jobs. The two men who walked out advised the community of their situation through a notice in the Victoria Daily British Colonist:

We the teachers of the public school for Victoria City and District, finding it impossible to continue teaching, in consequence of the non payment of the monies due to us for our services, are reluctantly obliged to close the School till such time as proper provision shall be made for punctual payment of our salaries.

Eighteen months have elapsed since the new School Ordinance became law, during which time we have only received from all sources six months' pay. We deem this explanation necessary under the circumstances; and believe that a discriminating public will not censure us for taking a step which is unavoidable (Jessop and Burr 1870, 2).

The school, which in 1870 had 125 pupils on the register, remained closed for a two year period (British Columbia 1870, 148; MacLaurin 1936, 122-124; Playfair 1949, 77).

The instigator of the teachers' strike, John Jessop, had strong personal ambitions which he conveyed through a decisive commitment to the development of a sound education system (see Johnson, 1971, for details of Jessop's varied background and career experiences). Jessop was trained by Egerton Ryerson, who was a central figure in the development of the public school system in Ontario. Although Jessop applied for the position of school inspector and was rejected by the colonial administration in April, 1870, in the midst of the impasse at Victoria, his importance to the British Columbia education system would within a decade come to rival Ryerson's influence in Ontario (British Columbia 1870, 149).

Jessop's role in the Victoria school closure signifies the uncertain state of formal education in 1870. Schooling and teaching, while promoted within the state-building endeavour, were not so firmly established and indispensable as to be protected from fiscal exigencies and civic neglect. The teachers, paid from public funds, were expected to be entrepreneurs to

promote and protect the common school system. The teachers did receive some words of public support for their action. The school inspector, for example, expressed surprise that teachers did not act more quickly to close the school under the circumstances. An editorial in the Victoria newspaper agreed with the teachers' decision, especially in light of the "shameful treatment" they received from the board and widespread public misinformation which made it appear that the teachers were acting upon unwarranted grievances; nonetheless, the paper was most concerned about the fact that children would be left to roam the streets because of the school closure (Victoria Daily British Colonist 1870, 2). The further development of schooling amidst school closures and low public commitment to formal education was contingent upon both the renewed economic strength of the colony and the ability of teachers and other school promoters to operate schools in a socially attractive, efficient manner.

In recognition of the continuing weakness of the colonial economy combined with the sustained efforts of commercial and entrepreneurial interests towards state-building, British Columbia entered confederation with Canada in 1871. The promise of a transcontinental railway linking British Columbia with eastern Canada suggested an unprecedented growth in commerce, trade links, and population for the new province.

Such growth, when it came, proved to be highly uneven. The resource-based development which formed the backbone of the provincial economy was cyclical in nature, dependent upon the relative status of commodities like gold, coal, timber, and fish. Although some industries, like coastal fishing, placer mining, and agriculture, could be developed with little capital outlay, long-range economic success in most industries required considerable capital investment and coordination; production was geared to extraction of raw materials or limited processing for export markets, and investment by large British, Canadian and especially American

companies prevailed (Robin 1972, 18-19). Periodic recessions and expansion of the scale of production contributed to a steady concentration and consolidation of industry in fewer hands.

Federal and provincial governments, frequently acting on behalf of or at the behest of corporate interests, facilitated this process. The large enterprises required both an accessible labour force and an infrastructure of transportation and service facilities. Some companies, like the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, solved their temporary labour force needs by importing a cheap, disposable work force from Asia. However, employers also sought a more skilled or permanent labour force as well as local consumers for commodities. Bourgeois interests, therefore, promoted longer term immigration from the United States, eastern Canada, and Britain. Governments fulfilled these demands through such measures as granting land and financial aid to various transportation, utility and resource companies, and creating favourable policies for immigration and economic and social development. Most conspicuous in these affairs was the Canadian Pacific Railway Company which served as a colonizing agent through ownership of transportation and communications facilities and which was by 1914 the beneficiary of six million acres of timber land granted by the crown (Robin 1972, 21).

One of the major social consequences of this pattern of development was the emergence of a highly segmented class structure. By far the largest share of economic activity was concentrated within and directed by a distant bourgeoisie and its local representatives, and by trade and commercial interests based in the province. The majority of productive work, in turn, was carried out by a large, employed work force, with about 7,000 out of over 12,000 census-classified workers employed in industry. Interspersed within the labouring classes were pockets of workers, notably native peoples and Asian migrants, who came increasingly to be considered superfluous to ongoing economic activity, in part by the vested interests of workers concerned for

their own jobs and income levels, as well as by employers who might otherwise have to support their welfare. There also existed a regional distribution of independent commodity producers and family enterprises in industries like farming and small-scale mining and fishing. Finally, about one-seventh of the total British Columbia labour force was employed by 1881 in non-manual work in managerial, professional, clerical, and service occupations (Canada 1884, 327; Warburton and Coburn 1983, 8-9). All of these groupings had divergent interests not only in economic affairs, but also in social and political development.

This combination of factors had a contradictory effect on the development of social enterprises like public schooling. Although there were concentrations of population around Victoria and the lower mainland, population was widely scattered around the rest of the province. For much of the population, school was an unwanted intrusion into family life, especially when children's time could be engaged more fruitfully in domestic chores or productive tasks (Jones 1979, 163). Much of the population consisted of single males who had no direct interest in schooling. According to the 1881 census, males constituted nearly thirty thousand of the province's 49,459 residents (Canada 1882, 94-95). However, members of the ruling elite, and professional classes which included experienced teachers, favoured education as a means to harness the energies of the growing frontier population into "socially efficient citizenship" within the segmented social structure (Dunn 1979). With proper "surveillance" over pupils, school classes which contained both boys and girls of similar age groupings would have a tempering effect on the "boisterousness" which characterized a rugged, male-dominated society (British Columbia Public Schools Report, PSR 1875, 81-82). Public schools, in other words, could be promoted on the basis of their advantage to provide a disciplined common social purpose for a heterogeneous population.

Government plans for education were conveyed in The Public Schools Act,

enacted by the new province in 1872 to consolidate its jurisdiction over education. At the time of confederation, British Columbia had twenty-one schools which served about one thousand pupils, estimated to little more than one-fifth of eligible school age children (Statistics Canada 1971, 18). As the Victoria school closure had so dramatically revealed, promotion and stability were essential elements of effective educational policy. The Public Schools Act acknowledged the significance of these tasks by providing for central provincial control, local district participation, and the appointment of state officials who would actively coordinate and promote the school system. The school act maintained the highly centralized character and many of the major provisions of the colonial school legislation which it replaced, but it was more specific regarding the duties of school authorities, public commitment to school financing, and the role of public participation. The act did not contain specific provisions concerning either tuition fees or compulsory school attendance, although later amendments abolished the former and instituted the latter (MacLaurin 1936, 140). The provincial government assumed responsibility for educational finance, providing grants to districts to cover the costs of teacher salaries, school facilities, and the operation of the schools. The role of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was limited primarily to the creation and financing of new school districts and the appointment of a six person Board of Education which was empowered to make most of the decisions concerning the schools. Public input was emphasized in each district through the election for three year terms of a three person board of trustees whose initial duties were to oversee and report on the physical operation of schools.

The pivotal official in the education system, though, was to be a single Superintendent of Education who would serve as chairman of the central Board of Education. The Superintendent was required to hold a first class teaching certificate and have at least five years of successful teaching experience

(MacLaurin 1936, 135). The position, authorized by the Board of Education, carried with it the power "to licence teachers, appoint them, pay them, inspect them, determine what they should teach and from what textbooks, and decide what holidays they should have" (Johnson 1964, 45). Teachers, possessing teaching skills, educational credentials and strong moral character were incorporated into a distinct educational hierarchy under the paternalistic guidance of a state official with a background as a competent teacher.

John Jessop, who first became prominent in the Victoria teachers' strike and who had helped to draft the Public Schools Act, was named the first Superintendent. With facilitative legislation and school financing arrangements in place, Jessop eagerly proceeded to develop a far-reaching and unified school system in accordance with the principles of a non-sectarian public morality (Johnson 1979).

Jessop reinforced schooling's importance to the reproduction of a politically unified but heterogeneous society with an emphasis on compulsion and duty. He emphasized schooling as a moral/subjective enterprise, establishing educational regulations in the spirit of the Public Schools Act which specified clearly the duties for all participants in the system, including parents. He further promoted amendments to the Public Schools Act in 1873 and 1876 to make schooling compulsory for at least six months per year for all children aged seven to twelve. To facilitate these requirements, he opened new schools in the interior of the province and established high schools where sufficient numbers of pupils resided. An 1873 amendment to school legislation gave district trustees the power formerly held by the Board of Education to appoint and, with the approval of the Board, to dismiss teachers. The combination of public educational duties and local authority to hire and remove teachers left teachers open to the dictates of community members who had a stake in having teachers who were

reliable and amenable to local standards.

Teachers' duties were, above all, to teach "diligently and faithfully" the curriculum set by the Board of Education and to promote "both by precept and example, CLEANLINESS, NEATNESS AND DECENCY" as well as "TRUST AND HONESTY," within the terms of employment and according to the board's rules and regulations (PSR 1875, 127, 130-131). Teaching, in other words, was to be concerned with content or productivity as well as personal morality and habit. However, teaching was not fully subordinated by school legislation and regulations. Teachers were expected to be school promoters who would generate a demand for school services and ensure pupil attendance. Jessop's aim was to produce, with the aid of inducements which would make teaching a desirable alternative to farming, mining, merchandising, and railway work, a stable and reliable staff of "superior" and "efficient male teachers" (PSR 1875, 81).

Periodic difficulties endangered the translation of Jessop's ideals into practice, contributing both to a teaching force which was not composed primarily of highly educated men and to a rigid system of new regulations over teaching. Increases in school enrollments, from 1,028 in the province in 1872 to 2,198 in 1878, created immediate needs for new teachers and school facilities (British Columbia 1938, 143). The provincial teaching force nearly doubled between 1874 and 1875, but of the forty-two persons who taught throughout 1875, eight were uncertified and only nineteen of the thirty-four teachers who held certificates were men. The province was highly dependent upon teachers from outside the province and nation, with twenty-four teachers from the British Isles, three Americans, and twenty Canadians teaching in British Columbia schools during the 1874-75 school year (PSR 1875, 101, 105-106).

Jessop and other school officials took several steps to create a domestic teaching force and secure commitment to the system on the part of

the existing teaching force. Jessop attended to the first task by attempting to implement a wage and benefit structure that would compare favourably with conditions in Ontario. In 1877, he recommended (without success) to the provincial cabinet the benefits of a superannuated teachers' fund which would allow teaching to become something more secure than a mere stepping stone to another career (PSR 1877, 89). Realizing the limitations of reliance upon an external supply of teachers, Jessop also sought to establish high schools primarily for the purpose of training teachers until such time as a specific teacher training facility modelled after Ryerson's Normal School in Ontario could be opened (Johnson 1964, 49, 72). Teachers produced within a local system of education were more likely to develop a commitment to the system and more available for scrutiny than those from outside the province. In 1877, confident of the prospects for local self-sufficiency in teacher supply, Jessop wrote to the Toronto Globe to inform teachers in eastern Canada that teaching jobs in British Columbia were less likely than in previous years to become available. As evidence of the growing self-sufficiency of the B.C. education system, the provincial Public Schools Report declared in 1878 that six of British Columbia's fifty-eight teachers had been educated entirely in the province's school system (PSR 1877, 67-68; PSR 1878, 180-181).

These efforts were not completely effective in producing a cohesive teaching force. While Jessop took pains to comment on the respectable quality of locally-produced teachers, most of the first certified teachers educated in British Columbia were women who were considered in a condescending manner by school boards to be "pupil teachers" and who tended to be paid less than half of the salaries received by uncertified male teachers (PSR 1878, 180-181). This attitude and wage differential would soon become standard practice for nearly all female teachers in the province.

The problem of teacher commitment required more elaborate arrangements

within Jessop's agenda. The central school officials wanted some assurance beyond periodic school inspections that teachers were competent and able to fulfill their duties. An increasing array of personal and technical regulations began to compensate for the lack of ideal, committed male teachers who possessed formal educational credentials. Because most early teachers had no more training than completion of basic high school courses, teacher certificates beginning in 1871 were issued solely on the basis of examination marks for regular curricular subjects. However, Jessop and other authorities were concerned about the narrow focus on content alone, and they adopted further measures in order to regulate and involve teachers more fully in the schooling enterprise. In 1874, examinations for teacher certification began to include questions on discipline and "the art of teaching." A school regulation also implemented in 1874 made salary levels dependent upon pupil attendance figures, thereby encouraging teachers to arrange their teaching and discipline in such a way that students would be attracted to classes and enrollment would be maintained. Teachers were subject to possible dismissal for unsatisfactory student attendance patterns but rewarded monetarily for meritorious "efficiency," "order and discipline," and pupil improvement. School system officials instructed teachers in the 1870s to practice personal tidiness and keep the schoolhouse neat and clean. The performance of personal services in these regards was considered by the officials a necessary trade-off between the high cost of education and the relatively modest teacher workload which accompanied low pupil attendance (Johnson 1964, 56, 71-72; PSR 1877, 12-13; Statistics Canada 1971, 34).

Jessop also organized in 1874 the first of several annual Teachers' Institutes and conventions to compensate for inadequacies and disparities in teachers' background and training. These summer programs, based on the Ryersonian system in Ontario, exemplified Jessop's paternalistic interest in developing a strong but politically "safe" teaching force. The institutes

were intended to accomplish a "uniformity of method" and a common forum to discuss and transmit advice on specific pedagogical problems. Because the institutes were centrally directed by education authorities, presided over by the Superintendent of Education and involving other provincial officials in major roles, teachers tended to be wary of the institutes' value. In order to promote attendance at the institutes and keep teachers attentive to educational affairs, the government required all teachers to renew their certificates upon completion of subject examinations on an annual basis. Authorities did not permit discussion of salaries or teaching conditions at the institutes (Johnson 1964, 72-73, 237-238; Johnson 1971, 143; Phillips 1957, 593).

Nonetheless, the institutes provided some of the earliest opportunities for teachers' collective resistances by bringing together teachers who normally tended to be isolated in scattered classrooms. Teachers occasionally used the institutes as forums for their concerns, particularly over certification. Experienced teachers who previously had been used to some formal autonomy and recognition expressed resentment over the growing central authority and administrative standards which increasingly began to regulate teaching. In 1875, teachers emphasized that teaching experience and instructional success should be taken into account in the certification process. In 1879, as will be seen in the next section, teachers openly challenged the government over certification procedures (Heywood n.d., 7; PSR 1877, 10-11).

The organization of the teachers' institutes revealed the ambiguous nature of public school teaching in the 1870s. Legislation and regulations which prescribed teachers' duties, along with the paternalistic organization of the school system and the institutes, emphasized teachers' well-defined subordinate role in the education hierarchy. Teachers were regulated on a personal basis, ensuring their moral worth and fitness to teach. They were

also subject to technical regulation which provided formal guidelines for performance on such matters as maintaining pupil attendance and passing certification examinations. At the same time, though, teachers were given a limited role of partnership in the educational enterprise. Teachers were at the center of the endeavour to make schools a welcome, appealing place for reluctant pupils, and teachers were in command of the daily activities within each school. In this sense, many of the regulations seemed intended for the purpose of nurturing a young and inexperienced teaching force, in the absence of a corps of strong male teachers, to a state of greater self-reliance, although the regulations were extended increasingly even over teachers who did meet the ideal. Teachers' institutes brought teachers together as a collective body to strengthen their craft under the watchful eyes of state authorities. As Warburton (1986, 215-216) observes, such measures served contradictory ends, both to incorporate teachers into state formation and also to contribute to a growing sense of occupational solidarity among teachers.

The cultivation of a subordinate partnership for teachers in educational affairs was not without major complications. Jessop's aims for educational stability required fiscal resources and some sharing of authority which other government officials and businessmen were not eager to part with. Education finance became an unwanted burden to the government as the provincial deficit grew to over \$127,000 in 1878 from \$44,316 a year earlier due to state financing of an infrastructure to promote the province's economic development (British Columbia 1938, 237). At the same time, the teaching force was increasingly taking on the characteristics of two distinct groups, one a relatively high status complement of males trained in eastern Canadian and British universities who desired greater status in the school system and the other a mass of locally trained females whose interests had little direct occupational representation. By the end of the 1870s, these factors

contributed to the restructuring of the education system in such a way that most teachers became redefined clearly as dependent employees.

CONSTRAINT OVER TEACHERS AMIDST INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1878-1900

Conflicting pressures on teachers and the school system intensified in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the social and economic systems in British Columbia became progressively more diversified. The growing need for schooling as a training center and social stabilizing force was countered by priorities extended by representatives of the provincial bourgeoisie who were interested in attracting outside capital and using state resources for investment in the province's economic development. Educational managers attempted to accommodate these tensions by demanding closer accountability on classroom productivity while stressing teachers' moral/subjective duties to the necessary process of character formation.

In its efforts to create attractive conditions for industry and corporate interests, many of which had direct representation in provincial cabinets, the provincial government in the 1880s and 1890s regularly engaged in deficit financing to the extent that by 1898 the net public debt totalled 4.85 million dollars (British Columbia Public Accounts 1911; Robin 1972, 67). The province's benevolence was extended especially through its ready disposition of cash, land and resource rights to timber and railway companies. Typical of these gestures, the government granted \$200,000 in 1887 to a C.P.R. subsidiary for the construction of a railway into the Okanagan, fourteen million acres of land to two Victoria merchants in 1889 for a rail line which was never constructed, and \$600,000 worth of contracts in 1894 for the construction of new legislative buildings (Ormsby 1958, 309-312; Robin 1972, 63-65). By contrast, the total expenditure of the Department of Education in 1894 was \$169,050 (PSR 1894).

In a climate of freewheeling economic deals and subsequent economic crisis, as in the earlier gold rush years, trends in state finance indicate the low public priority given to educational endeavours. Economic and political elites had no sustained interest in school matters when there were deals to be consolidated, ready profits to be made, fiscal dangers to be wary of, and an available supply of labour power to be imported. For the working classes, affected in economic crisis by loss of work and income, education was far less crucial than the procurement of subsistence.

Increasingly, under these conditions, teachers' social and economic status diminished and the ideal of a highly trained paternalistic teaching force gave way to a reality in which most teachers were women who had little formal educational background. While there was considerable annual fluctuation in the proportions of male and female teachers, male teachers regularly constituted between fifty-two and sixty-eight percent of the provincial teaching force from 1874 to 1888. After 1889, the balance swung the other way to such an extent that by 1905, there were nearly three women teachers to every male teacher, a ratio which continued until the 1930s (PSR, various years; Statistics Canada 1978).

The constraints upon teaching combined with the availability of jobs in mining, lumbering and other industries made teaching less attractive for men than for women who had fewer occupational alternatives. Men were also able to protect favourable wage rates and other interests against intrusion from women and non-whites by workingmen's associations. Lacking social, economic and political status, women teachers were cheaper to employ than men. In 1875, the average monthly salary of female teachers was two-thirds the average monthly salary of male teachers (\$43.79 compared to \$66.03); this ratio remained relatively constant until the early 1930s (PSR, various years, 1875-1956). As Warburton (1986, 218) observes, salary rates were justified by educational credentials which tended to reflect real differences between

men and women in the domestic and occupational divisions of labour. Minimally qualified women were enticed into teaching by provincial requirements which allowed females to gain qualification for teacher certification at age sixteen compared to eighteen for males. Many girls were attracted to teaching also by the low educational requirements and minimal time investment for entry into the occupation (in the 1870s, qualification for the lowest certificate, third class B, required only a grade of thirty percent on the examination set by the Board of Education compared to university graduation or a grade of eighty percent for the top level first class A certificate) along with the enhanced social status and wage earnings they might receive from holding a teaching position. In 1892, the province had a surplus of teachers after 145 newly certified teachers - 137 at the third class level - entered the teaching force that year (PSR 1892, 153).

Nonetheless, the feminization of the teaching force occurred less rapidly in British Columbia than in other parts of Canada where industry had developed more fully. From confederation in 1867 to 1870, the national proportion of male public school teachers declined from over fifty percent to thirty-nine percent, and in 1885, only twenty-eight percent of the national teaching force was male compared to fifty-seven percent in B.C. (Statistics Canada 1978). School inspector D. Wilson observed in 1888 that B.C., unlike other provinces, had a majority of male teachers, over half of whom held first class certificates, while most of the female teachers were young and had received their education in B.C. high schools (PSR 1888, 177).

The relatively late feminization of the B.C. teaching force supports observations by writers like Danylewycz, Light and Prentice (1987) that women teachers were predominant in more hierarchically organized schools in urban industrial regions. In British Columbia, men prevailed numerically in teaching positions in rural districts until 1896-97, when there were 108 men and 119 women in rural schools and forty-two men and ninety women in city

schools (PSR 1897). While teachers' salaries were lower overall in rural areas than in the cities, the high and low extremes in teachers' salaries in the province were paid to teachers in city schools. This situation reflected the more fully developed hierarchies which emerged in the urban schools. Teachers who held first class certificates - nearly all men in the late 1800s - had greater investment in education and possessed enhanced opportunities for career advancement relative to locally trained teachers. For many men, then, teaching appeared to provide some advantages which they may not have gained in other career options, although financial benefits of teaching were diminishing. In the early 1890s, teachers' salaries in the province, on average, remained higher than industrial wages, although the former had declined to \$59.61 per month in 1890 from \$63.10 in 1872, compared to fluctuating average industrial wages in the towns ranging in 1890-91 from between \$34.47 per month in New Westminster to \$49.26 in Nanaimo (Canada 1897, 368-370; Johnson 1964, 89).

The viability of public schooling depended upon schools' utility for both social stability and industrial development. State officials began to reinforce measures oriented to the personal regulation of teachers in order to guarantee individual teachers' moral worthiness and reliability in terms set by particular school board members, inspectors and other authorities. At the same time, industrial demands for the production of specific competencies within stringent fiscal guidelines motivated school officials to introduce technical regulatory initiatives to measure teachers' compliance with specific task performance and output standards. Under the widening regime of state control, a coordinated attempt to preserve teachers' rights and autonomy came for the first time from within the teaching force. Such teacher resistance, however, was mounted by senior teachers who matched Jessop's ideal, contributing to a further bifurcation of the teaching force even as teachers became subject to an increasing network of state rule.

John Jessop's agenda to produce a strong education system through cooperation between high quality teachers and benevolent state officials won favour among the better-educated members of the teaching force who saw in Jessop's scheme possibilities for career promotion. However, Jessop's efforts to shape the provincial education system were not without political opposition which crystallized when George A. Walkem, a previous critic of educational expenditures and practices, gained the provincial premiership in 1878. The Walkem government was devoted to expanded economic development priorities. In 1878, the provincial premier attacked Jessop in the legislature, criticizing the 1876 school report as ungrammatical, while other government members ridiculed Jessop for having been a low wage teacher. In 1878, the government prepared legislation to streamline the education system. The government criticized the strong personal authority of the superintendent and board members and proposed to align the school system with business practices, making school operations more cost-effective by basing funding on specified rates of student attendance and other educational services rather than on total enrollment. In essence, government leaders felt that teachers were not offering full value for their price. Even Jessop, in his 1877 report, chided parents whose apparent negligence to send children to school contributed to a school attendance rate of 37.5 percent, with the result that "more than one-third . . . of all the energy put forth by teachers is wasted" (PSR 1877, 8).

Jessop denied the government's accusations against him, and amidst rumoured amendments to the Public Schools Act to abolish the Board of Education and restructure the school system, he, along with the members of Board of Education, resigned on August 26, 1878, when the amendments were introduced in the legislature. Jessop was unsuccessful in his efforts to maintain control over the education system, despite support from the Victoria Daily Colonist (1878), which called the government's treatment of Jessop an

"outrage" and an "insult" in the face of government plans to rationalize educational administration in the province.

The province's senior teachers also recorded their opposition to the changes in the school system and attacks on teachers. C.C. McKenzie, who replaced Jessop as school Superintendent, voiced a position held within government that teacher certification procedures had to be tightened because the previous Board of Education had not been entirely impartial in its awarding of teachers' certificates. Teachers rejected this accusation. They were already agitated over the fact that payment of their salaries was three months in arrears while other public servants had been paid regularly at the time that the 1878 teachers' convention was held. At the institute meetings that year, teachers verbally opposed the direction in government education policy and petitioned the government not to change the superintendency. The government responded by terminating the teachers' institutes for a seven year period. However, teachers with first class certificates took the unprecedented measure of organizing on their own a meeting the next year, where they criticized the new superintendent of education over teacher certification procedures and other education regulations (Heywood n.d., 7; PSR 1878, 181; PSR 1879, 161-162).

The teachers' actions suggested that they had not forgotten Jessop's example. It is important to recognize that virtually all of the first class certified teachers in 1879 were men who were educated outside the province. They saw in state efforts to strengthen central control over teachers and in government criticisms of Jessop a threat to their own positions and a reduction in their opportunities to advance within the school system and beyond. It was in their interests to promote teaching as a differentiated, if not autonomous, occupation in which the most highly qualified individuals could advance, rather than one which was governed from outside in a uniform way.

Teachers' criticisms of the new education regulations also brought the wrath of the new Superintendent of Education. He claimed that teachers had become too obstinate in their freedoms to manage school operations, and pointed to teachers' sloppy reporting practices as evidence of their unworthiness:

Under the former regime, [teachers] as a body were allowed the utmost freedom and latitude in the internal and external management of their schools. . . . On the whole I cannot forbear from saying that the utmost carelessness and indifference exist among teachers as to whether the statistical and other information they supply is at all accurate, and if their zeal educationally is to be gauged by the amount of it they display in their communications with the Education Office, the Province has need to demand of its servants a thorough reformation in both (PSR 1879, 161-162).

The government's commitment to expansion of the province's industrial base restricted teachers' "freedom and latitude" in two ways. First, the province extended control over teachers and school practices in order to gain greater flexibility in managing state operations and finances. Second, schooling, if it was to have any utility to the province, had to be reshaped to contribute to occupational and social roles required by an industrializing society. The province revealed its commitment to these two principles in amendments to the Public Schools Act. The legislation, in effect in 1879, abolished the Board of Education, transferred control of education to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and increased the duties of the Superintendent (who became more directly responsible to the government) to include the prescription of textbooks, the making of rules and regulations, the care of school materials, the establishment of separate schools for females, and the closing of schools with an average of less than ten pupils (PSR 1879, 163).

The new Superintendent of Education, C.C. McKenzie, sought to increase the efficiency of the school system by increasing the compulsion on teachers to perform duties, placing greater responsibilities, including the raising of school funds, in the hands of local trustees, and streamlining the school

system (PSR 1878, 185). School management came increasingly to emphasize the two sided nature of teaching - as productive employment which would produce disciplined, competent workers, and as a moral/subjective endeavour which could produce temperate, morally worthy citizens.

Teachers were now required, above all else, to keep records of pupil absence and tardiness and provide monthly reports to the Superintendent and parents. Teachers were also to keep regular prescribed school hours, care for school property, regularly display and follow a timetable, seek trustees' permission in case of absence from school, attend regular meetings, and follow specific guidelines for the treatment of pupils (PSR 1879, 207-209).

In many respects, the strict delineation of teachers' duties appeared merely to be a tightening of procedures already in place. However, the new regulations signalled a shift in the position of teachers in the school system, from subordinate partners in the educational endeavour to increasingly dependent employees. In the 1860s and early 1870s, teachers were subordinate partners in the sense that they were provided with a sense of educational proprietorship with freedom to make decisions about their classroom activity within the guidelines of state rule. While Jessop had been concerned to maintain strict central surveillance over teachers, his activities were oriented to developing an assurance that teachers had the character and skill to carry out major educational objectives. By contrast, the 1879 legislation created a regimen of responsibilities which made clear the point that teachers' work time was important and to be carefully accounted for. Like employees in other industries, teachers were subject to technical regulation, called upon to perform specified tasks set out for them by managers concerned with the production of a particular commodity. Measures of productivity diminished teachers' discretion in the workplace and increased their formal subordination to employers. In 1879, for example, Superintendent McKenzie recommended that teachers' salaries should be paid in

proportion to the number of prescribed school days on which the teacher actually taught and should be forwarded to teachers only after monthly assurance was provided that teachers had performed all of their prescribed duties (PSR 1879, 167).

Although industry appeared to make no direct demands upon schools, and in fact was often indifferent to schooling, school officials were not hesitant to model school practices and curricula after factory organization. In the late nineteenth century, the school curriculum began to emphasize the performance of rote tasks such as memorization of mathematical equations or lines of prose and poetry which left pupils easily accountable to teachers and teachers accountable to school supervisors. Many of these methods were imported directly into British Columbia from school systems in more industrially advanced regions of eastern Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

As employees, teachers were also required to nurture pupils and be nurtured in accordance with strong moral standards. Morality was based upon Christian principles of concern for other persons and dedicated service to the polity. Amendments to the Public Schools Act in 1885 emphasized that public schools must inculcate "the highest morality." Towards that end, school authorities instructed teachers to adhere to three fundamental principles of "order, discipline and classification" (PSR 1887, 195-196). Teachers had a strong moral obligation which lent to their treatment as workers a need for careful personal scrutiny and supervision in the public interest. Inspector D. Wilson in 1888 outlined as the purpose of supervision the need,

to reach every school and keep informed of educational success or failure. . . . it is equally important that, at the same time, the worker - the teacher - should receive encouragement and assistance, have defects pointed out, and improved methods suggested (PSR 1888, 177).

Teachers did not always comply willingly with these regulations and

expectations. Frequent disputes arose between teachers and local school trustees who required the teachers to clean the school house, light fires in the school stove, and perform other such duties. On occasion, teachers were also willing to take a collective stance against what they felt were unfair regulations, such as at a Teachers' Institute in Victoria in 1890:

Among the rules and regulations at that time was one requiring the teacher to mark every pupil for every recitation every day. Some bold spirits dared to introduce a resolution calling for the abolition of this rule. The department official in charge of the institute attempted to block the motion. There was a lively time. One prominent teacher shook his fist at the chairman. The motion carried by a large majority, but that was the last institute for many years (Bennett 1926, 24-25).

Nonetheless, teachers, especially in smaller rural districts, had little opportunity to assemble, and when they did, they were subject to the paternalistic constraint of state authorities. In order to restrain teachers from taking strong initiatives to govern their own affairs, school officials began to demand that teachers be prepared through "special training" in Normal Schools. Teacher preparation would ensure that teachers were adequately fitted for "the moulding of the lives and characters" they were responsible for in the course of their work. Writing in 1893, school inspector William Burns acknowledged that teachers' work was "arduous and often monotonous." Nonetheless, he admonished teachers for being too concerned with "lessons and exercises" to the neglect of "habits and regard;" parents and teachers, he emphasized, should recognize,

that school is merely a place of preparation, and that its chief advantage to the pupils is not so much in the lessons themselves, however valuable they may be, as in the habits of study and attention thereby formed; of cleanliness and order there learned; of obedience, punctuality and forethought there required; and of temperance and morality there implanted into their very nature (PSR 1893, 523).

Establishing control over teaching was not the only concern of school authorities. Generalized public indifference or resistance to school system development was counterproductive to school promoters' efforts to establish the socially stabilizing influence of schools in the province. School

authorities argued that greater local fiscal and administrative involvement in schooling would help to overcome parental "carelessness" and general disregard for school operations (PSR 1878, 179-180; PSR 1891, 261-262).

The provincial government was also concerned about a wider threat in the late 1880s through mounting political opposition to its eagerness to serve commercial and industrial interests. The Knights of Labour and other trade union organizations, fuelled by large-scale mining, transportation and lumber operations which brought together many workers who were experienced in industrial relations and political agitation in Britain and the United States, began to merge economic, political and social concerns. Organized labour fielded candidates in the provincial election of 1886, and in 1894 the appearance of the labour Nationalist party proclaimed support for such class and ethnocentric concerns as public ownership, fair wages and exclusion of Orientals (Ormsby 1958, 306, 314; Phillips 1967; Robin 1972, 62, 65-66).

Although workers favoured state intervention for social and economic reform, they did not identify education as a prominent concern. In many communities, antipathy to the school was reflected in outright hostility or vandalism of school property. In the coal mining town of Wellington, for example, the school principal reported that,

For a long time the destruction of the school property has been a favorite amusement with the hoodlums of Wellington. The school has been repeatedly disturbed by them while in session; a large proportion of the windows have been broken; a number of panes have been entirely cut out; the locks were broken or wrenched off the doors; the outhouses were destroyed; the stoves were broken to pieces, and the stovepipe stolen, & c., & c. (PSR 1885, 324).

Besides vandalism, inconsistent and unenthusiastic support for schooling remained a major source of concern for school authorities throughout the 1880s and 1890s. By the end of the century, average school attendance remained below two-thirds of the total pupil enrollment of about twenty thousand pupils (PSR 1978, 132).

The government in the last quarter of the nineteenth century combined a

responsiveness to parental apathy and problems of an unstable provincial treasury by attempting to encourage local participation in educational matters. The 1879 school act amendments transferred the right to dismiss teachers (upon thirty days notice to the teacher) from provincial bodies to local school boards. In 1884, public interest in education was encouraged by amendments to the school act to allow the wives of property holders to vote at school meetings and to double (from three to six) the number of school trustees in urban districts. In 1886, the government imposed a public school tax of three dollars for each adult male resident. With a financial stake in schooling, parents tended to be more concerned about classroom occurrences to such an extent that during the 1885-86 school year the provincial school superintendent reported an unprecedented total of nearly eleven thousand visits by parents to the province's eighty-three public schools (PSR 1886, 138). Most significantly, in 1888, local educational financing became instituted with an amendment which required city districts to refund to the provincial government an amount equivalent to one-third of teachers' salaries. The move to reliance upon local financing, first in cities and eventually in rural districts, was consolidated in subsequent legislation over the next two decades (Johnson 1964, 90-91; MacLaurin 1936, 178).

School officials also attempted to place greater emphasis on the cultivation of ties between school and home, with the school increasingly becoming the superior institution in order to meet the growing social sophistication and fragmentation associated with industrial life. As Sutherland (1976, 17-21) argues, bourgeois reformers in the 1890s redefined family and childhood as processes which had to be cultivated properly in order to guide the individual to a state of self-reliant citizenship. Family experience, left on its own, was partial in relation to the broadened horizons which schooling could provide in an atmosphere intended to remedy both the social "backwardness" which characterized frontier life and problems

such as delinquency, drunkenness, disease, and general immoral behaviour produced within the encroachment of industrialism. Principals and superintendents urged parents to send their children to school in regular and punctual fashion and to expect their children to work on lessons at home in order to hasten pupils' progress. At the same time, school promoters emphasized the benefits which a strong system of public schools would have for the purpose of attracting to the province "a better class of settlers" (PSR 1891, 261-262; PSR 1893, 523). Schools were to be promoted and cultivated as agencies which provided social advantages relative to the home. Teachers were to assume parental responsibilities as well as duties which contributed to pupils' intellectual and moral development. Accordingly, the state encoded teachers' moral/subjective duties into law by providing teachers in the 1890s with such disciplinary powers "as may be exercised by a kind, firm, and judicious parent in his family" (PSR 1895, 200).

The government's responses to industrial and social diversification tended to reinforce a systematic hierarchy in the school system. School districts hired female teachers with lower level certificates (who were less costly than male teachers with higher level certificates) as the provincial government transferred greater proportions of school funding to local authorities. Districts which could hire better qualified teachers, either to run larger schools or supervise a complement of lower qualified teachers in graded schools, tended to hire males. Fiscal constraint in certain districts was facilitated by an 1893 provincial transfer scheme which provided city schools with a grant of ten dollars per pupil in order to offset the cost of teachers' salaries. By increasing class size and reducing teachers' salaries, districts could actually benefit from this arrangement. Nanaimo, for example, reported in 1901 a surplus of \$1,410.45 from the grant structure (PSR 1901, 280). School superintendents, inspectors and other officials tended to be experienced teachers trained in universities outside the

province, particularly in eastern Canada. They saw as their mission the habituation of the masses into socially respectable and morally righteous patterns of thought and behaviour. In this endeavour, young and inexperienced teachers were just as much in need of guidance as the pupils in their classrooms. As schooling expanded, the caring, nurturing aspects of teaching tended to become identified with lower paid female elementary teachers while the task-orientation of schooling for job training enabled senior male teachers to retain greater recognition and career promotion. By the turn of the century, an enduring pattern of women in elementary school teaching positions and men in high school teaching and school administrative positions had become clearly established.

The significance of discipline and habit formation for both teachers and pupils within the new order was highlighted by the provincial school superintendent in 1897:

The healthy tone of a school as to order maintained and discipline observed is due entirely to the worth and intelligence of the teacher. The maintenance of order is quite as essential part of school work as is the imparting of instruction and, to be effective, must be accompanied with good disciplinary methods. It should be borne in mind that the true object of discipline is to lead the pupil to learn self-control and to form right habits. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of the teacher to train his pupils in all those elements which contribute to the formation of a good character (PSR 1897, 199).

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, schools were expected to offer more than habit formation and rote training. The expansion of business and commercial pursuits in the province required a workforce which was literate and had other useful attributes. In 1891, as in the period prior to 1879, school regulations stressed as the top priority teachers' duty to teach the curriculum. Provincial school officials began in the mid-1890s to emphasize the importance of reading and writing instruction in classrooms (PSR 1896, 248-249). Literacy-related skills required "correct" teaching methods whereby students could learn effectively abilities "to group the words in little phrases" when reading and the "proper manners of pen-holding

and position in writing" (PSR 1897, 194-195). If they ignored developing these capabilities, as school inspector David Wilson observed in 1901, schools were subject to condemnation from the "business man" who "expected the boy from the Graded or High School to write the bold, rapid, character-displaying hand of the book-keeper many years behind the desk" (PSR 1901, 259).

Under such conditions, teaching had to be transformed into an occupation in which practitioners simultaneously possessed parenting skills which were superior to mothering and fathering in the home and understood clearly "the principles of the science and the art of their profession" (PSR 1902, A32). The competent teacher had to be able both to govern and be governed in accordance with definite educational precepts. School inspector A.C. Stewart observed in 1902 that,

While the great majority of teachers recognise their proper relation not only to the system and to the children, but also to the people, there is a small minority whose attitude requires much re-adjustment to bring it to the true professional focus. When a teacher engages to teach a school, even although there is no written agreement, he contracts to teach diligently and faithfully the subjects laid down in the course of study, and, while eschewing religious dogma, to inculcate the highest morality. . . . The careless worker in wood or metal may spoil a door or a hinge in the making, but the teacher who is a mere hireling and time-server mars the human mind and soul, and deprives youth of its intellectual birthright (PSR 1902, A38).

The craft of teaching and preparing youth for life in industrial society, with its emphasis on both productivity and moral/subjective development, was too important to be left in the hands of parents or undisciplined and untrained teachers.

CONCLUSIONS

In nineteenth century British Columbia, formal schooling gradually gained a place in the central reproduction of the province's social system. Schooling was promoted by bourgeois reformers to guide the transition from a

social hierarchy dominated by colonial rule to a political order which relied upon morally disciplined individuals. Teachers were allied with educational reformers to promote the social virtues of schooling but as state employees, teachers were also subject to regulation to ensure their commitment to the bourgeois project.

Nonetheless, the establishment of public schooling was accompanied by contention and material difficulty. Widespread antipathy to schooling and the state's growing involvement in the creation of an industrial base left schools vulnerable to neglect. The survival of the schooling enterprise depended upon the abilities of school promoters and managers to advance schooling as a socially useful, cost-efficient institution. In this context, the rise of mass public schooling and teaching did not occur under the direct onslaught of factories and industrial interests, as claimed by critical theories of economic reproduction (e.g., Bowles and Gintis 1976, Schecter 1977). Nor did teaching evince the seeds of an occupation which would bloom into a strong profession under more enlightened guidance, as traditional historical and interest group studies suggest (e.g., Muir 1968, Paton 1962). Instead, teaching developed as a compromise between the ideals of bourgeois reformers, who promoted as the ideal teacher the educated, efficient man of strong moral character, and the fiscal and political realities of operating a school system in an industrializing frontier society. Ironically, the conditions which made this compromise necessary - class and wider social fragmentation - were also the factors which made schools increasingly essential to society. The success of schooling relied ultimately upon schools' potential to coordinate social life in a public sphere in ways that private domains of the household and workplace could not.

Official legislative recognition in the 1890s of teachers' supra-parental role signified the contradictory character of teaching. Like parenting, teaching was to involve socially important but low status and

unpaid or poorly remunerated labour. Also in common with parenting, the fitness of the individual was subject to scrutiny even if authorities were rarely present to evaluate the work. The mutual concern for the fragile and malleable child bestowed upon teaching and parenting a sense of social responsibility as a vocation or service to society that was not central to jobs in industries which produced inanimate commodities. However, the teacher was expected to be superior to the parent in order to usher in competently a new, harmonious industrial era for which the teacher required special skills and an enhanced personal aptitude. These considerations left teachers susceptible to increased regulation by state authorities over their personal character and work responsibilities, but they also offered teachers a basis around which to claim greater status, improved occupational welfare, and enhanced decision-making authority as professionals.

School boards filled teaching positions quickly and cheaply, relying upon young women who lacked educational credentials and were vulnerable, through occupational isolation and lack of employment alternatives, to the paternalistic command of school authorities. Senior qualified teachers and their counterparts who had moved into positions of authority within the state school hierarchy, especially under the leadership of John Jessop in the 1870s, presented teaching as a craft composed of skills and techniques which could be transmitted to younger, less qualified teachers. Personal efficiency and moral character were stressed as means to select proper individuals into teaching for the mutual benefit of the occupation, schools and society. The few visible forms of organized teacher resistance that occurred in the nineteenth century developed as responses by the most highly trained and certified male teachers to protect themselves against encroachment by the state on teacher autonomy and official recognition of traditional occupational competency.

With industrial development and the feminization of teaching, however,

school officials in the last quarter of the nineteenth century began to intensify regulation over both teachers' personal "fitness" to teach and their instructional efficiency within definite guidelines established by the state. Teaching, oriented to the formation of proper habits and useful skills in youth, became subject to technical regulation procedures derived from industry, involving such measures as quantities of recitations performed, numbers of pupils processed, and checklists of duties performed. Teachers' status as dependent employees was clearly established in the government's ability to set educational regulations and school boards' powers to hire teachers and set conditions of work. At the same time, school officials' concern with the properly moulded child made teachers susceptible to personal regulation through increased surveillance over their moral worthiness. School supervision and inspection were introduced to scrutinize the teacher's performance of specific competencies as well as to gauge the teacher's personal character.

To a large extent, as the next chapter emphasizes, the contradictory directions in the development of teaching were extended through the continued bifurcation of teaching along gender lines, with female elementary classroom teachers subject to the most intense regulation and male high school teachers and school administrators seeking development of teaching as a profession. Although these divisions were associated with periodic tensions within teaching and between teachers and the state, a growing ethic of scientifically grounded professionalism appeared to offer all teachers an opportunity to advance as a strong corps of educational leaders.

CHAPTER FIVE - STRUGGLES TO DEVELOP A COHESIVE TEACHING FORCE WITHIN
THE INDUSTRIAL ORDER, 1900-1947

The development of public school teaching in the first half of the twentieth century is commonly analyzed through two competing explanations. One view, which I have called the traditional approach, highlights the strides made by teachers away from state control towards professional status. Paton (1962) and Muir (1968), for example, characterize the period as a time of struggle out of which Canadian teachers' organizations formed and provided for their members steady gains in professional and material benefits. An alternative, critical perspective depicts a far greater level of teacher-state integration, with teachers carrying out the interests of the corporate state to select and subjugate the population into positions within class and patriarchal domination (Althusser 1971, Deem 1978, Spring 1972). However, as the previous chapter revealed, teachers and states are neither merely disparate social forces nor simply accomplices in establishing pre-given forms of reproduction. As Grace (1987, 202-208) and Warburton (1986, 219) emphasize, changing relations between capital and the state lead to the modification of schooling and teaching. In particular, I argue in this chapter that as schooling became a central component of the state's growing involvement in social reproduction in the first half of the twentieth century, teacher-state relations became increasingly formalized through legislation and other regulative measures which simultaneously circumscribed teachers' role in the education system and allowed teachers new "professional" freedoms.

Problems in the creation of a suitable workforce and stable population within British Columbia's fluctuating resource-based economy produced

variations in regulation over and resistance by the teaching force. Regulation over both productive and moral/subjective dimensions of teaching was expressed most explicitly over urban elementary and rural school teachers, most of them women or locally trained men, who provided basic schooling to a nearly universal clientele. These teachers periodically engaged in militant job action and sought alignment with other workers' organizations in order to advance teacher welfare and improve working conditions. By contrast, the teaching force was led by high school teachers and school principals, most of them men with university education, who sought increased input into the formal education decision-making process and promoted appeals to a collegial, socially benevolent vision of professionalism grounded in scientific principles.

At the turn of the century, the infusion into the schooling process of procedures to develop specific work competencies that would be useful to employers signalled a new relationship among school, state and industry. In the early part of the twentieth century, schooling was to contain practical content and be made more orderly in order to service industrial requirements. Political and industrial leaders looked increasingly to schooling to prepare individuals for wage labour and diverse social roles. However, schooling, by virtue of its potential to reach all young people, also provided a foundation for the creation of social harmony in a changing society. The "new" educational agenda involved what appeared to educational authorities as a commonsense response to modern needs and problems, organized through the state (PSR 1904, A33). Schooling was to become not merely an adjunct of the home and industry but, because of the fragmenting effects of these other sites, schools would take a prominent place as the primary reproductive institution, organized for the common good.

School administrators faced a problem of management in their efforts to deliver an expanded range of educational services, especially given uncertain

local funding and support for schools and the absence of a strong, highly qualified teaching force. As they looked to industry to provide both support for schools and models for efficient organization, school system officials also sought to preserve the autonomy of schools from industrial purposes. Schools were to be organized for the common benefit of all society rather than for profit and other narrow class interests. School officials had to balance schools' relevance to industrial requirements with more indefinite reproductive concerns associated with the quest for personal happiness and social harmony.

Science, especially as advanced through the philosophy of educational progressivism which sought to harness individual distinctness for the advancement of the corporate order, came to provide the answer for unifying the contradictory tasks which schooling was to fulfill. Schools could be organized around distinct scientific principles, operated by teachers who were trained in accordance with rational principles of human development. The new education system required a teaching force which was simultaneously amenable to scientific control and well-versed in scientific principles and practices of pedagogy. As in the nineteenth century, teachers were to be concerned with both the production of an educational product and the nurturing of a moral subject. However, productivity was now targeted to a wide diversity of social roles, and morality was based upon the scientific, industrial order rather than merely Christian service to the community.

Within a definite material context, the establishment of a school system modelled on educational progressivism was modified by political and economic contingencies, notably serious economic crisis in the 1930s and Canada's involvement in international warfare. These events contributed to educational consolidation and the closer integration of teachers into a state education system based on ideologies of individualism and progressivism, but not without divisiveness and major concessions to the rational ideals of

professionalism.

PROVINCIAL DISPARITIES

By 1903, the social and economic outlook for British Columbia was dismal. Deficit financing had emptied the provincial treasury, and foreign investors grew wary of dealing with the province (Robin 1972, 100). This section outlines three major consequences of economic crisis in the early 1900s for British Columbia's education system. First, the climate of social and economic instability encouraged business and political leaders to look to school's potential value to temper the population and provide useful work-related skills. Second, school operations were made more efficient and economical to allow for their continued existence and expansion. Third, the province's school system and teaching force experienced growing disparities, especially between rural and urban districts.

As the provincial economic outlook faltered, political agitation mounted and labour unrest burgeoned. A series of strikes, especially in the mining and transportation industries, culminated in a high profile job action by CPR employees affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, beginning in February, 1903. The rapid escalation of the strike as other craft unions engaged in sympathy strikes prompted the appointment of a federal commission to investigate industrial disputes in the province (Canada 1904). Although the terms of reference for the commission were restricted to an investigation of the causes of three specific strike situations, the commission report clearly conveyed a sense of alarm at rising working class consciousness and the threat of class conflict. The three commissioners, including the B.C. chief justice, a Victoria church minister, and federal deputy minister of labour William Lyon MacKenzie King, stressed that the industrial unrest in the province, which they condemned as a deterrent to

outside investment, symptomized a dangerous threat of moral breakdown (Canada 1903). The promise of stability and efficient citizenship offered by school promoters had a definite appeal in this context to the expressed interests of the investigators and the industrialists who had appeared at the investigation.

The election of Richard McBride as premier in 1903 heralded a new era of rebuilt confidence in the province, a task which was accomplished before the end of the decade through a combination of political acumen, stricter provincial fiscal arrangements, restraint on public works projects, new labour agreements, and resurgence in the fishing and lumber industries (Ormsby 1958, 337-338; Robin 1972, 100).

One of the McBride government's initiatives was the reorganization of the structure of educational administration and finance. School operations were to become more efficient at the same time as they became more extensive, serving a diverse, growing provincial population. A 1906 amendment to the Public Schools Act provided for the creation of rural municipal school boards which would administer school districts which consolidated smaller units within municipal boundaries. The new legislation brought municipal school into line with cities by giving the former responsibility for local school finance. The province augmented local funding with a grant provided on a per teacher basis rather than a per pupil basis as well as a supplementary grant introduced to allow for improved teacher salaries (British Columbia 1906).

School districts were to be governed like business enterprises. A fiscal rationale for school consolidation was presented by school inspector A.C. Stewart in 1903:

By the consolidation of the schools in any rural municipality, then, it is safe to assume that the teaching staff could be reduced by about 40 per cent., or taking the municipality in question, the work now done by 12 teachers could be done by 7. Taking a higher standard of salaries than now obtain in rural schools, and allowing a fair remuneration for the principal of such a school, and after making provision for fuel and a permanent janitor, out of the amount now contributed by the Province for education in this municipality, there would be available nearly

\$3,000 to be applied for the purpose of conveying the children from a distance to and from the central school (PSR 1903, C33).

Technical analysis of school district operations, akin to taylorism or scientific management, would enable educational managers to define and measure necessary tasks so as to restructure them to increase productivity, thereby reducing the size of the teaching force and overall system costs.

The technical reorganization of schooling was more easily accomplished in urban than rural areas. Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster, as the primary centers for trade, commerce and government business, had sufficient population and revenue bases to support large, complex systems of school organization. In the cities, these stronger foundations allowed for diverse school programs and resources. School administrators developed formal managerial practices such as timetabling and grouping of school classes and grades in order to organize schools rationally and efficiently to process greater numbers of pupils and supervise a large teaching force. Principalships and high school teaching positions became available for the best qualified and most experienced men and, on rare occasions, women (BCTF 1926a, 13-16).

While city districts became organized around formal or technical procedures, frequent personal intervention and petty disputes made rural school operations more unpredictable. In 1909, for example, the school inspector for the central interior region of the province lamented the continual lack of concern by trustees for adequate heating, ventilation and other facilities in the schools, and observed that regular disputes among parents, teachers and trustees resulted in repeated withdrawal of children from schools; parents often attempted to force the closure of the local school in order to retaliate against neighbours or officials with whom they were in conflict (PSR 1909, A27). School officials were critical of parents and trustees who did not appreciate the value of education. The officials'

harshest words, though, were directed against teachers whom they characterized as "incapables" or "birds of passage," - men, mostly, who fled from district to district after repeated neglect of their teaching responsibilities and violation of the public trust (PSR 1904, A65). Isolation and social and fiscal instability compounded fluctuating economic conditions, especially in single industry resource towns. Continuity in schools was awkward as a result of high rates of teacher attrition (PSR 1911, A30ff.; Putman and Weir 1925, 124-125).

These rural school problems encouraged local and provincial school officials to tighten their personal control over teachers. Hiring practices favoured the appointment of young female teachers who were likely to be more compliant and less costly than men. Trustees and community leaders pressured teachers to adhere to local standards in order to retain a teaching position or even to ensure a paycheque. Local school boards, for example, imposed harsh disciplinary rules governing the personal conduct of teachers at school as well as in non-school time. This control was especially rigid over female teachers, whose success at contributing to community stability depended upon their own reliability and righteousness. A typical statement of regulations instructed teachers in the Revelstoke area in 1915 not to keep company with men or marry, not to dress in bright colours, not to leave the city without the board chairman's permission, and to scrub the school floor "with hot, soapy water" at least once per week (British Columbia School Trustees' Association 1980; compare with a nearly identical statement of regulations governing teachers in the United States, reproduced in Apple, 1986, 73-74). The teacher's classroom duties potentially were superceded by the value of unpaid labour performed by the teacher in a broader range of school and community activities.

Local paternalistic regulation of teachers was often ensured through the common practice of boarding teachers in the homes of school trustees or in

homes selected by school officials where the teacher could be under almost constant surveillance (Wilson and Stortz 1988). In addition, teachers' boarding costs were commonly deducted from what was often a "miserable monthly pittance," unlike farmhands whose wages included board (PSR 1904, 67).

Personal conflicts, unstable economic circumstances, geographic and social isolation, and poor facilities made teaching in many rural districts an undesirable occupation. Teachers required perseverance and toughness to survive both physically and mentally. Even school inspectors acknowledged that the combination of low salary and high job stress was "destructive of nervous energy" for teachers (PSR 1909, A27). Consequently, school authorities often had to compromise standards for teacher qualification and regulation in order to find or retain teachers who could maintain local schools.

Teachers who were isolated from other members of their occupation dealt with difficult living and teaching circumstances primarily through passive resistance which was reflected in teacher movement, either to other occupations or in search of a more desirable teaching situation, usually in a larger center. In 1924, for example, the median period of tenure for teachers in British Columbia public schools was 2.14 years, with a median of 1.62 years for teachers in rural and provincially-assisted school districts; the province's teachers had on average fewer than six years of total teaching experience (Putman and Weir 1925, 187-188). For many teachers, though, particularly women with no other training or employment options, or teachers with obligations to a community, leaving a teaching position was not always possible. Between 1906 and 1922, teacher movement in municipal districts was further regulated by legislation which permitted school boards, upon thirty days' notice, to dismiss a teacher at any time while teachers who submitted thirty days' notice after January 1 of a given school year were not permitted to resign until the end of the school term. Therefore, it was possible for a

district to enact a reduction in teacher salaries for a period of several months before the teachers could legally withdraw their services (MacLaurin 1936, 165-166). The tenuous nature of teacher security was further represented by the teaching contract which often set a specified term of service of six months or a year, with extension contingent upon a new agreement between the board and the individual teacher (Putman and Weir 1925, 315). These unstable conditions provided an incentive for provincial education authorities and teachers to take action to upgrade the quality of both the school system and the teaching force itself.

TEACHER TRAINING IN NORMAL SCHOOLS

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, school system officials increasingly saw the provision of systematic training for teachers prior to taking control of a classroom as the solution to problems of teacher attrition and educational instability. Formal teacher training had the contradictory impact of providing knowledge, credentials and practical work skills which could offer the teacher enhanced occupational status and independence while at the same time drawing teachers further under the paternalistic guidance of school system and training authorities.

In part, an emphasis on teacher training reflected growing demands for schools to contribute to character formation and skill development. At the same time, school superintendents and inspectors recognized that their own careers and opportunities for promotion within the state service depended upon their ability to operate an efficient school system and effectively manage the teaching force. Ideally, from this perspective, all teachers would be subject to supervised training in the art and science of teaching. Most crucial, however, was the need to reach the growing number of "raw, untrained" female teachers who were entering the provincial teaching force at

the turn of the century (PSR 1904, A65).

School superintendents, inspectors and principals in the larger city schools began in the 1890s to issue regular calls for the establishment of Normal Schools to provide teacher training in the province. While Vancouver and Victoria high schools introduced special classes for prospective teachers in the mid 1890s, the province did not act to establish a separate teacher training program until 1900 when enrollment growth, especially in city primary schools, contributed to a shortage of qualified teachers. To fill the need for teachers adequately prepared to enter the modern city classroom, the province supported the opening of the first provincial Normal School program in Vancouver in January, 1901.

The purpose of the school, according to its first principal, former school inspector William Burns (1926, 21), was "to shorten, as far as possible, the time occupied in apprenticeship, and thus prevent waste of time and mental energy by both teacher and pupils, which must otherwise be unavoidable." Normal School programs were oriented to the positions and presumed needs of young, unmarried women, especially from the working class. Teacher training required little investment of time and money. Normal school admission was initially based upon completion of some high school courses, the first teacher training programs were only six weeks' duration, tuition and, for out-of-town students, transportation, were free, and inexpensive board and room was available. In the 1901-02 school year, out of 212 Normal School graduates, there were twenty-eight men and four married women, while the remainder were single women (Calam 1984, 33; Johnson 1964, 78; PSR 1901, 277; PSR 1902, lxxxviii-xc).

Teacher training was oriented to provide teachers with a basic foundation in the practice of teaching which teachers could apply to any given teaching situation. Early Normal School programs emphasized psychology, primary teaching methods, and other practical classroom

capabilities. However, a Model School was also established in conjunction with the Normal School program in order to hasten entry into the classroom by providing high school students with an opportunity to combine completion of their own school program with teacher training. Teachers in training were not examined formally, but were evaluated on their overall aptitude to teaching. An emphasis on management, discipline and practical ability was intended by school inspectors and teacher educators to compensate for the lack of quality students that they saw moving into the teaching force. Many teacher trainees had failed high school courses in subjects they would be called upon to teach, and training time in the teacher education programs was devoted to such courses as paper-folding, cutting, and weaving (Calam, 1984, 33). In 1904, inspector David Wilson reiterated the words of an American school official who observed that,

The dense ignorance displayed by the teaching profession on many subjects directly connected with their own work is something beyond ordinary comprehension, and can only be paralleled by their disinclination to make even an effort to learn more in any direction of knowledge or culture. Earnest workers are few indeed. Could we have five hundred thousand progressive, earnest, thinking teachers in our schools now, the next generation of men and women would stand on a far higher level, intellectually and morally, than we do today (PSR 1904, C41).

Normal Schools were intended to promote teaching as a trade. Under the paternal guidance of school administrators who themselves were highly qualified, experienced teachers conversant with contemporary educational requirements, a competent teaching force could be moulded into a profession. Teachers were to assume from parents the task of preparing children for life in the modern world. In this professional endeavour, as teachers were advised by the principal of the Normal School at the 1905 provincial convention, the teacher had to "train parents by assuming that [parents] are anxious to have their children do the right thing in all matters," and they must "never allow parents to dictate to teacher on professional matters" (BCTF 1926b, 29).

The development of a stable industrial society was to be accomplished with the aid of schools which could separate the child from the regressive effects of the family. The trained professional teacher would ably shape the child into a happy, reliable adult ready to perform socially necessary tasks. To this end, teacher training and supervision were intended to nurture a competent teaching force which could adjust to new situations rather than depend upon static rote techniques that schools had previously relied upon. Improvements in the quality of teaching, according to provincial school superintendent Alexander Robinson, a former principal of Vancouver High School, would reveal:

that less time is wasted in grinding over useless exercises in Arithmetic and more attention given to English Literature; that much of the time formerly thrown away in committing to memory abstract rules in English Grammar is now utilized in giving the pupil some practise in Composition and Letter-Writing; and that the text-book, in a few schools at least, is performing its proper function by being simply used as a guide by the teacher (PSR 1902, A16).

In practice, strong obstacles prevented the full realization of these ideal patterns of teaching and learning in schools and teacher training programs. The rapid and uneven growth of school populations contributed to teacher shortages in many localities which, when complicated by pressure from trustees to fill teaching vacancies quickly and cheaply, led to a reliance by rural school districts on hiring teachers with temporary certificates and no special teacher training. Normal School appeared as an obtrusive central presence to many teachers and trustees who feared interference with established practices or needs. In the cities, some teachers opposed having Normal School students in their classrooms as observers or practice teachers. Principals in many of the high schools objected to the fact that the Normal School drew senior pupils away from their own school programs and created an additional burden for pupils seeking teacher certification. Further difficulties in teacher-training emerged through incompatibilities between the Model School and Normal School branches of the training program, with

conflict frequently arising over the diverse nature of the two programs. Given the purpose of the Model School to transform school pupils quickly and directly into qualified classroom teachers, the provincial government established the Model School as a separate organization, with its own principal and a mostly school-trained female teaching staff. By contrast, the Normal School with its male, university-educated administrators and instructors, was concerned with developing over time a more highly skilled, professional teaching force. The Model School's orientation to practical teacher survival through the use of "definite instructional methods" frequently prevailed over the loftier ideals of the Normal School, given the immediate provincial need to staff schools in an economical fashion.

Problems in teacher training revealed conflicting orientations to the development of schooling and teaching in the province. The most experienced and highly educated male teachers and school system officials maintained an image of teaching as a craft which required competent practitioners who were skilled in their supra-parental educational roles. Even if many teachers fell short of meeting that norm, training programs organized under the paternalistic guidance of qualified educators could further the professional development of the occupation as a whole. By contrast, untrained practitioners or teachers who had combined their own high school studies with short-term training in the Model School enabled school districts to maintain schools which could be operated cheaply by a teaching force with few legitimate credentials to question local policies and programs. The orientation towards professional development had to bow to the more immediate concern with staffing schools in the absence of sufficient public funding and local commitment to support a costly, status-minded professional teaching force. Pedagogical differences and the state of underdevelopment of the teaching force in the direction of the professional ideal were asserted in 1925, when J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, the authors of the influential Survey

of the School System which proposed a progressive model of school development for the province; attacked the single-minded emphasis on technique that remained prevalent in the existing provincial teacher training programs of the time:

It would not be incorrect to say that the aim of these schools, as illustrated in much of the practice observed by the Survey, is founded on a belief that teaching is a trade with a body of accumulated experiences which demonstrates that every particular teaching problem has a "definite method" of approach, and that this "definite method" is to be given the student-teacher in the normal school through "definite instruction." That this "definite instruction" in "definite method" is the central aim of the British Columbia normal schools admits of no possible doubt (Putman and Weir 1925, 200).

As in the nineteenth century, educators' goal to create a well-trained complement of professional teachers was still far from realization by the mid 1920s. Increasingly, however, the disparities between high and low status segments of the teaching force were becoming institutionalized within the education system rather than merely products of circumstance.

THE FORMATION OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA TEACHERS' FEDERATION

The collective organization of teachers, as with teacher training, had contradictory implications for teaching which contributed to the bifurcation of the province's teaching force. University educated male teachers who aspired to a career in educational management or other government work shared with more senior educational authorities an interest in advancing teachers' status without undermining the existing school system hierarchy. However, for the vast majority of teachers, inadequate remuneration and poor teaching conditions provided a stark contrast to ideals of professional respectability. Miller (1913, 65), for example, reported that throughout western Canada in 1912, all but the most senior urban teachers "have not as yet from an economic point of view attained the rank of a skilled laborer." Insofar as the status and welfare of the entire occupation depended upon

conditions experienced by the majority of teachers, all teachers had common cause for concern. Nonetheless, as this section emphasizes, the formation of a teachers' organization was to serve as a vehicle for the regulation of teaching as well as a base for teachers' collective resistance.

As with teachers' institutes and teacher training, the earliest attempts to organize teachers were introduced by educational authorities and senior career-oriented teachers. For example, a national organization, the Dominion Educational Association (DEA), was formed in eastern Canada in 1891-92, as an initiative by senior teachers, along with provincial and local education administrators and officials from teacher training institutions, to align the total teaching force with their interests. The DEA, like provincial teachers' institutes, was dedicated to the discussion of educational matters for the advancement of education and the rational attainment of greater uniformity of educational practice (Stewart 1957, 9-14). In 1909, for example, the association had responded favourably to a talk by the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching on the foundation's efforts to promote a scientific basis for a secondary education system coordinated with the college system in Canada, the United States and elsewhere (DEA 1909, 80-89). Although the association strove to include the entire Canadian teaching force in its ranks, the DEA was dominated by senior officials from provincial education systems. Alexander Robinson, who was the Superintendent of Education in British Columbia and president of the DEA in 1909, took pains to establish the benevolent nature of the organization, assuring the public that the DEA was not committed to the formation of a teachers' union (DEA 1909, 7, 32). Frustrated with insufficient state support for education, tremendous regional discrepancies in education cling to outmoded practices, the association's members sought to promote concepts of educational professionalism and growth that were free from overtly political motivations.

The "apolitical" orientations of educational authorities, expressed in groups like the DEA, clashed with the desires of many teachers for a vehicle through which teachers could act on such pressing concerns as teacher welfare and conditions of work. Tensions expressed between temperate calls for professional respectability and demands for action to address more immediate teacher grievances emerged as a recurring theme in teacher-state relations in British Columbia and elsewhere. Periodically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, teachers attempted to meet in order to discuss and act upon common problems. As early as 1885, teachers in Victoria formed a local association, and teachers in the New Westminster and Kootenay districts organized Teachers' Institutes in the 1880s and 1890s. However, the formation of more enduring educational and teachers' organizations was delayed by disagreement between proponents of teacher-led and administrator-led proposals. At the provincial teachers' institute in 1900, delegates heard and discussed a paper on the National Union of Teachers in Britain, and at the 1904 institute, delegates defeated a motion seeking the unity of British Columbia teachers for common benefit. Teachers sought on occasion to exclude superintendents and inspectors from the institutes, but they also felt obliged to explain the reasons for such exclusion to the school authorities (Bruneau 1978, 1-4; Heywood n.d., 10-12; PSR 1900, 251). Tensions were further revealed when school inspector David Wilson blamed teachers' conservatism for the defeat at the 1908 provincial teachers' institute in British Columbia of a resolution to establish as a counterpart to the DEA an educational association which would bring together in one organization all participants in the province's education system (PSR 1908, B23-24). Danylewycz and Prentice (1986, 78) observe similar patterns in Ontario and Quebec where teachers sought collective organization to improve wages and working conditions but, unlike teachers who developed working class ties in more highly industrialized urban centres in the United States and

Britain, remained indecisive over enduring labour or professional linkages.

The eventual formation of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation arose out of a compromise between proponents of contending visions of respectable teacher professionalism and active promotion of improvement of teacher welfare. While formed on teachers' initiative as an organization to advance teachers' interests, the organization was dominated from its inception by senior male career teachers. The organization gained early legitimacy from provincial education authorities but had to struggle more decisively for recognition from local school trustees and business interests.

In 1916, J. Lister, principal of the Vancouver Technical School and an active member of the Vancouver Teachers' Association, invited interested teachers from Victoria and the Lower Mainland to meet jointly to plan a common organization of active teachers. Delegates at a meeting in 1916 and at a founding organizational meeting early the next year agreed that teachers should organize in order to gain greater influence on educational matters. As Harry Charlesworth of Victoria emphasized, teachers had become too highly subject to the "fatherly" interest of provincial education officials. Collective organization was difficult given the segmented nature of the provincial teaching force which in 1915-16 consisted of 2064 teachers, three-quarters of whom were women, with teachers distributed across high schools (eight percent), city graded schools (forty-one percent), rural municipal schools (twenty-four percent), and rural and assisted schools (twenty-seven percent) (PSR 1916, A7, A20). Reflecting in part the different teaching conditions which concerned them, the teachers were divided on what type of organization to develop. One group favoured unionism in order to advance the welfare of the teaching profession; another stressed that because designation as a union would arouse public suspicion, a professional association would be more appropriate for teachers. In order to seek some common cause, although still reflecting domination by more senior experienced

male teachers, delegates to the meeting in January, 1917, adopted the name the British Columbia Teachers' Federation which avoided direct reference to either a union or a profession, and set two principle objectives for their new organization - a professional concern to improve public education in general, and a commitment to seek common cause to increase the welfare and status of the teaching profession. J. Lister of Vancouver, who had initiated the 1916 meeting, was the organization's first president. Charlesworth became a federation vice-president until 1920, when he was appointed as the federation's first full-time general secretary after the BCTF was incorporated under the provincial Benevolent Societies Act in 1919. Most of the early members of the federation were men from Victoria and the Lower Mainland who associated with one another and had common career ambitions within the education system. In a pattern typical of early teachers' organizations and institutes, all of the first BCTF officers, with the exception of the corresponding secretary, were men (Bruneau 1978, 4, 7; Heywood n.d., 15-17; Johnson 1964, 239-240).

The formation of the BCTF appeared to signify a new maturity for British Columbia teachers, consistent with a pattern across Canada where other provincial teachers' organizations were formed at the end of World War I (Muir 1968, 28-29). As men returned from the war, they wanted to ensure that employment in teaching and other occupations was secure and did not suffer ill effects from the entry of women into the work force during the war years. They also sought to provide for the occupation a share of the prosperity that had been fuelled by the wartime economy, and were prepared to defend this collectively, if necessary.

Although BCTF leaders actively promoted a notion of teaching as a non-militant body of trained professionals, they also recognized that teachers' lack of formal bargaining rights combined with a propensity shared widely by school trustees and municipal councils to withhold public

educational funds and subject teachers to arbitrarily designated duties had aroused a growing militancy among teachers (BCTF 1921a, 15). Several local disputes shortly after the formation of the BCTF provoked an early test of the orientations and effectiveness of the teachers' organization. In 1919, the Victoria Teachers' Association engaged in a two day strike, supported by nearly all of the teachers in the district, over the failure of the Victoria School Board to address salary grievances. In February, 1921, ninety-seven percent of the teachers in New Westminster participated in a one week strike after the local board refused to recognize either the New Westminster Teachers' Association or its salary demands. The New Westminster school board threatened that it would consider teachers' absence from work as indication of intent to resign, and advertised for applicants to fill the vacant teaching positions. Also in 1921, teachers in Saanich threatened to take strike action until the board agreed it would relent in its refusal to settle through arbitration a dispute over teachers' salaries (BCTF 1921a; BCTF 1921c; Bruneau 1978, 8-9).

Despite these actions, the early position of the BCTF was ambiguous. Perhaps in part because the existence of the federation offered teachers a collective public presence, resolution of the Victoria and New Westminster strikes tended to favour the teachers. The Victoria situation led to an amendment to the Public Schools Act which provided for the first time the possibility of arbitration in teacher salary disputes. In 1921, with public support mounting in the teachers' favour, the New Westminster board met with the teachers' association before it agreed to take the matter to an arbitration board composed of board, teacher and government appointees. However, resolution of the New Westminster dispute occurred only following the mediating efforts of prominent local business and community leaders, including A. Wells Gray, Rev. Sanford, and J.G. Robson. The teachers' cause was aided by the late 1921 electoral defeat of school board members who were

unsympathetic to the teachers, including the board chairman who considered the teachers as pawns acting in accordance with the interests of "bolshevist members" of the teachers' association (BCTF 1921a, BCTF 1921c, BCTF 1922a). Moreover, in the absence of adequate funding by the municipality and the unwillingness of board members to arouse further hostility by collecting additional funds from ratepayers, the New Westminster teachers finally accepted an award package of \$5,000 rather than the arbitrated sum of \$11,000 (BCTF 1922b).

Because the BCTF was a loose federation of local associations, it played no active role in the disputes, although Charlesworth advised local teachers and sat as the teachers' representative on the arbitration board in the New Westminster case. The Victoria and New Westminster strikes were fought as local matters. BCTF leaders, sensitive to public criticism over a possible militant image which would detract from professional goals, tended to seek conflict avoidance which left many teachers' occupational grievances unattended to in the face of recalcitrant school boards. Teachers in other districts, particularly in Vancouver and the lower mainland region, did not engage in collective action despite defeats of school money by-laws, inadequate salaries, and seriously overcrowded classrooms which were often used by two classes each day and held in temporary quarters (PSR 1919, A37; PSR 1920, C29; PSR 1922, C46). In Merritt, for example, teachers agreed to teach larger classes in exchange for a ten percent increase in salaries that were generally inadequate to begin with, in order to save the cost of hiring one or more additional teachers; however, the municipal council rejected the salary increases, leaving the teachers few options except to call for establishment of a board of reference which could resolve contract disputes (BCTF 1921a).

The prospects for teacher solidarity tended to be uncertain in any given situation. Because of variance in local situations from year to year, total

membership in the teachers' federation fell from 53.6 percent of the provincial teaching force in 1921-22 to 45 percent in 1927-28 (calculated from Province of British Columbia, Public Schools Reports 1921-1928, and MacLaurin 1936, 329). Membership was concentrated in urban areas, and the most active BCTF members and leaders were male city high school teachers and school administrators. High teacher attrition rates, voluntary membership, and demands made by many boards on teachers' time and energy made wider organization of teachers in the province difficult. As the 1922-23 school year proceeded, for example, 579 of 1,606 BCTF members from the previous year had not renewed their memberships in the federation (Charlesworth 1923).

The collective organization of teachers did not constitute a significant shift in the governance of teachers. The BCTF was dominated by a core of highly certified and experienced male teachers who shared common interests with men of similar backgrounds who were now employed by the provincial government as school inspectors, teacher educators, and other officials within the department of education. The orientations of the BCTF leaders followed the spirit of notions of subordinate partnership promoted by John Jessop in the 1870s. Within the more hierarchically organized and formally developed school system of the 1920s, the aims of prominent teachers created a potential democraticization of the school system since collective organization allowed the possibility that all teachers might be able to gain a share of influence in the education system. Nonetheless, BCTF leaders and state school officials shared a vision of education which promoted, to the neglect or subordination of teachers with inferior qualifications or experience, an ideal notion of the teacher as a skilled, male professional engaged in the socially important task of moulding young lives. BCTF General Secretary and founding member Harry Charlesworth promoted the federation in 1927 as a "professional fraternity" - despite the fact that three-quarters of the teachers in the province were women! (Charlesworth 1927, PSR 1928).

Other than membership drives, most of the early BCTF activities and articles in The B.C. Teacher, the federation's publication, were oriented to appeals to raise the "professional spirit" of teaching through increased qualifications, training, and high character, reminiscent of similar appeals by educational administrators (see, e.g., Black 1924, Charlesworth 1924). BCTF officials established The B.C. Teacher in 1921 with the intent to disperse information about the organization's activities among the membership and serve as a "missionary enterprise" to enlighten the province's adult population about the virtues of public schooling. The BCTF's proselytizing zeal concerning the higher purposes of literacy and formal education was reflected in the composition of the federation magazine's first editorial board, which included the dean of Arts and Sciences and the head of the Literature Department at the University of British Columbia, the Victoria city librarian, and the principal of a Vancouver high school, as well as the BCTF's president and general secretary (BCTF 1921b). Charlesworth proudly observed in 1926 that the federation had over the course of a decade made gains for teachers in the areas of international connections with other teachers' bodies, consultation with trustees and the Department of Education on disputes, legislation and changes in curriculum and school law, and some action to redress grievances over salaries and benefits (Charlesworth 1926). While the federation's benefits to teachers cannot be denied, there was little in all of this to address the day to day concerns of most of the teachers in the province's school system. To a large extent, the BCTF became a new level of paternalistic authority which sought to regulate teachers in the interests of professional development and formalize educational relations to provide for the efficiency of the school system.

Despite the formation of a provincial teachers' organization dedicated to advancing the cause of teaching within a strong public school system, extensive fractiousness plagued the teaching force and teacher-state

relations throughout the three decades which followed the formation of the BCTF. The demise of educational and social divisiveness was the aim of the corporate state and its attendant model of educational progressivism which are outlined in the next section. Subsequent sections consider problems in British Columbia's political economy and teacher-state relations which hindered the full realization of the progressive vision.

VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND SCIENTIFIC RATIONALITY - THE REORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLING IN THE 1920s

Industrial expansion in Canada during the first two decades of the twentieth century produced a nation beset with fragmented economic and social interests. Immigration, social dislocation, and pressures for workers' rights posed a threat to industry's desire for a predictable and stable social organization. Capital, in its search for greater coordination of social and economic planning, turned to the state to organize social reproduction more efficiently.

The corporate state represented close integration between central governments, especially at the federal level, and large corporations. This strong central entity favoured a commitment to employ institutions such as schools to engender "vocational efficiency" and responsible citizenship amidst requirements for increased economic productivity and expanded markets. Schooling's potential to harness a large, socially diverse population was augmented by the possible application of new scientific and industrial techniques to educational planning. The advancement of education as a rational enterprise depended in large part upon the corporate state's ability to secure the cooperation of educational authorities and teachers whose loyalties and attentions tended to be focused more upon local or provincial matters than national and international issues.

Educational growth was given a strong boost from the developing relationship between the federal state and industrial capital around the period of the first World War. In 1913, a federal government commission on vocational and technical education released a report which condemned Canada's lack of progress in organizing schooling according to the requisites of "industrial efficiency." The report emphasized the need for a nationally coordinated war "against ignorance, helplessness, poverty, disease, vice and ill-wills;" schooling was presented as the primary battle-zone, where "vocational efficiency" could be instilled through a program of general education which stressed the preservation of health, well-rounded growth in work and leisure, the instilling of "good habits . . . of obedience, courtesy, diligence and thoroughness," and the development of character and "high ideals" (Canada 1913, 75, 160-163). The report, like the commission report on industrial disputes in British Columbia a decade earlier, cautioned against the dangers of class conflict, including the overt exploitation of uneducated workers by unscrupulous employers. Instead, what was to be nurtured was the love of work, both for personal satisfaction and the social good, i.e., the State Interest. These objectives were accompanied by a detailed outline of specific school expectations and instructional methods. Particular attention was paid to the role of women, who, according to the report's authors, required special training in recognition both of their valuable domestic role in the household (because "the housekeepers and the homemakers are always the mainstay of advancing civilization") and of the increasing replication of those duties as women entered the paid workforce (Canada 1913, 174-179).

The growing awakening by leading state and corporate officials to priorities of controlling processes of social reproduction was given further impetus in the 1919 report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations in Canada which was spurred by socioeconomic turmoil after World War I. The

report identified a lack of educational opportunities, along with unemployment, blatant class divisions, and insufficient recognition of legitimate union activity as primary sources of social unrest in the nation (Canada 1919).

The virtues that schooling offered, as echoed for several decades by school promoters, were now to be harnessed for a new vision of industrial harmony that would transcend class strife and social upheaval. In the process, the previous moral emphasis on habit formation was supplanted by a more flexible concern for the human subject in a changing industrial world. "Vocational efficiency" became the rallying cry, and scientific rationality provided the impetus for direct state and corporate involvement in education and other social services.

The 1913 report, particularly its recommendations for increased national coordination of education and a greater emphasis on vocational training in the schools, was welcomed by educators such as the educational administrators and teacher training officials who dominated the Dominion Educational Association (DEA) convention in 1913 (DEA 1913, 19-20). Educators saw an opportunity to advance their vision of a strong education system founded on scientific principles, led by knowledgeable men like themselves. The new breed of educators would rely less on tradition and rote technique than upon superior knowledge and a rational understanding of human behaviour.

In British Columbia, official recognition for these sentiments towards the development of a rational, science-based education system accompanied the economic diversification of the province. The provincial economy remained heavily tied to the resource industries, but consolidation and mechanization contributed to new labour force requirements. In 1920, 82.9 percent of the net value of provincial industrial production occurred in the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing, and trapping) compared to 4.5 percent in manufacturing; in the labour force, by contrast, 28.9 percent of

workers in the province were employed in the primary industries compared to 14.8 percent in manufacturing, according to the 1921 census (British Columbia 1938, 55, 67). The total share of employment in primary production and manufacturing had remained relatively constant over the previous decade (44.4 percent in 1911 and 43.7 percent in 1921), while the clerical and service sector experienced an increase from 18.5 percent in 1911 to 25.3 percent in 1921. By the early 1920s, then, British Columbia's economy was segmented, with a continuing high demand for productive resource sector workers, a relatively low level of manufacturing activity, and a tertiary sector that was beginning to expand. The workforce was further stratified by gender and race. In 1921, over eighty percent of female employees were concentrated in service, trade, finance, or clerical occupations, while the male workforce was dispersed across primary (32.3 percent), manufacturing (15.4 percent), service, trade, finance, or clerical (32.8 percent), and other tertiary occupations (derived from British Columbia 1938, 67). Racial tensions were expressed most fully over the growing Asian population in the province, even though the proportion of Asian-born persons had actually declined from about seven to just over six percent of the total population between 1911 and 1921. The 1921 census reported that about one-seventh of male employees in the province were Asian born, concentrated in service industries such as restaurants and laundries; over half of employed female Asian-born employees worked in domestic service (Bolaria and Li 1988, 116; Canada 1929, lxi-lxii).

In the 1920s, with a stronger and more diverse economy, rising educational costs, and fears of social problems associated with cultural and racial "impurities," the province recognized the need to systematize its education system. Little official attention had been paid to the overall cohesion of the system amidst the expediencies of settlement and economic development. By 1921, British Columbia public schools employed over 2,700 teachers, obtaining pupil attendance rates averaging over eighty percent of

school age children, with schooling compulsory for all children from the ages of seven to fifteen (PSR 1921). Despite the highly centralized character of educational legislation and regulations, however, the provincial school system was more a collection of diverse school districts than a highly integrated unit. In 1924, the provincial department of education, under pressure from BCTF leaders and school system officials concerned about the absence of any systematic vision and organizational principles in the provincial school system, appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the province's schools.

The education commissioners, J.H. Putman and George M. Weir, were widely respected as teacher educators, educational administrators and active members of prominent educational organizations like the DEA. Their report, presented in 1925, provided a comprehensive account and critique of the province's education system, accompanied by a series of specific but wide-sweeping recommendations. The authors repeatedly condemned "conservative" and "reactionary" educational doctrines which subscribed to a narrow focus on academic discipline and habit that produced "intellectual torpor." In place of outmoded arrangements, Putman and Weir espoused "modern" aims rooted in a "progressive" educational philosophy which emphasized active child participation in life experiences as well as the fostering of deferred values to carry into adult life (Putman and Weir 1925, 40-44).

Educational progressivism, which in various forms had taken hold of educational reform in the United States to make schools more efficient and responsive to guided social development, was characterized by its child-centered orientation to nurture the innate worth of each individual and its faith in the application of scientific management in educational administration (Katz 1975, Mann 1980). Putman and Weir considered progressive educational principles to be essential for the development of a complete person oriented to social harmony and altruism. The properly

educated individual would make rational choices in the interests of the wider society:

Any well-rounded system of education, while emphasizing individual development, should stress in greater degree the paramount duty and importance of harmonizing such development with social needs and obligations. The development of the intellect for the service of others as well as of self, the enriching and refining of the emotions, the purifying of the sentiments, the appreciation of one's duties to one's fellow-men and the body politic - these aims of education are neither ephemeral nor ornamental. No complete system of education can afford to neglect these moral and spiritual values which are basic in any true estimate of life (Putman and Weir 1925, 38).

The authors offered several recommendations to meet their stated objectives. Most notably, school programs were to emphasize "life needs," intellectual stimulation and practical activities more than the current narrow focus on rote learning and academic preparation for university. More pupils should be exposed to lengthier periods of formal schooling. The school program should be reorganized into three segments, with six years of elementary school, three years of middle (junior high) school, and three years of high school. The high school program, in turn, would have four "streams" linked to a general graduation diploma, commercial training, teacher training, and university preparation. In accordance with these revised program orientations, the authors made recommendations to ensure a sound financial structure, with a widened property tax base, income taxation, and a provincial fund to equalize school district finances. Although the report emphasized the need to plan a centrally-guided education system through such measures as provincial research-based supervision of education, it sought stronger local school board authority over school operations in order to generate widespread public commitment to the school system (Putman and Weir 1925).

The province began implementation of several of the recommendations almost immediately. A process of educational reform in accordance with the report's outline continued for over a decade, eventually accommodated by the

appointment in 1933 of G.M. Weir as provincial education minister following his election to the B.C. legislature as a member of the governing Liberal party. In 1929, the province adopted the "6-3-3" plan of school organization and by 1938 a completely revised curriculum package was in place or ready for each of the three levels consistent with the report's objectives (Johnson 1964, 111-114; PSR 1938, J28).

The Putman-Weir Report and subsequent action contained several important implications for teachers. The survey itself was instigated in large part through pressure from BCTF leaders, and many of the report's recommendations, including the reorganization of the school system, revised curricula and upgrading of the teacher training process, echoed the federation's own proposals (BCTF 1924; BCTF 1925; Putman and Weir 1925, 1, 527-539). Putman and Weir were adamant that a stable, professional teaching force be developed to provide dedicated educational leadership.

Several changes which followed the report gave teachers greater security and occupational discretion. The report's proposal for a teachers' superannuation fund, for example, strengthened a case teachers had been building since the early 1920s. BCTF general secretary Harry Charlesworth, in particular, was a strong advocate of teachers' pensions, compiling extensive research which revealed among other things strong support for a pension plan in a questionnaire responded to by 3,176 of the province's 3,300 teachers. Charlesworth formulated a draft bill which the provincial government passed in 1929 to establish with limited government resources a teachers' pensions fund (BCTF 1928b, BCTF 1929). The report also hastened the adoption of procedures to strengthen teacher tenure and give teachers the right to appeal against dismissal (Bruneau 1978, 15-16). Department-controlled examinations for elementary and middle school pupils were phased out and in 1937, a program was introduced to allow high schools to become accredited so that pupil standing could be set at the school rather than the

provincial level (Johnson 1964, 110-111, 212-213; PSR 1938).

Putman and Weir stressed that educators should be thoroughly trained in professional matters as well as academic courses so that teachers would be able to perform their classroom responsibilities in a skilled and relatively autonomous manner. Teachers were to become researchers as well as practitioners. They were to be trained in a systematic manner so as to be able to conduct their work in a professional, scientific way (Weir 1926, 5).

Teacher education in the province quickly changed following Putman and Weir's recommendations. In 1925, Normal Schools increased their admission standards, demanding for the first time full academic high school matriculation, and lengthened the academic year from thirty to forty-one weeks. The teacher training program began to emphasize more fully opportunities for practice teaching. Curricula in the Normal School and university programs were revised in the direction of Putman and Weir's call for extended training in psychology and knowledge of "the laws of learning and educational tests and measurements" (Putman and Weir 1925, 227-230, 234). The impetus for some of these measures had actually begun prior to the report, when a surplus of elementary school teachers in the early 1920s prompted the Department of Education in 1922 to discontinue issuing teaching certificates to applicants without a minimum of grade eleven completion plus nine months of teacher training, and in 1923 to introduce a tuition fee of forty dollars for Normal School training (Johnson 1964, 86, 210). The report provided legitimacy for these measures, suggesting that they had a scientific grounding.

Scientific principles were crucial to the reorganization of schooling and teaching. The scientifically organized school could provide a basis for social engineering which would allow individuals to lead efficient and productive lives within industrial social arrangements. Nothing was to be left to speculation or chance. Curriculum construction, Weir (1926, 5)

emphasized, needed to abandon its origins in unscientific "arm-chair analysis" or mere opinion in favour of a method of controlled "job analysis" borrowed from scientific management in industry "in which a job or activity is observed and its elements listed as partial determinants of the proposed curriculum." IQ tests, for example, were administered to pupils in the new urban junior high schools in the 1920s in order to determine placement into various educational streams. Weir and other reformers promoted and introduced physical education courses in schools so that youth would learn to use the leisure time which accompanied industrial development more productively. Leading teachers also actively promoted a rational state-centered agenda. A BCTF committee on Feeble-Mindedness, for example, recommended the establishment of a provincial psychiatrist and special school classes in order to provide a "scientific solution" to problems of crime, poverty and high economic cost created by "mentally defective" youth (BCTF 1928, 31-34; Fitch 1927, 17).

In general terms, Putman and Weir's promotion of science and progressivism in British Columbia emphasized an overall shift from school **inspection**, which stressed evaluation, reporting, and close personal scrutiny of teachers, to a **supervisory** relationship oriented to educational development and professional growth (Putman and Weir 1925, 194-195, 239-240, 269). The regime of personal, paternalistic authority whereby, for example, school trustees could reduce arbitrarily teachers' salaries or school inspectors could reprimand or demand the removal of teachers whose classroom appeared dirty was counterproductive to a system which relied upon teachers' expertise and energies to educate the well-rounded individual. The contribution of teaching to the moral/subjective development of the individual would continue, and in fact increase, under educational progressivism, but it was a new morality infused with dedication to the industrial order and corporate state rather than to purely Christian virtues.

Within this order, the teacher's character was valued more for a trained capacity to make rational pedagogical judgements than for his or her personal qualities outside of the working relationship.

The shift in teachers' position in the school system was not a simple matter of professionalism or proletarianization. Through increased formal training, competency in a broadened sphere of curricular activities, and enhanced status as pedagogical experts, teachers could make claims for professionalism and enjoy increased independence from direct intervention by educational officials. However, teachers' autonomy and expertise were circumscribed by a rationality centered within corporations and the state. Teacher training, skills and patterns of authority which emphasized academic knowledge and instructional techniques transmitted from educators to teachers to pupils were to be stripped away and replaced by curriculum and instruction based upon scientific expertise. Such expertise, in turn, was defined and organized in the interests of capital for coordinated regulation of production processes and labour and commodity markets.

Within the new rationality, the individual was to be regarded not as a totally self-sufficient entity, but rather a subject who was to be carefully cultivated in accordance with harmonious social goals. The corporate state's role was to coordinate this new individualism in a setting sheltered from the baser motivations of industry, unions and other overtly political forces. Science offered an ideological and organizational focus for a new order which legitimized corporate intervention into civil society. State provision of public services such as schools and health care systems provided for the socialization of both the costs and the techniques of social reproduction on a massive scale.

As the remainder of the chapter details, the development of a rational education system was beset with difficulties. Teacher leaders saw an immediate appeal in harnessing educational progressivism for the advancement

of the teaching profession, just as progressivism was intended to activate teachers as agents of the wider agenda, but there was little in the new education plans which would rectify the most pressing day to day problems encountered by most of the province's teachers. Under educational reorganization, a lengthening of the school day and the addition of new courses to school programs increased teacher workload to the point that teachers were commonly overburdened with large classes and demands on their time in and out of class. The problem was most acute for teachers in rural multigrade classrooms who had to learn, prepare for, and teach, new materials across the entire new curriculum (BCTF 1927a; New 1926). Moreover, proponents of progressivism encountered resistance from educational officials who were entrenched within the framework which Putman and Weir criticized as well as from provincial business leaders who demanded a cost-effective school system which produced graduates qualified to step immediately into existing jobs. These problems and contradictions were exacerbated by economic crisis in the 1930s and the wartime economy of the 1940s.

THE ONSET OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND EDUCATIONAL RETRENCHMENT, 1929-1932

School finance continued to be a perennial problem. In the 1920s, education had overtaken public works as the highest single category of provincial expenditure (British Columbia 1938, 241). However, the government continued to shift the burden of school spending onto municipalities - the provincial share of school funding declined from 35.1 percent in 1925 to between 28.4 and 31 percent in the interval between 1930 and 1940 - and the relative shares of school expenditure to total government spending declined from 15.1 percent in 1925 to 9.9 percent in 1939 (Cameron 1945, 9, 12).

These fiscal trends were hastened by the provincial experience during the international economic crisis which began in 1929. The resource-based

provincial economy, highly dependent on export markets, was devastated as the value of provincial production declined by over fifty percent, from 605.7 million dollars in 1929 to 270.4 million dollars in 1932, and the net provincial debt climbed to over 147 million dollars in 1937 (British Columbia 1938, 73, 191). The rate of unemployment swelled to over 27.5 percent of the workforce in 1931 as jobs were lost in the province and transients migrated into the province in search of a relatively amenable climate, if not jobs; in the process civil unrest generated by the unemployed, the dispossessed, trade unions, government employees, and political agitators was displayed in massive organizational drives and protest rallies (Robin 1972, 235-236).

The Conservative government's response to the crisis was straightforward - it increased taxes, cut expenditures, took remedial measures to deal with the dispossessed, and appointed a committee of prominent businessmen to investigate government finance and administration. As part of the government program of action, provincial funding of education was cut from 3.8 million dollars in 1928-29 to 2.6 million dollars in 1933-34, municipal educational expenditures declined from 7.4 million dollars to 5.6 million dollars over the same time period, and a new tax for educational purposes was imposed in 1932 on land outside school district boundaries (British Columbia 1938, 144; Robin 1972, 237).

Governments were also able to use fiscal crisis as a rationale with which they could consolidate their control over public expenditures. Teachers, who had limited contractual protection, were especially hard hit. In some districts, school boards laid off entire teaching staffs by making a claim of fiscal hardship. As a consequence of these actions, teachers suffered wage reductions of thirty percent or more and incremental salary schedules were suspended by local authorities in many districts (Bruneau 1978, 18; Charlesworth 1932b; Sutton 1936).

Despite these measures, the impact of depression upon schools and

teachers' was less severe than it might have been. The recent teacher gains in the areas of pensions and job security, combined with the strengthened association between school and work training, provided teaching with a more stable foundation than occupations in other sectors had. Teachers were also saved by political fortune from the harsh treatment outlined for them in the ill-fated Kidd Report on government in 1932. The report, drafted by a committee of representatives from the province's major industrial and commercial interests, headed by B.C. Electric Railway Company president George Kidd, provided a straightforward statement of business's vision of economic planning in the provincial setting. The commissioners did not hide their alarm at what they saw as the uncontrolled growth of government and extravagant expenditure. They recommended a significant reduction in the scope and size of government activity, fuelled by a cut in the annual provincial budget to six million from twenty-five million dollars. The report stressed an overall downsizing of government to affect all branches, including the legislature, the civil service, government employee salaries, and total government expenditure, but it focused most visibly on education. The authors made recommendations to limit free public schooling only to children between the ages of six and thirteen, charge tuition fees for pupils fourteen years and older, raise fees to cover the total cost of Normal School education, eliminate the government grant to the University of British Columbia, cut teachers' salaries by one quarter, and abolish school boards altogether (BCTF 1932b, 13-18; Victoria Daily Colonist 1932).

The details of the Kidd Report astounded even members of the Conservative government which, although it had commissioned the report under pressure from the business community, failed to implement any of the recommendations. The BCTF dismissed the report as a vehicle "made solely in the interests of the moneyed classes in the province," engineered as "a calculated attempt to set up a class barrier as far as education is

concerned." Outside the business community, other groups provided an equally harsh indictment of the document. Political expression for an alternative socialist vision of social and economic reorganization was mobilized in the province in the form of a new labour-based party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Public hostility stirred in debate over the report extended into fractiousness within the governing provincial Conservative party. The Liberal party, capitalizing on rising electoral interest in the CCF platform, was elevated into power in a provincial election in the autumn of 1932 with a policy which emphasized increasing state social responsibility and economic regulation. The new government's orientation was embodied in the appointment of G.H. Weir, the co-author of the 1925 provincial school report, to the position of Minister of Education (Blake 1985, 16; BCTF 1932b, 3; Child n.d., 2-3; Robin 1972, 242-243).

THE BCTF'S SUPPORT FOR SCIENCE-BASED EDUCATION

The events of the late 1920s and the 1930s provided a clear insight into the alignment of various social groupings with regard to educational policy. The provincial bourgeoisie, which was in a position to benefit from the social provision of a trained workforce, saw that such training beyond minimum levels was superfluous when low-cost labour supplies were plentiful and profit could be facilitated by more direct state investment programs. The working population, as evident in public support for teachers during the New Westminster strike in 1921, widespread revulsion at the Kidd recommendations in 1932, and the CCF's 31.5 percent of the provincial vote in 1933, was beginning to rally behind educational causes and even attempt to assert its own independent vision.

On a much larger scale, unlike the more parochial economic interests of many provincial businesses and workers, international capital required

broader, long-range social and economic planning to facilitate the accumulation and realization of profit. Such large-scale corporate planning, in a context of restricted markets and constraints on growth within a single firm, could be organized efficiently and cost-effectively through the state, carried out by scientifically-trained professional experts.

Educational progressivism facilitated this wider corporate agenda and the expansion of social services and clerical and service work, although educators were concerned to protect the primacy of educational services against baser economic trends. As noted above, progressivism attempted to undermine the old educational elite which stressed efficiency for efficiency's sake. Weir and other progressives were quick to point out how necessary it was for education to stay abreast of and guide social change. Harry Charlesworth (n.d. b) of the BCTF observed that, "Newspapers, business men - advertisers, railways and governments - instantly seize upon new schemes or inventions to serve their ends - whether with pictures, puzzles, moving pictures, or radio -- while teachers too often continue in the old dull paths." The leaders of the teachers' federation, like the new breed of educational administrators, were anxious to promote the virtues of a science-based education system. In the process, though, progressive BCTF leaders and educational administrators sought to distance themselves from what they saw as the new corporate order. According to Charlesworth (n.d. a),

Industry and business today is [sic] rapidly becoming standardized and centralized. Great corporations are being formed. The individual is being merged into the groups - & thus lost. It is a very necessary counter-balance that education should move the other way - away from standardization, centralization & groups - deadening uniformity - to the elevation & development of individuality.

Charlesworth, in his talks to parents, teachers and other educational officials, emphasized the value of using schooling for "social reconstruction" of a new world where people would be capable of overcoming

the "blind acceptance" of "business and national Propaganda." In his condemnation of the 1932 Kidd Report, he noted the similarities between its message and agendas proposed by other commissions, particularly in the United Kingdom, and stressed that:

It is rather a sad commentary on the efficiency and genius of our government, financial and commercial leaders, that when the systems they had elaborately built up in prosperous times collapsed so completely and brought us to our present position, they have had no alternative to offer as a constructive remedy, other than the temporary expedients of curtailing or eliminating services, and of reducing salaries or wages, neither of which policies will help us over our fundamental difficulties, but, by additional unemployment, and further restriction of purchasing power, will rather add to, and prolong them (Charlesworth 1933, 2).

The apparent paradox that educators would decry the influence of business and centralized corporate interests while rallying around a corporate vision of social order provides a useful commentary on the contradictory nature of educational progressivism. Educational progressives were concerned to nurture and protect the individual against the encroachment of standardization within narrowly defined business interests expressed, for example, by the writers of the Kidd Report. However, in common with corporate capitalist interests who sought more systematic regulation of social reproduction, Charlesworth's vision was that school should be an "investment" to create "improved citizens" and fewer unemployed, "misfits," and "blind alley workers." Progressivism and the corporate state agreed that individualism was not based upon ontological freedom, but required social guidance in order to cultivate overall learning skills, health education to learn "how to keep well," knowledge "to make a good home and rear children," effective citizenship and character development, vocational education to learn "to work efficiently and happily," and understanding how to regulate life "according to the standards of the right thing" (Charlesworth n.d. a). These priorities echo the rationale advanced in the Putman-Weir report as well as in earlier federal government commissions on work and education and

initiatives on education proffered by high-powered corporate interests from outside the province, like the Carnegie Foundation of New York, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

Capitalists such as Andrew Carnegie, W.K. Kellogg, and the Ford family actively promoted state-centered efforts to coordinate social reproduction processes through the strategic allocation of philanthropic funds. By offering research grants and funding for selected public services and programs, corporate capital was able simultaneously to generate public goodwill and influence the direction of state policy and the organization of social life. The philanthropic strategy was illustrated in the role of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to develop a system of public libraries in British Columbia. In the late 1920s, the corporation paid the first of five yearly installments of a \$100,000 grant to the British Columbia Library Commission in order to establish libraries in rural communities. The provincial government was to agree to accept responsibility for library funding at the end of the five year term by way of annual grants of up to \$35,000 (Charlesworth 1929). The funding was arranged to ensure state commitment to reproductive practices - in this case associated with the provision of libraries which could not otherwise have been funded by the state - to contribute to stabilization in rural communities, aid in the cultivation of popular literacy, and provide markets for information and printed commodities. Little initial outlay was required by the state, and the measure had widespread popular appeal. The corporation did not operate directly in British Columbia, but channelled its resources through the mediation of local groups and agents, notably Norman F. Black, a Vancouver high school principal who presided over the provincial Public Library Commission.

Corporate foundations also promoted the rise of professions to carry out the reorganization of social life. Training programs, research, and

institutional services funded by the philanthropies supported the professional development of selected occupations such as medicine, teaching and social work. These professions could produce "usable knowledge" and resources for the advancement of the new social order (Popkowitz 1984, 121-124) while gaining and retaining nominal and practical control over important aspects of their work.

Teacher leaders found much in state and corporate attempts to restructure school and society that was to their own satisfaction. BCTF officials regularly invited to the federation's annual conventions speakers like Elwood Cubberly, whose influential work on the scientific organization of educational management was supported by philanthropic agencies (Bowles and Gintis 1976, 226; BCTF 1927b). "Scientific" and "child-based" education required greater investment in teacher training and more intensive use of the teacher's time in classroom interaction with pupils. Both of these potential changes implied that the teacher was to become much more of a "professional" than ever before. When scientific recognition was combined with the overall thrust to stabilize educational services, teachers saw the promise of an increased level of material well-being. Teachers also saw that their status and social power could be enhanced. Because they had a universal clientele (i.e., with compulsory schooling, all school-age children had to attend school), teachers were unique as a social force which could mould the new society.

These conditions made it imperative for teachers to serve as strong advocates of the place of education in the world at large, but not in such a way as to "descend to some of the well-known methods of securing effective power and influence" (Charlesworth 1933, 17). The success of individual teachers and teaching as an occupation depended upon the suppression of activities which would challenge existing relations of power and authority. The proper role for teachers was to cooperate with the Department of

Education and lobby to enhance their position within legitimate state channels. This cooperative stance was facilitated by the relatively privileged status of BCTF leaders compared to other teachers with respect to qualifications, rank and career options. The Department of Education came to rely upon leadership within the BCTF as a channelling device which complemented the traditional pattern of appointing senior teachers and school principals to positions within the educational bureaucracy. The Department further enlisted the cooperation of teacher leaders by providing them periodically with information identified as confidential, which they were expected to withhold from other teachers (Anderson 1963, 247-248).

Education minister George Weir's plans to revise the total British Columbia school curriculum in accordance with scientific principles, starting in 1935, illustrated the contradictory implications of educational progressivism for the teaching force. Weir's objective, in essence, was to complete and extend the implementation of a science-based curriculum which he and Putman had outlined a decade earlier. Under the new plan, curriculum-building was to become a rational process based upon principles derived from corporate-funded research and practices established by American and British curriculum designers, notably Franklin Bobbitt and George Counts. Educational research in the province was to be guided by the work of a Central Committee composed usually of five members who had "a background of administrative experience and special equipment in educational psychology, educational sociology, comparative education and the history of education, research and statistical procedures" (Weir 1935, 20-21). The Central Committee would be assisted by subject committees and general committees for each level of schooling (elementary, junior high, and senior high school) composed of teachers and representatives from a variety of educational, community, and industry groups. Weir, acting quickly to reorganize the curriculum formation process, established the new curriculum and planning

structures to provide greater central direction over education. Formerly the domain of school system officials and sometimes teachers, curriculum planning was now open only to educational experts who possessed accredited backgrounds in designated areas. Teachers would remain formally free to deliver the curriculum, but their working relations required scientific training rather than simply moral character and pedagogical knowledge.

Although the curriculum changes received widespread approval, Weir was criticized from both the political right and left. Conservative business leaders argued that centralized curriculum planning was a "socialist" measure devoted to prepare youth blindly for adjustment to social change. Radical teachers, by contrast, denounced the curriculum's emphasis on scientific objectivity as a dangerous intrusion of the corporate state into education (Mann 1980, 111-113).

Teachers' response to the curriculum revealed a solidifying divisiveness in the teaching force. Cognizant of the growing sympathy of many teachers for a radical labour movement, Weir, like Charlesworth, stressed that teachers' responsibility was to guide the formation of the masses into enlightened subjects, not by the use of "propoganda" or partisan political views, but with the aid of superior objective knowledge about the world. An editorial in The B.C. Teacher in October, 1936, indicated the sympathies of the BCTF leadership for Weir's agenda and the federation's official lack of tolerance for teachers who criticized the curriculum changes. The author praised Weir's ability to present his vision in the the form of a forward-looking curriculum, and claimed that teachers who criticized the program were incompetent: "Many teachers are hampered by the inadequacy of their own professional and academic background. Should the Programme therefore avoid anything that the mediocre teacher will find beyond his capabilities?" (BCTF 1936b, 51). The tension between radical teachers and supporters of the government's new agenda was not simply a matter of words, but the basis for

struggle over the direction of the occupation.

DIVISION IN THE TEACHING FORCE AND PROBLEMS OF COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE

Two competing images of teaching prevailed from the 1920s through the 1940s. One, promoted by educational officials, administrators and teacher leaders who subscribed to the philosophy of educational progressivism, portrayed teaching as a scientifically-trained profession centrally involved in the apolitical endeavour of preparing individuals for life in a changing corporate order. The other, loosely shared by classroom teachers, many school trustees, and school officials dedicated to existing educational hierarchies, emphasized that teaching should be more responsive to daily community concerns than to service for a distant state. Neither view, as a consequence of conflicting interests among teachers, state officials and local trustees, was entirely cohesive. These divisions - among teachers, and between teachers and other groups - produced variations in the ways in which teachers were regulated and the forms of resistance which teachers engaged in. Conflict, as the remainder of the chapter will show, was resolved by integrating teachers more fully into formal relationships within the state, although not entirely in accordance with the rational model advanced by educational progressivism.

Collusion between BCIF leaders and Department of Education officials produced several problems for teachers. Although clearly it was useful for teachers to ally themselves with the Department of Education on such matters as seeking resources and public support for education, the Department was not always committed to or successful in acquiring what the teachers wanted. Pension and salary matters proved to be most troublesome in this regard. In 1938, teachers learned at the federation's annual general meeting that, despite inadequate provision for many already retired teachers, their pension

fund was nearly bankrupt. Disgruntled teachers, led by Hugh Creelman of Esquimault, forced the BCTF leadership to negotiate with the government a revised pension plan which took effect in 1941. Nonetheless, changes in the cost of living and periodic moves by government to reduce its share of contributions made the pensions issue a recurrent problem (BCTF 1938b, 442; Evans 1948; Smith 1970). The settlement of salary matters, normally an issue to be resolved between teachers and school trustees, also became a provincial concern as organized teachers began to pursue more vehemently demands which school boards often refused to acknowledge. Teachers in Vancouver gained a salary scale in 1929, followed over the next decade by teachers in other urban centers and some of the wealthier rural districts (Smith 1960, 151).

During the depression, however, other boards reverted more strongly, often with the compliance of teachers who felt that they had to share the burden of economic crisis, to the argument of inability to pay so as to justify unilateral imposition of low salaries or wage cutbacks. In 1932, a provincially-appointed salary commission, modelled after the Burnham Committees on public sector wages in Britain, brought together representatives from the teachers' organization, government, trustees, and municipalities to make recommendations on a standardized teacher salary schedule. The committee became divided on the issue of what form the scales would take, and two separate reports were issued by a "teachers' panel" and a "people's panel." The teacher representatives, acting with assistance from the National Union of Teachers, Britain's largest teacher organization, refused to agree to proposals by the other committee members for a uniform province-wide scale set under depressed wage conditions. The teachers argued that a uniform provincial scale would lead to a lowering of maximum salary levels without a corresponding increase in minimum levels. Teachers were most concerned to entrench salary recognition based upon several criteria, including years of service, existing scales, educational background, level of

teaching assignment, supervisory responsibilities, and gender. The government, cognizant of dissensus on the committees and concerned with electoral support, did not act to set provincial scales, but it imposed minimum salary levels in 1932 in order to prevent total chaos in teacher salary settlement procedures. However, teachers' fears were soon realized when boards began to apply these minima as standard or even maximum salary levels (BCTF 1932a; Charlesworth 1932a; Johnson 1964, 243).

Responding to these conditions, teachers appealed to school boards and the government for establishment of a settlement mechanism that would be binding on both parties in order to ensure that salary agreements would be negotiated and adhered to. Education minister G.M. Weir complied in 1937 by sponsoring an amendment to the Public Schools Act which provided for compulsory arbitration in teacher salary disputes. This measure was a victory for teachers in the sense that the total salary agreement process was strengthened, but teachers nonetheless did not receive explicit recognition of their right to bargain collectively until 1958 (Muir 1968, 106). In the interim, arbitration would become a divisive issue for teachers, since rural teachers, more than teachers in the cities, faced local authorities who were reluctant to agree to or honour formal teachers' contractual demands or procedures.

An enduring problem related to the BCTF's strategy of cooperation with the Department of Education lay in the lack of unity in the teaching profession. Teachers were split especially according to two interrelated factors of rural-urban and gender distinctions. Inequalities associated with these cleavages were exacerbated by the tendency for men to teach in larger centres and high school settings whereas women were concentrated in rural areas and elementary schools. In 1934, for example, fifty-five percent of the province's 1,283 male teachers compared to eighty-three percent of the 2,590 female teachers in the province taught in rural districts. Median

salary levels for men were \$1,143 in rural districts and \$1,776 in urban districts, while for women the comparable levels were \$1,020 in rural districts and \$1,358 in urban districts (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1934). In 1938, over a third of the province's female teachers, compared to one-fifth of the male teachers, received annual salaries of less than one thousand dollars (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1938).

While these figures reflect such characteristics as differences in qualifications, teaching experience, and supervisory responsibilities, they point nonetheless to significant structural differences in the positions of men and women in the teaching force. The reorganization of schools in the wake of the Putman-Weir inquiry extended the general division of labour which had previously characterized school organization. With larger schools and broader program offerings, the number of school administrative positions (principals and vice-principals) expanded, providing new opportunities for the most well-situated qualified teachers. At the same time, the gradual disappearance of small, ungraded schools brought increasing proportions of teachers into direct subordinate roles in the school system under the supervision of in-school administrators. The prevalent ideology stated that women were predisposed to teach school, but within their distinct places under appropriate male supervision. The observation of one school inspector in 1918, that the development of "manly men" required supervision by male teachers just as the development of "womanly women" required female supervision, gave way to the more general notion that classroom teaching "was a woman's job" (PSR 1918, D28; Woodman 1987, 1).

Under harsh economic conditions it was women and rural teachers, and especially women teaching in rural settings, who were most in need of action to redress immediate difficulties while the organizational agenda for the long-term development of the occupation was being set by the predominantly male, city-based leadership of the BCTF. Teachers who were severely affected

by these disparities were often further handicapped by geographical isolation and the harsh discipline of local school boards (see Wilson 1988 for details). In rural areas, the strong paternalism of school trustees who preferred to dictate wages and conditions of employment provided a stark counterpoint to the emergent ideal of the skilled professional teacher employed in large schools organized around formal administrative principles. Nonetheless, even in larger districts and cities such as Vancouver, trustees and administrators were not hesitant to express personal regulation through such measures as producing unfavourable written reports, verbal condemnation and restricted promotion opportunities for teachers who took an active role in advancing teachers' rights (Sutherland 1987).

These factors made the idea of combining to take sustained action to improve teaching conditions and teacher welfare on a local and provincial level more appealing to a wide cross-section of teachers. By the mid-1930s, two-thirds of the province's teachers had become members of the BCTF (MacLaurin 1936, 329; PSR 1934). However, varying segments of the teaching force set distinct objectives for the teachers' organization which conflicted with the aims of longstanding BCTF leaders.

Senior teachers and school administrators continued their quest to organize teachers in order to protect the occupation as a whole and elevate teachers' professional status. BCTF leaders, frustrated in their dealings with local school trustees who were often uncompromising in their authority over teachers, and exhausted from lengthy annual drives to recruit new members into the federation, turned towards the possibility of gaining legislation that would make membership in the federation automatic with appointment to a teaching position. Delegates at the 1934 annual general meeting unanimously approved a resolution to seek official recognition of the BCTF as a professional body of all provincial teachers. Charlesworth (1934) wrote in The B.C. Teacher that the resolution demonstrated that the BCTF was

on its way to becoming a "real" professional organization. In 1935, B.C. teachers supported overwhelmingly - by a margin of 3,014 to 105 - the executive's proposal to draft a bill on compulsory membership to submit to the legislature. The resultant bill outlined plans for "The Teachers' Society of British Columbia," with membership required of all active certified teachers in the province and with disciplinary power to suspend the registration of any teacher guilty of "unprofessional conduct in any respect" (BCTF 1936a). In 1937, the draft bill was taken to a referendum of provincial teachers. Over eighty percent of eligible teachers voted, supporting the bill by a margin of 2,507 to 787. Nonetheless, because approval of the bill required the support of three-quarters of all eligible teachers, the proposed bill was defeated (BCTF 1935a, BCTF 1937, Charlesworth 1934). The BCTF leaders continued their efforts to organize and gain disciplinary power over their occupation in a "professional" sense, resulting in the implementation of a code of ethics in 1942 and legislation to grant automatic membership in 1947.

The BCTF leadership, however, faced strong opposition to their tactics and some of their objectives from a vocal minority of teachers who sought greater teacher autonomy from state officials and formal channels of authority (Bruneau 1978, 25; Sutherland 1987). In 1935, two groups of high school teachers, one urban and the other rural, began to organize in order to advance alternatives to the BCTF leaders' pursuit of a nominal professionalism which ignored the practical difficulties faced by teachers.

In Vancouver, several secondary school teachers, mostly men with a trade union background, formed the Vancouver Secondary School Teachers' Association (VSSTA) in order to secure economic protection for teachers and gain a stronger role in teachers' affairs than the principal-dominated BCTF structure permitted. VSSTA members agreed with the general principle of establishing a self-regulating teaching profession, but they saw little

difference between the paternalistic leadership of the BCTF and the top-down direction from government. Asking the government to provide a bill for compulsory membership, according to VSSTA leaders like John Sutherland, would merely perpetuate teachers' dependence on the state and, at most, elevate BCTF leaders to positions of individual prominence. The alternative promoted by the VSSTA was to build a strong organization from within which would recognize teachers' common interests with organized labour and community groups. Teachers were not alone in their work, and the experiences and support of other workers who faced harsh employment situations in economic crisis could aid teachers' cause. While some Vancouver secondary teachers promoted a resolution to form an organization which would advance men's wages at the expense of women's, unity-minded VSSTA leaders prevailed with a vision which would support all teachers as agents for social and economic change (Bruneau 1978, 23-25; Sutherland 1987).

Rural teachers also had strong grievances against both a provincial education system which offered them inadequate, deteriorating working and living conditions and a teachers' organization which appeared to have forsaken the rural classroom teachers. The Chilliwack Teachers' Association sponsored a resolution at the BCTF's 1933 annual general meeting seeking support for rural education in the form of Department of Education resources and a superintendent of rural high schools (BCTF 1933, 13). The motion was referred to the federation's executive committee, which did little to alleviate rural teachers' concerns. Also at that time, rural teachers began to use The B.C. Teacher as a forum to share ideas and express major concerns. Among the common problems observed by rural teachers were inadequate teaching materials, geographical isolation, large class sizes, restricted hours in which classrooms were available for the conduct of teaching, teacher inexperience, inadequate salaries, poor housing conditions, frequent teacher turnover, and prejudice by non-teachers and city teachers against rural

teachers (see, e.g., Wrinch 1935; 33). School facilities in rural districts were typically meagre. At Pender Harbour, for example,

The school was held in what was a bunkhouse. It had been a logging bunkhouse. It was on logs that were rounded on the front end for skidding it along to where it was to be left. They put in a couple of wooden steps so that you could get into it easily. The stove was a tin air-tight stove. There wasn't a proper Yukon roof thing. There was just a piece of metal with a hole cut into it and when the wind blew the stove pipe rattled against the side. There was a cedar shake roof and one day it hailed and all the hail came in on the kids. The inside walls were just gray building paper. My blackboard was two squares of black oil cloth, like the old table cloth, only that was shiny and this was black so it was able to take chalk. [You ran into] the shape of the boards underneath as you wrote. There was just no backing on them at all. My teacher's desk was made out of an old packing case and for a while there was a bed in one corner of this bunkhouse. [In one family] the father had an out with the mother and so he was sleeping at the school. I don't know where he was eating. . . . finally the other trustees moved that out of there, especially when they heard the inspector was coming. . . . There were no books at all (Woodman 1987, 15).

Rural teachers also had to contend with strong community pressure which was often formalized in school board relationships, as in one case in the Peace River district:

Conditions in this region have become particularly unfavourable for teachers. Often the teacher became the butt of strong censure or disapproval or persecution, not because of inefficiency, but because he or she did not board at the right abode, or rent the right dwelling, or take sides with the proper clique, or because some trustee, to keep in the good graces of the community, catered to the whims of those antagonistic to the teacher. In one case, where the members of a certain school board had split into two extremely bitter factions, a teacher was engaged by each faction to fill the one vacancy, so that, when the opening day of school arrived, there were two teachers present with opposing representatives of the school board (MacRae 1935, 13).

The growing frustration of rural teachers was given focus as a consequence of a questionnaire circulated in 1935 to rural high school teachers by J.M. Thomas, a teacher at Cobble Hill. Thomas, who had helped organize a Rural Teachers' Association in Saskatchewan, saw in the questionnaire results sufficient evidence of teacher dissatisfaction to establish a distinct organization of rural high school teachers. In 1935, a group of the rural teachers met at the federation's annual general meeting to discuss mutual concerns about domination by urban teachers over federation

policy and the peculiar problems encountered by teachers in rural British Columbia. Recognizing common cause at the meeting, the group crystallized as the Rural High School Section of the provincial Secondary School Teachers' Association. In 1938, rural elementary teachers formed a similar organization and in 1940, finding little satisfactory response from the BCTF as a whole, the two groups merged, calling themselves the Rural Teachers' Association (RTA). The RTA dedicated itself to providing an effective, unified rural voice for federation activities, improving and equalizing salaries for all teachers in the province, and organizing a pool of teaching resources to stimulate pedagogical development in rural schools (BCTF 1935b; Roald 1970, 238, 244-246).

The RTA membership was small, consisting of about one hundred elementary and secondary teachers, mostly men, even though in the late 1930s over one quarter of the province's 4,000 teachers taught in small rural school districts and nearly two-thirds of rural teachers were women. To compensate for the RTA's size, its members possessed or quickly developed strong organizational skills. Members communicated among themselves and with other rural teachers through The B.C. Teacher and regular mimeographed newsletters often financed somewhat mischievously with BCTF resources. Like the VSSTA, the association members' strengths in organizational ability were effective in articulating positions and mobilizing votes at local and provincial teachers' meetings. The RTA shared with the VSSTA a democratic and egalitarian vision with respect to the teachers' organization itself as well as to the treatment of teachers and students in the education system. Classroom teachers who saw few concrete results from the BCTF's quiet diplomacy with the provincial government worked strenuously to give the teachers' organization a more decisive, representative and militant character. In 1938 and 1939, respectively, teachers sympathetic to the two organizations elected J.M. Thomas of the RTA and John Sutherland of the VSSTA

to terms as president of the BCTF. In 1939, under pressure from rural teachers and BCTF members who felt the organization provided few tangible benefits, the federation introduced programs such as a salary indemnity fund to provide coverage for teachers who lost income due to illness or accident, and a benevolent fund in the event of emergencies encountered by teachers (BCTF 1938b; PSR 1938; Roald 1970, 246-247; Woodman 1987).

Despite their members' organizational skills and determination to gain a solid voice in educational matters, the RTA and VSSTA faced strong resistance from the traditional BCTF leaders. These leaders, mostly school administrators, and in particular city elementary school principals with authority over large numbers of teachers, had an organizational and disciplinary base which the VSSTA and RTA lacked. During a debate by Vancouver secondary school teachers on labour affiliation, for example, one junior high school principal, H.N. MacCorkindale (who later became superintendent of schools for Vancouver) attempted verbally to intimidate teachers who supported affiliation with labour in order to get them to identify themselves. Several members of the VSSTA publicly opposed the principal's stand, and began a successful move to expel principals from the VSSTA (Sutherland 1987, 7). However, this defiant teacher stance was unsettling to many teachers. The federation's traditional approach of quiet consultation and deference to senior educational authorities was seductive to a teaching force which received a sympathetic hearing from some members of government, especially education minister G.M. Weir.

By contrast, Charlesworth and other BCTF officials appeared to RTA members to demonstrate greater loyalty to government than to the teachers. Christine McNab, secretary of the RTA, wrote in 1942 that "in reality we have an oligarchic dictatorship in control. . . . The BCTF is very undemocratic in the composition of the Consultative Committee . . . the important executive group in the BCTF. In this group we have centralized control by selected

teachers in Vancouver with little or no representation from the teachers in the rest of the province" (cited in Roald 1970, 236-237).

BCTF officials and other urban teachers, for their part, criticized the RTA as a disruptive force in the federation. The BCTF leaders, who took the position that differential salary scales prompted teachers to upgrade their qualifications, argued that RTA demands for equitable salary levels would undermine standards for the occupation as a whole (Roald 1970, 249). The RTA policy of open, flexible membership to anyone teaching under rural conditions or experiencing rural problems proved frustrating to BCTF leaders. Federation officials attempted to constrain the rural teachers' organization by imposing a strict, detailed definition of rural teaching and establishing formal procedures which would bring the RTA's structure in line with BCTF organization (Charlesworth 1941, RTA 1941). The BCTF also attempted to discipline RTA activists. At one point, Tom Alsbury, president of the BCTF in 1942-43, demanded a membership list which he could use to identify and reprimand members of what he called the "Red Teachers' Association:"

[Tom Alsbury] wanted a copy of our [the RTA's] membership list.

"Well, we don't have a membership list as such. Any teacher that is teaching in rural conditions is a member. We considered them a member whether he pays dues or not."

"Well, who are they?" And he railed away about that he was really angry with us. He says, "Look, I'm going to have you - you people are going to be ruled out of the B.C. Teachers' Federation. We are going to expel you if you don't come up with a list."

And so Morris Thomas stood back and he just calmly told Tom the situation - "We don't feel we are getting a fair shake. We feel that Charlesworth is working only for the Vancouver teachers," and so on. Nothing really came of it (Woodman 1987, 7).

The BCTF leaders' hostility towards the RTA and the federation's failure to address the need for action on matters of significance to classroom teachers strengthened the resolve of RTA and VSSTA members to alter existing authority relationships in education. RTA members demonstrated their defiance in 1942, calling for the removal of Charlesworth as the BCTF general secretary. On the matters of pensions and salaries, RTA and VSSTA members

engaged in protracted and often bitter confrontations with BCTF leaders to persuade the federation to renegotiate terms of agreements with the provincial government in order to gain terms which were more favourable for teachers in general (Roald 1970, 252-257; Sutherland 1987, 16-17).

The clash between the action orientation of the VSSTA and RTA and the polite negotiating approach of the BCTF leaders carried into several interrelated areas of concern in the late 1930s and early 1940s - improvement and parity on salary terms, better teaching conditions in rural schools, strengthening of the teachers' organization, and cultivation of ties with labour organizations.

The RTA's position on salary arbitration highlighted the differences between the two approaches. The RTA opposed arbitration as partial and ineffective in nature, pitting isolated groups of teachers against trustees. Combination, through provincial salary scales, labour affiliation and in other forms was a more effective expression of democracy than the BCTF leadership's emphasis on fragmented strategies which often, despite stated aims to the contrary, reflected self-interest. The RTA executive declared in 1942 that:

We reaffirm our loyalty to the cause of a democratic system of education in this province. We hold ourselves loyal to a cause that is greater than any individual's welfare or any particular type of organization. This is not to be confused with that type of loyalty that is the customary device of the social or political climber or of the office-holder or job-hunter. . . . We are not primarily loyal to that group centering around the person of the general secretary - a group "in the nature of an oligarchy" - whether or not the president is proud to rate himself a member of it. We prefer to hear no more rantings about loyalty from the present president of the B.C.T.F. (RTA Executive 1942, 94, 103).

The strains which emerged to the forefront as teachers sought effective ways to pursue major issues came to be defined by many teachers and non-teachers as a matter of professionalism versus unionism, or moderates versus militants. There was no unanimity that the distinction was useful, but it was to become an enduring one.

Despite their internal struggles, teachers did find some common ground, particularly in salary negotiations with school boards. The BCTF's organizational support was useful in providing advice and resources to counter authoritarian and paternalistic trustees. Not even the most anti-rural city BCTF officials could deny the problems rural teachers faced in their dealings with school boards. Trustees' propensity to dismiss teachers and their provincial federation was illustrated in a situation which occurred in Chilliwack, as described later by John Sutherland who at the time of the event in 1937 was the BCTF's vice-president:

The school board would negotiate with the local teachers' association, but they were prepared to have me come out and meet them along with Charlesworth. But they wouldn't allow Charlesworth to come into the meeting because he was too much of an agitator. This was their contention and, of course, those of us who were against the compulsory membership looked upon Mr. Charlesworth as a very, very, very moderate man. In our view too moderate. And here the Chilliwack School Board looked upon him as a militant whom they refused to meet. So, it ended up with me every now and then having to pop outside to see Charlesworth to see what we thought of the latest proposition. Well, we ended up at this meeting with a maximum of \$1,800 for the secondary teachers and we shook hands on it. And that was, I think, a Friday night, and they told me they would formally adopt the agreement at their next board meeting which would be on Monday or Tuesday of the following week. This meeting with me couldn't do that because it wasn't a meeting that had been called according to the school law. And much to my surprise then on Wednesday of the next week, I think it was, I got a phone call telling me that they had reneged on the agreement. We had a gentlemen's agreement and they just went back on it (Sutherland 1987, 13).

The cooperative relationship between BCTF officials and local teachers was given a strong test in Langley in 1939, when the school board refused to name a committee member to adjudicate an arbitration case between the board and the Langley Teachers' Association. The government, following the procedure outlined by the 1937 amendment to the Public Schools Act, appointed a representative for the trustees, but the board then refused to accept the arbitration decision that was made. When the teachers, acting in consultation with BCTF president John Sutherland, successfully carried their case to court, the board made futile attempts first to fire, and then demote, forty teachers, all women who had been instrumental in the fight against the

board's actions. The teachers were reinstated when the provincial cabinet dismissed the school trustees and replaced them with a cabinet-appointed trustee as established by provincial school legislation (Bruneau 1978, 28-30; Sutherland 1987).

The Langley case highlighted the growing willingness of teachers to employ and extend the legal and organizational devices that were available to them. Teachers allied themselves with the provincial state in their efforts to formalize and stabilize educational relations when the province appeared willing to use legislation or official procedures to grant teachers some security against recalcitrant school boards which often attempted to degrade the role of teachers, particularly women in teaching. The Langley situation demonstrated that teachers could overcome these obstacles if they were organized and able to mobilize their ranks for prolonged periods of time.

Overall, struggles in the 1930s and 1940s for direction within the teaching force revealed the contradictory nature of teaching. Teaching was constructed through a combination of factors, including state regulation, changing but frequently harsh material circumstances, segmentation within the teaching force, and ideologies of professional service grounded in both school practices and corporate requirements for social stability. No single logic of either professionalization or proletarianization prevailed, but rather teaching was shaped by the efforts of contending interests to accommodate teaching as an educative and productive venture. However, there was growing agreement among teachers and state officials that the school system required greater internal consistency with more equitable treatment for all school participants. As illustrated below with reference to the issues of BCTF affiliation with labour, gender disparities and school consolidation, divergent orientations towards teaching began to converge under the promise that teaching would gain occupational power and security through increased state coordination of educational services.

LABOUR AFFILIATION

The efforts of RTA members to attract attention to rural conditions combined with dramatic experiences like the Langley case drew some sympathy from city teachers, most of whom had begun their teaching careers under similar circumstances. At the BCTF's 1943 annual general meeting, members agreed to pursue a course of action in support of teachers' rights which included possible affiliation with organized labour and a campaign for improved rural teaching conditions. The question of seeking closer ties with the union movement was brought to the forefront of the BCTF agenda by the VSSTA members, eventually the RTA, and individual teachers who saw striking parallels between the treatment received by teachers and other workers during the depression. The possibility of teachers' involvement with labour highlighted tensions over the dual nature of teaching. Proponents of unionism emphasized teachers' role as productive employees in common with other workers. Opponents argued that teaching, with its sensitive contribution to human development, needed to remain distinct from any class or political factions.

The debate over affiliation with labour became a continuing part of BCTF politics in the 1930s, highlighted especially at annual general meetings which brought together teachers from across the province. In 1938, a committee established by the federation to investigate the matter presented divided recommendations. Three members issued a majority report recommending affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, while two members in a minority report opposed affiliation. The two reports expressed clearly the distinction between a view that teachers should promote working class interests and the corporate position that teachers should act in the general interest. The majority report, under the leadership of K. Madge Portsmouth,

expressed a conception of teachers as productive workers:

The interests of teachers, both as regards economic considerations and also as regards professional standards, are closely bound up with the interests of the workers, whose children form the great majority of our school population. Teachers are producers, in the sense that they add to the mental and material wealth of the community (BCTF 1938a, 313).

By contrast, the minority report, while not opposed to the principle of cooperation with labour, stressed that teachers should work for the common good of all society, avoiding any political action or class consciousness "that would tend to increase rather than diminish the social tensions and cleavages already existing" in society (BCTF 1938a, 315).

These debates were replicated throughout the province on several instances. The latter view in opposition to affiliation emphasized the general argument of BCTF leaders that unionism was incompatible with a form of professional status or occupational self-governance which would enable teachers to act in the public interest. Links with trade unions, according to this view, would create partisan or organizational obligations which would hinder the ability of teachers to attain automatic membership provisions for the BCTF, to deliver an important public service, and to achieve professional growth and pedagogical development. The former view, held by proponents of union affiliation like the VSSTA and militant RTA members, stressed to the contrary that ties with labour were not irreversible and were in fact compatible with teachers' professional aspirations. They defined the benefits of affiliation in terms of the increased ability that teachers would have to influence and learn from other sectors of society. While the most radical teachers stressed the need to develop working class ties, other proponents of union affiliation saw unionism as merely one of several linkages which could be cultivated with other groups, including government (Ovans 1955). The legitimacy of teacher affiliation with labour was given credence when even the minister of education, H.G.J. Perry, publicly indicated in 1943 that he saw no reason to oppose teachers' efforts to seek

liaisons with other groups (Vancouver Sun 1943).

At the federation's 1943 annual general meeting, fueled by frustration over salaries and rural teaching conditions, fifty-six percent of the delegates voted in favour of a resolution to affiliate formally with a labour organization. The Rural Teachers' Association declared at the meeting that its goals of committing teachers to act to recognize rural teaching concerns and seek ties with labour had been met, and agreed to disband. The BCTF committee on labour liaison was instructed to decide whether to affiliate with the trades-oriented Trades and Labour Congress or the Canadian Congress of Labour, which was composed primarily of industrial unions. With an assurance from the former that teachers would not be forced to go on strike to support any other union, the BCTF opted for affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress, effective December 20, 1943 (BCTF 1950, 269, 272). These ties were strengthened through decisions by Vancouver and New Westminster teachers' associations to join the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council.

Ironically, teachers' actions in 1943 transcended the inclination held by most teachers to avoid or step tentatively into labour politics. Teachers feared being enmeshed into a larger organization which might coerce them into supporting particular political orientations or strike action that seemed beneath the dignity of teachers. In fact, however, as Phillips (1967b, 140) states, the move by the BCTF to affiliate with the Trades and Labour Congress actually influenced the labour movement in the province. Teachers' entry into the labour fold provided legitimacy for a burgeoning sector of white collar workers and public employees whose membership in craft unions would eventually outnumber the more traditional industrial union base after the second world war.

The mood of aggravation that swayed B.C. teachers to support union affiliation also forced them to confront the strike question without being

pushed by other groups. In September, 1942, the RTA called for a province-wide "Education Day Protest" to publicize, through a one day withdrawal of services, problems in education and the province's failure to address salary disparities for rural teachers (Roald 1970, 255). That same autumn, teachers in North Vancouver mobilized and received a near-unanimous strike vote after a government-appointed trustee in the district refused to concede arbitration or improvements in teachers' salary scale. Eric Woodman, president of the North Vancouver Teachers' Association at the time, later recounted that:

I was principal of a four-room school in North Lonsdale and I think I was getting \$1,300 a year. One of my grade seven kids quit and went and worked in the shipyards, and he was getting more than I was. He said, "Come down and work for me." So that was the sort of thing. [The district trustee] said, "Gentlemen, if I were sitting on that side of the table, I'd be doing the same thing that you are; I'd be asking for an increase in wages. But I am sitting here and I've got to find the money and I can't do it." So that was it (Woodman 1987, 8-9).

The BCTF leadership, concerned about the possible impact of a teachers' strike on the public and on other disgruntled teachers, attempted to stifle publicity over the strike vote. Nonetheless, the North Vancouver Teachers' Association, seeing public awareness of teachers' plight as one of the objectives of strike action, ignored the warnings of BCTF president Tom Alsbury to avoid comment to the media (Woodman 1987, 9).

The position of the North Vancouver teachers reflected a widespread sentiment among teachers to break from the traditional quiet diplomacy which had brought them few positive results in recent years. The range in average salaries for different categories of teachers, between \$980 for rural elementary school teachers and \$2,434 for city high school teachers in the 1942-43 school year, provided a focal point for rural teachers' concerns; 601 teachers of the province's 4,029 teachers had salaries below \$900 (PSR 1943). As part of the RTA's action plan, which garnered support from the BCTF membership in 1943, the federation mounted a referendum on the question of teachers' support for strike action as the only means to draw the

government's attention to conditions in rural schools. The RTA proposed a strike to begin on October 15, 1943, if all teachers were not assured a minimum salary of at least \$900 by that time. Referendum votes were cast by 2,908 of the province's 4,203 teachers, with 56.6 percent of the ballots in favour of strike action. The results revealed a greater proclivity for militant action among rural teachers and non-members of the BCTF than among city teachers and federation members. Support for the measure ranged from 45.3 percent in the cities to 74.4 percent in rural districts, while 60.5 percent of teachers who were not BCTF members, compared to 54.3 percent of federation members, voted in support of strike action (BCTF 1944, 2-3). The strike was not carried out, due largely to statements of commitment from the federation leadership and the government to seek improvement in the organization of education especially in the rural areas, the federation's impending labour affiliation, and the absence of mobilization among BCTF members to support a strike.

The strike vote and other signs of teacher unrest showed that classroom teachers were increasingly determined to alter the traditional relations of deferential cooperation with authorities both in and outside of the occupation. The conception of the teacher as a professional educator oriented to the eradication of social division and other evils was meaningful only to those teachers who held or could realistically attain favourable positions in the school system, usually as administrators of large schools. To the majority of teachers, social divisions were real and enduring, reinforced in their own experiences as workers subordinate to the whims of hostile parents, tight-fisted trustees, and idealistic educational leaders. Some teachers, like the more militant leaders of the RTA and VSSTA, identified their positions, along with other workers and the children of those workers, in class terms. Nonetheless, a growing propensity towards militancy did not necessarily signify complete teacher commitment to a vision

of radical social transformation. As the ready assimilation of the RTA into the BCTF and the dissolution of the strike threat in 1943 indicated, teachers were most concerned to alleviate specific teaching and living conditions within a given social and educational system. Any escalation of teacher-state struggle was likely to occur only if the state did not attend to further teacher grievances such as increasing concern for gender disparities in teaching.

TEACHERS' PURSUIT OF PAY EQUITY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The end of economic crisis and a wartime economy in the early 1940s magnified income disparities between teachers and other workers, men and women, and rural and city teachers. However, post-war economic revival depended upon stability in the spheres of production and reproduction, accomplished in such a way as to accommodate changes in gender roles and economic activity. Part of that stability involved measures to improve conditions for women in occupations like teaching.

During the war, the west coast attracted development in the form of shipbuilding, airplane manufacture and other industrial activity. Productivity in logging, mining and chemical production for war purposes accelerated throughout the province, as did the production of food for domestic consumption. To service these industries, massive infrastructural development proceeded in such areas as transportation linkages, hydroelectric production, and housing construction (Ormsby 1958, 481-482). The health of the provincial economy was indicated in the statistic that by 1943, provincial government revenue outstripped expenditures by nine million dollars (Statistics Canada 1983, H133, H206). The diversion of state funds and priorities to the creation of private investment opportunities, combined with the varied employment opportunities that opened up primarily to male

wage-earners, though, left women workers, particularly in public sector work like school teaching, relatively disadvantaged. In 1944, by which time the majority of the province's teachers occupied town and city teaching positions, average salaries for women teachers in rural districts had declined to 71.2 percent of average salaries for their male counterparts, compared to a ratio of 89.2 percent in 1934, while in urban districts the female to male teacher salary ratio dropped from 75.9 percent in 1934 to 68.3 percent a decade later (calculated from DBS 1934; DBS 1944).

Women teachers constituted seventy-two percent of the teaching force during 1944 and 1945, compared to sixty-two percent in 1939, as men's labour was directed towards Canada's participation in World War II (calculated from DBS 1940; DBS 1946). Married women, in particular, were recruited into teaching and other occupations as a cheap, temporary labour force. Earlier school board practices of releasing women from teaching positions upon marriage had the effect of creating a reserve pool of trained teachers who could be drawn upon in times of teacher shortages. A BCTF survey released in 1946 revealed that half of the five hundred married women teaching in the province planned to leave teaching as soon as their labour was no longer required, even though most of the women surveyed held permanent rather than temporary or interim teaching certificates (BCTF 1946a; Charlesworth 1942). After the war, the intentions of temporary service were borne out. By 1950, the proportion of women in the teaching force had once again reached pre-war levels (DBS 1950). However, women did not leave teaching purely by choice. In the late 1940s, several female teachers received instructions only a few days before the end of school terms to the effect that the school board "had decided that all married women whose husbands are working would be asked to terminate their engagement with the Board at the end of this term" (Chapple 1948).

Women teachers were not the only female workers displaced by the war's

end. As part of the overall expansion of state activities to coordinate social and economic life during and after wartime mobilization, state attention was directed to easing women out of the workforce with a minimum of political disruption. Federal government studies like the Marsh Report on Social Security for Canada in 1943 and the advisory subcommittee report on the Post-War Problems of Women in 1944 asserted the position that women's labour force participation was secondary to both men's paid labour and women's domestic role. The government, in a restricted application of the reports' recommendations, established retraining programs and family allowance payments to encourage women to move into domestic roles or work in "gender-appropriate" jobs in teaching, trades or services which did not conflict directly with male employment (Kitchen 1987, Pierson and Cohen 1984).

The renewed emphasis on the domestic realm and reorientation of women's working roles had a significant impact on teaching. State emphasis on job training, the male primary wage earner, and family stability provided an impetus for school growth in terms of increased enrollment and attendance as well as expanded course offerings. The school's ability to enhance the child's labour power was increasingly valued for future economic production. Productive reproduction required stability in civil society. Besides creating a demand for more teachers, social emphasis on the importance of mothering and other female-oriented roles also produced an impetus to improve conditions for women who occupied such positions. If teaching, for example, was to be valued as women's work, then women teachers would have to become paid and treated on a comparable level with men.

Teachers began to link their demands for improved salaries and conditions in rural schools to calls to remove discrimination in the treatment of, and payment of salaries to, men and women. In 1941, discussion with the Department of Education and school trustees towards establishing a

fair province-wide salary schedule became a major BCTF priority. The federation's determination to take possible strike action in 1943 over rural salary conditions was indirectly linked to the salaries of women, who constituted the largest proportion of the rural teaching force, although it was more specifically a move to upgrade the status of the teaching profession as a whole. In 1945, the BCTF, under pressure from rural teachers, began legal action to force the government to end school board practices of terminating the employment of married women teachers. Finally, beginning in 1947, when the province responded to agitation from other groups in the province by passing legislation to remove wage discrimination between men and women who carried out the same work in a common establishment, teachers pressed their own case for equal pay. In 1947, all but four school districts in the province had some provisions for equal pay, but many distortions existed at various levels within salary schedules. Larger school districts like Vancouver, North Vancouver and New Westminster, for example, continued to pay women at higher ranks less than their male counterparts until 1952. In their briefs to government supporting the case for equal pay, teachers argued that common rationales for pay differentials, including the claims that men had higher expenses than women and that equal pay would discourage men from becoming teachers, were invalid. Teachers observed, further, that equal pay would encourage changes in the division of labour in school activities so that women would no longer be confined to such areas as coordinator of Red Cross or Music Festival events. In 1953, after several years of pressure, the provincial government responded with legislation which ensured that women received fair remuneration for their work (Bernick n.d., 3; BCTF 1941; Johnson 1964, 244; Vancouver Teachers' Council 1947).

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

As the events in the 1920s to 1940s demonstrated, teachers were beginning to have an impact on educational policy in the province. The teachers, though, made gains most effectively in areas which converged with other interests, particularly but not exclusively the provincial government. Just as economic crisis and social unrest had precipitated increased state and corporate interest in social coordination after the turn of the century, so crisis and war in the 1930s and 1940s created conditions for improved teaching conditions and greater centralization of economic planning and state activity.

The Putman-Weir report in the 1920s signified the first comprehensive outline of a highly developed education system in the province. As noted above, many of the authors' plans were implemented, but often in a haphazard manner, subject to erosion by periodic exigencies. The Kidd report in 1932 provided a striking example of how far some interests were prepared to go to dismantle the education system.

More significant to the system of public schooling, however, was a mid-1930s provincial commission on school finance conducted by education minister Weir, finance minister and future provincial premier John Hart and, as technical advisor, former teacher H.B. King. King, like Weir, was an educational progressive who advocated a science-based, professionally guided, efficient education system. Education, according to King (1935, 34), was an all-encompassing enterprise designed to "rear" children in every area of life for the purpose of improving community living conditions. Eliciting input from such noted authorities as economist John Maynard Keynes, who observed that social development required investment in a sound education system, King presented his report in 1935. The report's recommendations included the total centralization of educational finance at the provincial level,

increased property tax and sales or income taxation to finance schools, the reorganization of smaller schools into large school districts, the establishment of an "impersonal, objective" provincial appointments committee (with BCTF representation) to select and place teachers and, upon achievement of fiscal centralization, the abolition of local school boards. King, who was fascinated with the principles of scientific management, sought to transform schools on the basis of rigorous task analysis and testing. Measures of IQ and other standardized test scores, for example, would allow students to be placed in programs on the basis of a wide range of ability. King, like BCTF leaders, promoted the ideal of social progress driven by a meritocracy rather than the old distinction between secondary education for an elite and terminal elementary schooling for the masses (King 1935, 35, 141).

The principle of fiscal and administrative centralization had an appeal to state officials and teachers who were aware of the problems involved in the operation of an often unstable school system with its many small schools. The RTA, for example, favoured consolidation of smaller units in order to ensure that adequate resources would be available to provide equality of educational opportunity in the province. Nonetheless, the King report elicited heavy criticism, particularly from school trustees and small business operators, on the grounds that it was undemocratic, elitist and socialist. Amidst the furore, the government did not act to implement formally King's recommendations (Johnson 1964, 117-121; Mann 1980; Statistics Canada 1971, 23-24).

During the next decade, educational inequities and the problems of smaller school districts intensified amid complaints from property owners of excessive school taxation. In the context of economic depression, the ability of many of the province's smaller school districts to provide educational services had reached their limits. In 1932, there were 830

school districts, or one district for every 140 pupils; in the province. These districts were often haphazardly organized, tending to correspond with small municipal districts which could barely support the operation of schools and which, with limited population bases, had to face the outrage of ratepayers faced with the possibility of raising funds to increase teachers' salaries or provide new school resources (Smith 1960, 181).

A first experiment in administrative centralization began in the isolated Peace River area in 1933, where within a two year period sixty-three smaller districts had been amalgamated. The government viewed the measure, in fiscal and administrative terms, as a success. Teachers, in general, favoured consolidation. Larger districts offered teachers greater job security and potentially removed them one step further from the often arbitrary dictates of local parents and trustees. C.D. Ovans, principal of the school at Pouce Coupe in the Peace River district, argued that the introduction of the larger school district was accompanied by better qualified teachers, financial and job security for teachers, and higher standards of education, as opposed to "the terrorizing of teachers and the petty patronage system that has in many cases existed in the giving out of tenders for school supplies and repairs in smaller rural districts" (Ovans 1936, 28). However, school trustees and other local officials, alarmed at the provincial government's intervention in local affairs to dissolve the smaller districts in the Peace River region, attacked the move to consolidation as "fascistic" and "despotic." As a consequence, in part, of the public outcry, the government delayed efforts to amalgamate districts in other regions of the province (Child 1972).

In 1944, facing the prospect of an upcoming election campaign, the provincial government appointed M.A. Cameron, a member of the faculty of education at the University of British Columbia, to conduct an inquiry into school finance and the relationship between provincial and district

jurisdiction over schools. Following a series of public hearings, Cameron presented his report prior to the election in 1945. He expressed dismay at the severe inequities in school finance and educational services in the province which were revealed in wide disparities prevalent among school services and tax bases. Inadequate financing had led in recent years to the closing of schools in at least 301 districts and left many other rural school districts in a tenuous existence. Parents in centres which lost schools were forced to pay tuition to allow their children to attend school in neighbouring districts (Cameron 1945, 28-35). Cameron stressed the provincial government's responsibility to create a viable, equitable and well-financed education system composed of "adequate" or "satisfactory" school units administered by elected district boards of school trustees. He proposed seventy-four such districts, including the retention of seven already in existence. These would be established in such a way as to guarantee a tax and population base sufficient to offer a complete school program from grades one to twelve with a baseline of forty teachers in each district. The districts, Cameron argued, should be defined with regard to prevailing community and economic linkages, but school district boundaries should transcend municipal boundaries so that school boards could concentrate on the delivery of school services without having to concern themselves with non-educational priorities (Cameron 1945, 86-88). Cameron also recommended that the major portion of school funding should be provided by the provincial government in the form of a basic grant calculated on the basis of teachers' salaries (determined according to a provincial schedule) plus a per pupil operating grant, augmented by district taxation provided through standardized assessment of all land and improvements (Cameron 1945, 81-82).

Initial reaction to the report was favourable. The BCTF applauded the report, but felt that salary standards should be higher than those suggested by Cameron (BCTF 1945). The Liberal government, newly headed by John Hart,

promised in its election platform that it would implement the report in full. The government was successfully re-elected and, with Weir returned as education minister after a seven year absence from government, acted quickly upon its election promise. In the spring of 1946, the legislature passed a package of amendments to the Public Schools Act and, with the cooperation of school inspectors, Cameron's proposals for organizing and financing a system of large school units in the province were put into effect for the 1946-47 school year. By 1948, only sixteen unattached rural districts remained out of ninety-three total school districts in the province (Johnson 1964, 127, 131; PSR 1948, JJ14; Statistics Canada 1971, 24-25).

The initial promise of this new phase of educational reorganization soon appeared to fade, however. In the autumn of 1947, the BCTF raised the question, "what's gone wrong with the Cameron Report?" (BCTF 1947) Teachers were critical of the government's failure to ensure an adequate base for significant educational advancement. The teachers argued that the basic structure of education in the wake of the Cameron report was sound. They felt, however, that education was being singled out for criticism unfairly because of the readily identifiable provisions for school taxation. New school tax measures had provoked public outcry from ratepayers, especially companies and individuals who previously had paid few or no school taxes. School reorganization, which had coincided with post-war economic expansion, pushed total expenditures on education in British Columbia from \$14.8 million in 1945-46 to \$25.7 million in 1947-48 (PSR 1981). The BCTF emphasized that even with the cost increases, schools remained underfunded and the teaching force underdeveloped. Contrary to appeals and promises for a well-paid, highly-qualified complement of teachers within a consolidated school system, teachers' salary increases had exceeded the cost of living by a total of only one percent between 1945 and 1948, and in 1948, one hundred and eighty-eight unqualified teachers held teaching posts in the province (BCTF 1948a).

Despite criticisms that public education remained costly and inefficient, there had been a general convergence of interest between teachers and provincial education authorities in the late 1940s. Both parties desired, and agreed that a solid foundation had been laid for, a stable provincial education system. There was also agreement that a good education system required teachers who were paid adequately and who could best perform their duties where good standard teaching conditions were in effect. Finally, in 1947, the province recognized the BCTF's legitimacy with legislative approval of teachers' request for automatic membership provisions for the federation. Only twelve out of over 4,800 teachers in the province took advantage of a clause in the legislation which allowed them to opt out of federation membership (Johnson 1964, 250). Under these circumstances, teachers and government officials appeared to agree that teachers had achieved a respectable, unified voice on educational matters in the province.

What was left to be determined was the specific role that teachers would take in educational decision-making. Teachers had to determine whether to continue to strive for basic advancement of their own salaries and welfare as a profession or to extend their agenda into other areas, as the RTA and VSSTA had stressed prior to World War II. At the same time, the government and its officials had to determine for their own purposes what teacher responsibility entailed and how far, if at all, it could be extended.

TOWARDS CONSENSUAL TEACHER-STATE RELATIONS

This chapter has been concerned with the establishment of schooling in the first half of the twentieth century as a central site of social reproduction. Contrary to traditional views which concentrate on the progressive evolution of schooling and teaching within a neutral social order, I have shown that notions of educational consensus and teacher

professionalism are politically constructed through the interrelations among disparate social interests within particular material contexts. However, the definitions and practices associated with teaching are not purely the consequences of domination by ruling groups, as critical approaches to the study of teaching assert. Instead, teacher-state relations are shaped by the conscious activities of educational participants organized around distinct patterns intended to guide the working and social existence of children.

Increasingly in the twentieth century, teachers were expected by corporate, political and educational leaders to nurture in a calm, rational manner the development of the individual through a course of often abrupt social and economic changes. Under the guidance of the teacher, boys and girls would become workers and citizens devoted to the advancement of the corporate order. Teachers were to accomplish these tasks not as ordinary men and women but as skilled, devoted, morally upright public servants. Educational leaders introduced systematic teacher training, first in Normal Schools to provide practical classroom skills and later in scientifically-grounded academic programs, to screen appropriate individuals and enable the teacher to become self-regulating within terms set by educational officials.

Teachers were regulated in a variety of ways. Especially if they lacked strong formal credentials and taught in isolated rural districts or occupied lower positions in hierarchically developed urban districts, teachers were frequently subject to the personal dictates of administrators and other school officials. The advancement of professional training, educational progressivism and scientific pedagogies carried the promise of liberating teachers from such personal regulation. The introduction of rational educational procedures such as streamed student placement and planned curricula allowed teachers to gain new skills and professional status, but teachers became increasingly dominated by administrators and planners whose major concern was to manage the school system efficiently and cost-

effectively. As a consequence of continuing fiscal and organizational problems in the school system, no single rational or personal agenda prevailed. Teachers in different districts and segments of the teaching force were variously deskilled, reskilled, or left to fend for themselves, contributing to a search by both teachers and school officials for an effective coordinated system of school organization and management.

Teachers' organized responses to managerial initiatives exhibited both accommodation to formal state regulation and militant resistance to their subordinate position in the education system. Several teachers, notably leaders of the RTA and VSSTA and proponents of teachers' affiliation with organized labour, recognized that teachers, as part of a broad working class, were obliged to struggle for social change to advance democratic, equitable workers' and citizens' rights. However, the possibility of reform through existing social and education systems seemed more promising to most teachers. In part through the lobbying efforts of BCTF leaders, teachers in the late 1940s had begun to gain a level of respect and security that was beyond the reach of most teachers at the beginning of the century. Trends in the direction of equitable salary scales, viable school districts and favourable public support for schooling were possible within a large, centrally coordinated system of education, in contrast to a scattered array of small schools which were often poorly equipped and underfunded. The strong personal regulation which previously had threatened to confine teachers' lives in the classroom and community was giving way to greater opportunities for self-determination. After 1947 legislation concerning equal pay for women and compulsory BCTF membership for teachers, school boards and other education officials could no longer dictate teachers' wages and conditions of employment solely on the basis of their proprietary rights as school system authorities. At the same time, however, there was no guarantee that local and provincial authorities would provide adequate

resources and policy decisions which were acceptable to teachers.

Ultimately, teachers' positions and authority were becoming increasingly embedded within the broader logic of technical and formal administrative regulation. The older, more personalized, paternalistic directives of school inspectors and local trustees, while often difficult to face, were at least highly visible in nature, enabling teachers to concretize their problems around specific individuals and specific practices. In contrast, the emergence of a more complex system of educational organization, guided to a large extent by corporate planning and the visions of educational progressives, suggested new conditions within which the basis of educational control was becoming obscured. On the surface, many of the school system's policies and personnel - provincial inspectors and administrators, school trustees, principals, and teachers - remained the same. However, the relationships around which they were organized were being transformed. The rational underpinnings to the curriculum and "the development of the child" took precedence over "definite methods of instruction" and personal subservience to officials. Teachers had greater authority to make decisions in the classroom as new curricula became widely adopted, but such authority and their ability to influence their own welfare were more fully circumscribed by corporate and scientific rationalities which were embedded in social practices which transcended community and provincial decision-making centres. Ironically, many of the new forms of regulation had been promoted by teachers themselves, or by particular fractions within the teaching force.

In real terms, as the practical difficulties faced by women and rural teachers made explicit, this transformation was not complete. Teachers still had to struggle to maintain gains such as the right to bargain collectively or to be paid fair and equitable wages which they formally had been granted. Nonetheless, most teachers seemed confident that satisfactory procedures were

now in place so that these difficulties could be overcome. The challenging lessons which teachers had learned about struggle and division in the 1930s and 1940s tended to be readily and quickly forgotten by most teachers in the post-war years.

CHAPTER SIX - THE FALSE PROMISE OF QUIET CONSULTATION, 1947-1967

Teacher-state relations in advanced industrial nations from the late 1940s to 1967 revealed an unprecedented harmony and unity of purpose among key educational participants. The post-war period appeared to signify the culmination of teachers' long quest for professional status (Johnson 1964, 253-254; Muir 1968; Paton 1962). Several commentators writing from Marxist and Weberian positions argue that teachers were becoming part of a "new" middle class of white collar employees tailored to carry out the functions of capital in advanced capitalist societies (e.g., Dahrendorf 1959, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979, Wright 1978). Contrary to social control notions of teaching as an occupation forced to conduct the state's business, however, there was an element of voluntarism in teachers' partnership with the state (Grace 1987, 209) even though teachers' objective class positions as dependent state employees did not change (Ozga and Lawn 1981, Warburton 1986). What did change were material circumstances which proved sufficiently alluring to seduce teachers with ideologies of docile professionalism. Educational growth seemed to signify the disappearance of overt managerial regulation of teachers, replaced by tacit guarantees that teachers would govern themselves in a socially responsible manner. As this chapter emphasizes, British Columbia's public school teachers actively pursued a quiet, consultative brand of professionalism entrenched within a strong, expanding education system. Teachers made real advances in their occupational welfare through their willingness and ability to contribute to the consensus. However, the state did not abandon its capacity to regulate teaching. Occupational notions of quiet professionalism not only undermined teachers' ability to confront later state managerial initiatives to

rationalize the school system but made teachers participants in a process which ultimately reinforced the subordination of the occupation to increased technical control.

Canada shared with other western nations in the post-war period an optimism about the apparently limitless capacity of modern capitalism to provide a "good" life for its citizens. High economic productivity, carried over from the war into the production of consumer goods, provided for both employment and wage levels which allowed most of the population to purchase an impressive array of household commodities and services. With the aid of modern appliances and disposable incomes, people could enjoy their domestic life and non-working time. "Private life" encompassed consumption and leisure rather than deprivation and compulsion to replenish energies for the coming working day. Growing recognition of trade unions as legitimate economic entities enabled workers to share in the generalized prosperity and fostered stable industrial relations. Welfare and social security measures, introduced as a consequence of fiscal crisis, social conflict and wartime planning in the 1930s and 1940s, also provided a degree of economic security for persons outside of the workforce.

Schooling became an essential part of social life in the post-war period. The elitism and academic orientation of Canadian schools in the 1940s and 1950s gave way to a new faith in schools as the conduit to opportunity and social and economic progress in the 1960s (Pitman 1981, 17). Economic reproduction in advanced industrial society required schools and post-secondary educational institutions to provide the kinds of workers necessary for a high output economy. Proponents of human capital theory and what Collins (1971) calls the "technical function" theory of education argued that as the basic skill requirements of jobs increased in a technically sophisticated industrial society, formal education would expand in order to provide the necessary skills and knowledge to drive the economy forward. In

this setting, teachers and other accomplished professionals were to participate actively not only in the nurturance and basic education of children but also in the selection of talented individuals and the transmission of advanced skills (Parsons 1959).

In addition to direct emphasis on the productive benefits of formal education, the moral/subjective dimension of teaching and schooling was reasserted in altered form. Earlier versions of morality based upon Christian dedication to the polity and altruism within the corporate order gave way to notions of citizenship and socially responsible individualism based upon hard work, consumerism, and unwavering loyalty to democratic political institutions. Economic and political leaders looked to schools to create citizens who were attuned to the new society. In western industrialized societies, the repugnant images of fascism in the 1930s and 1940s, the recognition that schools could indoctrinate pupils to promote the war effort, and later the spectre of communism in the 1950s fostered a widespread demand that schools become breeding grounds for the principles of responsible citizenship and democracy.

As schooling's economic and political functions broadened, Canada's education system progressed from what the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 1976, 22) described as a position of relative underdevelopment in the 1940s to one of educational leadership in the early 1970s when thirty percent of the entire national population were enrolled in formal education programs. Between 1945 and 1968, nation-wide enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools increased from 2.1 million to nearly 5.5 million; the proportion of fourteen to seventeen year olds in high school level programs rose from 46.4 percent in 1951 to over 90 percent in 1968, while total Canadian expenditures on education rose from 2.4 percent of GNP in 1950 to 8.0 percent in 1968 (Statistics Canada 1978, 27; Statistics Canada 1983, W14, W94, W98).

An important consequence of education system growth and consolidation was a shift in focus in teacher-state relations from specific local matters involving teachers and trustees to more generalized issues involving provincial departments of education and teachers' organizations. For the first time, freed from much of the arbitrary personal authority possessed by trustees and other school officials, teachers appeared to become an independent force in educational politics. Teachers, through their organizations, became legal entities who had some protection of salary and tenure under law as well as a professional voice in the determination of important education matters like curriculum and policy. What Lawn (1987, 208) calls an "ethic of legitimated professionalism" ensured that teachers used their enhanced status and autonomy to act in accordance with the public interest.

The linkage between public responsibility and teacher professionalism had contradictory implications for teachers. As was evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what was in "the public interest" was itself subject to political definition. Thus, for example, state and corporate leaders promoted public schooling as a device which could ameliorate economic and social conflicts produced by fundamental class and gender divisions. Teacher leaders as well as political leaders outside the occupation promoted a docile conception of professionalism which could provide teachers with a measure of public respectability in such a way as to dilute any independently-formulated political or economic aspirations which the teaching body might have.

The BCTF promoted the notion that the welfare of the entire teaching force depended upon the ability of the organization to improve working conditions, status and wages starting from the top rather than the bottom of teaching ranks. This strategy was successful to a large extent in that favourable conditions for the expansion of the public schooling system in the

post-war period allowed teachers unprecedented gains in salary and status, creating the impression that alternative strategies would not produce the same kinds of benefits. Under these conditions, the strains and tensions which characterized the occupation and its relations with the state in the 1930s and 1940s seemed to dissipate amidst educational harmony. Teachers experienced real improvements in salary and working conditions in the 1950s and 1960s, but these were often at the expense of more enduring occupational powers which might have protected teachers from later encroachment by the state. By following the allure of quiet professionalism, teachers broke with lessons learned in previous decades and lost much of their organized ability to combat government initiatives to redirect educational priorities in the face of conflicting political goals beginning in the late 1960s. The BCTF's strategy to homogenize the teaching force created the image of a unified teaching body, but it also ignored divisions in the occupation which had in previous years provided the organization with a vitality and an impetus to confront crucial educational problems. Thus, underlying a version of professionalism as quiet consultation there simmered a growing discontent which would appear as overt educational conflict in the late 1960s.

In short, the emergence of teachers as a collective force in the province's education system did not conform to an evolutionary model of professionalism, as events in the late 1960s would dramatically illustrate. Teachers did gain favourable occupational freedoms and benefits relative to employees in many other industries. During the 1950s and 1960s state educational managers took few steps to increase technical regulation, or advance the proletarianization, of teaching. Instead, teachers were controlled in an effective manner largely through political manoeuvring through which state officials and teacher leaders promoted teachers as docile professional agents of the state school system.

A CLIMATE FOR EDUCATION SYSTEM EXPANSION

With a consolidated system of public schooling in place and increased legislative recognition of such demands as compulsory arbitration, fair wages and automatic BCTF membership following World War II, British Columbia teachers faced a crucial choice. They could either continue the traditional strategy employed by the federation leadership to engage in deferential consultation with government officials, or draw upon their experiences which demonstrated that decisive action was required to overcome harsh treatment at the hands of employers and government recalcitrance to grant teachers new rights. The first approach, whereby teachers emphasized in a quiet way their status as professionals, had the most allure for teachers under post-war conditions. Unlike earlier periods, when conceptions of a skilled, highly trained and respected professional teaching force were far removed from the bitter realities of most public school teachers in the province, the legislative and administrative framework for schools in the late 1940s suggested that enhanced occupational status was within reach. Provincial population and economic growth, combined with a growing acceptance of the notion that schooling was essential for social and economic progress gave teachers a sense of security they were unaccustomed to.

A major consequence of the upsurge of wartime economic activity was the strong integration of British Columbia into international patterns of trade and investment. Between 1941 and 1952, the net value of production in the province nearly doubled in crucial industries like mining (from \$60.3 million to \$115.5 million) and forestry (from \$99 million to \$162 million) while manufacturing activity consolidated its overall prominence in the B.C. economy, increasing from a net value of production of \$181.2 million in 1941 to \$556.2 million in 1952. Perhaps an even stronger indication of the expansion of the provincial economy was the growth of an infrastructure in

such areas as transportation, communication and services; the value of electrical power production in the province, for example, increased from \$17.1 million in 1941 to \$41.3 million in 1952, while the value of construction soared from \$25.5 million to \$268.6 million during the same time period (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1945, 185; Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1955, 757).

The growing scale of production provided the provincial economy with a diversity which it had never before enjoyed. This economic complexity was marked by uneven development, promoted by mechanization and corporate consolidation in major industries such as mining, forestry and manufacturing. Nonetheless, the province's economy remained grounded in resource production with commodities oriented to export markets, thereby maintaining its potential vulnerability to future economic instability.

General economic trends were matched and in many cases surpassed by the growth of education expenditures. Between 1946 and 1951, provincial government expenditure on schools leapt from \$4.9 million to \$23 million while school board spending climbed during the same period from \$9.1 million to \$28.3 million (British Columbia 1960, 414). Much of this increased expenditure can be attributed to the combined effects of burgeoning enrollment and fiscal inflation. Economic development contributed to population growth by attracting labourers from outside the province and encouraging family stability. The province's population rose from just over one million in 1946 to 1.2 million, including a school age population of about 175,000, in 1951 (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1951, xvii; Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1954, 120, 133). Total student enrollment in the province's elementary and secondary schools rose from 130,605 in June of 1946 to 173,354 in 1951; enrollment in 1958 was more than twice the 1946 figures and the numbers of pupils in the province's schools continued to increase steadily, peaking at over half a million in the mid 1970s (PSR 1978, 132).

The size of the province's teaching force rose from 4,512 in 1945-46 to 6,272 in 1950-51 and 10,171 in 1957-58 (PSR 1978, 132). School enrollment growth was accompanied by a need for additional school facilities and resources, driving the cost of public schooling in B.C. from \$106.64 per pupil in 1946 to \$296.06 in 1951 and \$347.69 in 1958 (calculated from British Columbia 1960, 414; PSR 1978, 132).

More significantly, aside from inflationary and enrollment growth, the post-war period signalled the beginning of massive nation-wide investment in education and other social programs. A welfare state created largely from taxation on wages and property during economic growth provided a network of social security and social investment which, according to the Keynesian model adopted by the state, was intended to further stimulate economic expansion. During the period from 1951 to 1971, total government expenditures on health, education and social welfare in Canada increased from twenty-nine percent to fifty percent of combined government spending at the federal, provincial and municipal levels (Moscovitch and Drover 1987, 34).

Organized teachers were concerned to gain a share of the educational wealth while remaining true to their longstanding aims of advancing their own welfare and improving the education system. Teachers sought more direct input in the determination of curriculum and educational policy, and they saw as the best way to achieve this goal the pursuit of what they considered a form of professional legitimacy. This involved the dissolution of any traces of political or economic partisanship, the gaining of academic legitimacy through requirements that all teachers hold university degrees, and the gaining of professional respectability through a provincial organization which cultivated high occupational standards of conduct, discipline and service. In pursuing these aims, teachers attempted to sidestep conflict within the teachers' organization and between themselves and other groups. Ironically, teachers were to discover that this conflict avoidance strategy

would leave them unable to deal effectively with the significant limitations posed by state authority to their professional participation in the determination of educational policy.

THE BCTF'S CULTIVATION OF PROFESSIONALISM AS QUIET CONSULTATION

Professionalism served as a powerful ideological force in the reconstitution of teaching in the post-war years. Teachers attempted to advance professionalism as a rationale for furthering their occupational status and benefits. As professionals, with superior training and skills, teachers claimed to be better qualified than any other group to address educational practices and concerns. At the same time, state officials found that they could constrain teachers by simultaneously holding out the ideal of professionalism and the promise of a more secure educational future while retaining within state jurisdiction the key components of educational governance. Teachers tended not to challenge the state's central role in educational regulation as long as they maintained an unquestioned notion that the state would act in accordance with "the public interest" which teachers also had a stake in.

In the late 1940s, with formalized wage settlement procedures and compulsory teacher membership in the BCTF in place, prominent early goals of the BCTF had been fulfilled. In the absence of major contentious issues within the profession and the pursuit of clear goals such as automatic membership or union affiliation, the federation required a new focal point through which to channel members' energies. After the province's school districts had become consolidated into larger units, the BCTF leadership concerned itself with advancing teaching as a respectable profession. In accordance with this new vision, the BCTF shifted its priorities from emphasis on fiscal concerns to matters of curriculum formation and rights of

teacher representation on provincial education decision-making bodies. The collective position that emerged within the federation in the late 1940s and the 1950s was that the teaching force could advance its interests if teachers practiced a brand of professionalism marked by specialized university training, altruism for the learner and community, and a public image that was apolitical except in the sense of advocacy for education. Professionalism in this sense required strong educational credentials and exemplary behaviour on the part of each individual teacher.

Teachers needed to demonstrate that they were no longer merely employees or servants of the state, but self-regulating, enlightened actors and decision-makers. Any action which might be construed by government, trustees, or the general public as unethical was looked upon in an unfavourable light by teachers' organizations, including the BCTF. Teachers' growing consciousness of their occupational potential to take a more prominent role as an active professional force in educational decision-making was prompted especially by two factors - a growing crisis in educational finance, and an assessment of the status of the teaching profession prompted by severe shortages of teachers.

PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL FINANCE

Problems in school finance in the late 1940s and early 1950s convinced teachers that they had an analytical expertise to offer the government which was not formally recognized in the province's education structure. As with Harry Charlesworth two decades earlier, federation staff and active members like Allan Spragge and D.J.S. Smith closely monitored developments in educational policy and finance. The federation periodically presented detailed analyses of school funding arrangements which highlighted trends that were not officially recognized by government policy. Although the

BCTF's analysis sometimes proved embarrassing to the government, federation officials were hesitant to offend particular individuals or political parties. A key test of the BCTF's position emerged in the early 1950s. The promise of a strong, carefully planned school system following implementation in 1946 of the Cameron recommendations for an equitably financed, consolidated school system had turned into what the BCTF saw in 1952 as a crisis-ridden, contradictory patchwork as a consequence of the government's unplanned, expeditious responses to particular emergencies and criticisms. While the Cameron school finance formula appeared sound in principle, the scheme had the effect in an inflationary economy of locking school district grants to budgetary needs established in previous years, leaving school boards little options but to raise funds through exorbitant tax increases for local ratepayers (BCTF 1952b; Spragge 1952).

The school funding crisis was riddled with ironies. BCTF officials were alarmed that schools were being underfunded in the midst of general economic growth and education system expansion. The structure of school finance created the false impression that schools were more than adequately funded and that education costs were more inflationary than other state expenditures. School boards had difficulty managing unprecedented pupil loads and demands for expanded services while teachers' salaries were losing ground to inflation. Nonetheless, because local school taxes were assessed separately from general revenues and a new provincial tax instituted in 1946 was designated to cover increased school and social services expenditures, educational finance was a convenient target for the grievances of disgruntled ratepayers, especially property owners without school age children. Taxpayer resistance was intensified by standardized formulas for property assessment and distribution of tax revenues which produced disparities in the collection and disbursement of educational funds and services. Moreover, ironically, generalized public dissatisfaction in 1951 and 1952 with a disintegrating

Liberal-Conservative coalition government was transferred to the schools as the government's problems both contributed to the lack of attention to the school system and reduced the likelihood that the province would act in the near future to alter school finance arrangements.

The BCTF felt confident that it could advance a scheme to rationalize school finance which would alleviate school funding problems and generate support among government officials and trustees for teachers' input into educational decision-making. The teachers proposed four steps which would contribute to a solid, equitable publicly-supported school system - an increase in the province's share of school funding to eighty percent (compared to the 1952 level of forty-six percent), local district guarantees to provide basic educational services, federal government aid for education, and a public campaign to promote the education system. While the BCTF expected to gain the backing of provincial school trustees for these general objectives, teachers were astonished to learn in early 1952 that the provincial School Trustees' Association (BCSTA) saw the BCTF proposal to increase the provincial government share of school funding as a threat to local autonomy. The BCSTA argued instead that school cost restraint and fiscal stability could be accomplished through the implementation of provincial teacher salary scales. The BCTF, fearing that provincial scales would reduce their bargaining power, opposed the trustees' proposal as a restriction on local autonomy and competition between districts (BCTF 1952b, 276; BCTF 1952c, 53; Spragge 1952).

The school funding issue revealed the dilemma which teachers faced. Teachers had little formal authority but to propose solutions to educational problems and hope that governments and trustees saw fit to act on the teachers' proposals. However, because the BCTF did not abandon its primary desire to cooperate as much as possible with education department officials and, within provincial guidelines, school boards, whose primary function was

to manage the education system, teachers had little recourse to pursue a strong independent vision. Teachers' organized political activity was limited to lobbying government and hoping that enlightened leadership would resolve problems in accordance with BCTF wishes.

The governing Liberal-Conservative coalition collapsed, replaced by the sudden emergence of the Social Credit party which formed a minority government following a provincial election in the summer of 1952. The political change offered new promise for improvements in social services and other areas which had stagnated under the previous government (Mitchell 1983, 140, 166). Contrary to such hopes for school finance reform, however, the newly elected government, led by premier W.A.C. Bennett, practiced tight fiscal control over state funds. In a minority situation, the government did not pass any legislation until March, 1953, at which time legislative debate proceeded over a bill outlining a new school funding formula. Called the Rolston formula after education minister Tillie Rolston, the bill proposed an increased share of provincial grants to school boards, greater proportional funding for rural districts, and an adjusted basis on which the grants were calculated. However, Bennett had apparently employed the bill as a tactic to set up defeat of the government to force an election (Mitchell 1983, 196-200). While the Social Credit party returned to power as a majority government, Rolston was defeated in her re-election bid, and died from cancer shortly after the election. The new education minister, Robert Bonner, later described the Rolston formula as so complex as to be "incomprehensible from all sides;" nonetheless, the main elements of the legislation were retained under a more systematic revision of the educational finance structure which was put in place in 1955 and remained in effect into the 1970s (Bonner 1982, 4).

The school funding reforms, welcomed by the BCTF, replaced an earlier system of fixed grants with relatively flexible arrangements while revenues

were collected from a more uniform assessment base to equalize funding among districts. Nonetheless, as would become significant in the late 1960s, the new grant structure gave the provincial government increased discretion to specify the criteria under which school funding would be extended. The 1955 changes put into place four types of provincial grants to school districts - a basic grant calculated on teachers' salaries and other standard school operating costs, a supplementary grant to cover costs incurred by increased pupil enrollment, a capital grant, and a pupil transportation grant. The province increased the base levels on which the grants were calculated, although budgetary items required provincial approval in order to qualify for the operating grants. Local districts could modify the basic program on which the grants were calculated if they financed the additional items themselves. Accompanying the fiscal changes were curriculum revisions and a statement on the aims of education. The school curriculum was now to emphasize the growing complexity of modern life, acknowledged through increased attention to individual pupil differences and needs and a recognition that schools should develop in close interplay with the home, church, and community (Johnson 1964, 154; PSR 1955, EE28; Spragge 1955). Under these guidelines, teachers saw their interests represented not in removing themselves from educational governance and regulation, but in embedding their profession within a developing system which they felt could benefit from their central participation.

TEACHER SHORTAGES AND A DIVIDED PROFESSION

This section discusses the paradox of how, in a socioeconomic atmosphere conducive to the improvement of teachers' status, incomes and working conditions, the BCTF engaged in a course of action which ultimately constrained teachers' political influence. While normally shortages of

skilled labour enable an occupation to make gains in wages and improved working conditions, employers and the state often intervene to reduce employees' potential advantages (Pentland 1959). In the case of teaching labour shortages have tended to undermine teachers' case for long-term benefits and professional development.

The educational finance structure in British Columbia impeded advancements in teacher education and qualifications on which claims for occupational benefits could be made. School districts' dependency upon relatively inflexible provincial grants and local property taxation schemes reinforced their propensity to fill classrooms quickly and cheaply. An abundance of poorly remunerated, minimally qualified teachers created an image of teaching as relatively undesirable work. Alarmed at the prospects of the diminishing status of teaching, senior career teachers and educational administrators promoted improved standards for teacher certification and salary grids which rewarded more fully teachers with the highest educational credentials. Divisions in the teaching ranks, however, produced a lack of occupational cohesion which made it difficult for teachers to take action to remedy their lack of formal control over the occupation and school affairs in general. The solution for BCTF leaders was to tie the advancement of teachers' welfare to a notion of partnership with the state which presupposed that the occupation would abandon all ties with any groups or actions which could be perceived as partisan or militant in nature.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, teachers' search for improved status and welfare converged with political interest in educational credentials and a widespread public desire to have the schools staffed by qualified teachers. An impetus was created to upgrade teaching by consolidating teacher training in the universities. Government officials, prompted by the Canadian Education Association, recognized that growing national interest in formal education required that steps to fill teacher shortages would not be successful without

also addressing problems of teacher status. The Normal Schools, which continued to emphasize practical techniques, remained associated with old career and regulatory structures dependent upon personal loyalties and paternalistic assessments which were no longer deemed appropriate for a modern profession. University training, with its broader base of knowledge and universalized criteria of assessment, would enable teaching to break free of the vestiges of personal regulation and a craft tradition (Johnson 1964, 214-221).

Although the impact of economic crisis, wartime activity and severe post-war teacher shortages delayed until 1956 the actual transfer of teacher education to university programs, educational progressives such as G.M. Weir and BCTF leaders had called since the 1920s for moves to strengthen teaching through university-based training programs. Weir's sentiments for a scientifically trained corps of professional workers in health, education and other human services were first revealed in a 1932 national survey of nursing, where he proposed to transfer nursing education from hospital schools to universities. As B.C.'s minister of education, he declared in 1935 a similar objective to transfer teacher training from Normal Schools to university. Predictably, the major opposition to plans to transfer teacher education to the universities came from officials of the Normal Schools, who sought instead to extend the Normal School program from one year to two for a first class teaching certificate, and to increase admission qualifications to meet university entrance standards. After World War II, the BCTF began to reassess its policies on professional standards. In 1946, a federation committee report on teacher training and certification criticized the current minimum certification standards requiring one year of Normal School training as outmoded. The committee made two principal recommendations - first, that plans be established for a university College of Education through which a four year degree program of combined liberal arts and pedagogical studies

would become the teacher training standard, and, second, that a provincial board be formed with representatives from the BCTF, the department of education, and teacher training institutions in order to oversee all matters pertaining to teacher training and certification. Delegates to the 1948 AGM adopted the measures to improve certification requirements and increase emphasis on in-service training as federation policy (BCTF 1946b, Smith 1948).

BCTF actions were reinforced by national concerns. In 1947, at the request of several provincial ministers of education, the CEA appointed a committee, chaired by M.E. LaZerte, dean of education at the University of Alberta, to investigate educational opinion concerning teachers and teaching conditions. A year later, in light of the findings contained in the committee's report, LaZerte chaired a new committee which was struck to recommend a program of action to improve existing conditions associated with the status of teachers in Canada.

The committee reports presented a startling forecast for impending educational crisis. The first report emphasized that teaching, despite periodic improvements, was a generally undesirable occupation, characterized by poor working conditions, limited remuneration and benefits, inadequate training, and low status (CEA 1948). Both reports emphasized the critical nature of these problems for the maintenance of the whole public education system. The magnitude of the crisis was illustrated with the observation that, nationally, just over seven thousand candidates were currently enrolled in teacher training programs whereas the actual national requirement for new teachers would exceed sixty-six thousand over the next five years. The second report outlined a plan of action which stressed that higher salaries, increased pension benefits and greater security of tenure were essential to attract more, better qualified teachers into the field. These were identified as necessary measures for the creation of an educationally

progressive "professional" teaching force. The report's authors defined teacher professionalism in terms of efficiency, realized through increased educational research and study, professional supervision, and an expanded career structure. The reorganization of teaching in accordance with these measures would provide a sufficiently sound basis of expertise and professional legitimacy that would enable teachers to consolidate their position as authorities in the education system (CEA 1949).

In the early 1950s schools in many provinces, including British Columbia, were hard hit by the severe teacher shortages forecast by the LaZerte report. In spring, 1953, for example, the BCTF estimated that the B.C. teaching force would have to expand by five hundred in order to accommodate an enrollment increase of fourteen thousand elementary school pupils in the new school year, while nationally there was a shortage of ten thousand teachers (Allester 1953, 211). Despite the earlier warnings that school enrollments would increase from the combined effects of an increased birth rate and greater demands for educational credentials, schools and school systems were not equipped to supply and retain large numbers of new teachers. With school systems dependent upon the rigidities of educational finance structures and school board policies, improvements in wages and working conditions were more gradual for teachers than for workers in other sectors which were benefitting from the post-war economic boom. Consequently, a trend which began in the late 1930s whereby the province regularly lost more teachers than it gained continued into the 1950s.

The problem of teacher shortages posed a dilemma for the BCTF. The conditions offered teachers a potentially strong bargaining lever for gaining concessions from school boards. However, senior teachers, noting with envy the public respect and benefits accorded the professions of medicine and law, preferred a quiet but determined effort to raise the profile of the teaching profession over an approach which might leave an impression of teachers as

mere labourers or members of a partisan body concerned only with its own welfare. The strategy preferred by BCTF leaders was directed more at promoting a kind of professional opportunism which channelled teachers' energies into improving the occupation from the top than with issues that were of concern to the struggling elementary classroom teacher.

In the early 1950s, the BCTF embarked on an informal public relations campaign which promoted the notion that it was incumbent upon teachers to become educational advocates in order to enhance their occupational status and rewards. Starting in 1951, BCTF presidents began to speak of "the beginning of a new era" and a "golden period" of opportunity for teachers, while a recently formed federation public relations committee urged teachers to "sell the product" of quality education through individual example (Chamberlain 1951, 298; Cruit 1951, 27; Prior 1951, 10). As D.C. Chamberlain, BCTF president in 1950-51, emphasized, "the chance for promotion and development both of the schools and of the individual teacher" depended only upon the ability of the teacher "to look about and seize the opportunities as they become available," while, "if teaching is ever to be recognized fully as a profession, salaries at the top level must become comparable to those in other professions" (Chamberlain 1951, 297-298). However, teachers' noble aspirations were undermined by the impact of educational policies and practices.

One of the federation's main concerns was to urge the province to take action to alleviate the teacher shortage. Teachers feared the immediate impact of teacher shortages upon increased class sizes and the ability of school boards to finance and operate school programs adequately. In 1949, for example, BCTF delegates to the annual general meeting passed a resolution which urged the government to amend the Public Schools Act to enforce maximum class sizes of twenty-five pupils at the primary level and thirty pupils at other levels in light of growing educational emphasis on more individualized

instruction. The government denied this request on the basis that not enough teachers were available to staff new classrooms and that the province could not cover the more than \$400,000 in additional school grants which such a move would require (Department of Education 1949, 22).

With an influx of young children into the early school years and a reorganization of the high school curriculum between 1949 and 1952 to take into account an increased emphasis on mass secondary education, the federation's objective to have smaller classes taught by a uniformly trained teaching profession was in jeopardy. As the demand for trained teachers outpaced supply, imbalances in the distribution of teachers and pupils moved in a direction opposite to what the BCTF desired. Between 1947 and 1952 the pupil-teacher ratio increased from 30.25 to 30.42 in elementary schools while it decreased from 25.22 to 22.57 in high schools (British Columbia 1972, 72). Consequently, the burden of increased enrollment was placed with elementary school teachers, who tended to be lower paid and less well educated than high school teachers. The gender division of labour which since the turn of the century distinguished male professional leaders from lower status female classroom teachers was becoming entrenched in the expanded post-war school system. Secondary school teachers working with relatively low student loads in specialized subject areas taught under distinctly different conditions than those faced by the mass of female elementary school teachers who were expected to process high volumes of pupils through a basic education.

The separation of teaching tasks was exacerbated by a teacher recruitment drive initiated in the 1950s by the department of education and supported by the BCTF. The teacher recruitment process was oriented more to staffing schools quickly and cheaply than to addressing other educational concerns such as the status of the teaching profession and the organization of the schools. The recruitment program targetted three major sources of teacher supply - active recruitment of teachers from outside the province,

including the appointment beginning in 1954 of a provincial representative to seek new teachers in Great Britain; appeals to married women teachers who had previously left the profession to return to teaching; and enticement of students to enter teacher training programs with the establishment of Future Teachers' clubs in high schools, the introduction in 1955 of a provincial loan program for education students, and finally, in an effort to boost the occupational respectability of teaching, a requirement beginning in 1956 of a minimum two year university-based teacher training period. The recruitment drive was partially successful in each of these areas. Between 1956 and 1958, 1,057 teachers were recruited to B.C. from outside the province, 943 women returned to teaching from "home duties," 2,439 new teachers were hired from training programs, and 687 teachers were acquired from other sources. Nonetheless, high attrition rates, reflecting the continuing lack of benefits and status for teaching compared to other occupations, diminished the recruitment campaign's effectiveness in overcoming the teacher shortage. In 1958, at the peak of the recruitment drive, the province gained 1,867 new teachers but 1,219 teachers left teaching posts in B.C. (BCTF 1959c, 14-15; British Columbia 1960, 172).

The dilemma faced by teachers and education authorities in their efforts to overcome problems of teacher shortages was illustrated in the position of married women, who constituted one quarter of the provincial teaching force. These women were confronted by both economic and social discrimination. In 1958, 364 of the teachers who left the teaching force indicated "home duties" as their reason for leaving while an additional seventy-five left teaching in order to be married; these totals were greater than the 351 teachers who returned to teaching from domestic work in 1958 (British Columbia 1960, 172). Despite efforts to recruit married women into teaching and the removal in 1953 of legal restrictions on gender-based pay inequities, female teachers in the province earned on average \$3,449 in 1956 compared to male teachers'

average earnings of \$4,198, with an even wider gap - \$3,720 for women and \$4,634 for men - for teachers in the cities (PSR 1956). There were no explicit instructions concerning how the equal pay legislation could be applied to teaching. Women faced a double burden in the sense that they tended to be viewed by trustees and other teachers as less committed to or active in teaching and teaching-related duties if they were married or intended to marry, while post-war emphasis on family and domestic stability put pressure on women to remain at home and avoid wage work, thereby reinforcing the notion that women were temporary or risky long-term employees. At the same time, the various forms of discrimination against women combined to keep most women at low levels of qualification and certification, which encouraged trustees working with limited educational resources to hire female teachers as a cheap, subordinate labour pool. The BCTF estimated that in the late 1950s more than twenty-five percent of the province's teachers had little or no teacher training. Female teachers, blocked by lack of qualifications combined with perceptions that they were not dedicated or capable educators occupied a highly restrictive career structure, with few opportunities for promotion to administrative positions. In the 1954-55 school year, for example, only forty women out of a total of nearly five thousand women teachers in the province held principalships, vice-principalships or more senior supervisory positions (BCTF 1955a; BCTF 1959c, 14-15; Conway 1957; Shopland 1957, 39-41).

The BCTF, in its desires to alleviate the teacher shortage, develop the teaching profession and represent the interests of teachers, verbally opposed the practice of discrimination against women teachers. A federation survey on the status of married women teachers in the province in 1956 revealed that, contrary to common perceptions of married women's lack of dedication to teaching, two-thirds of married women teachers required their wages to support a family in whole or in part and that married women were highly

active in school and community affairs (Shopland 1957). Unlike some trustees in the 1950s, and educators and leading teachers in previous eras, the BCTF did not expressly oppose - and in fact verbally supported - a more open, active role for women in the teaching force.

Nonetheless, the BCTF did not hold a decisive position in favour of the interests of married women. The federation's commitment to develop the strength of the occupation from the top levels demanded total devotion on the part of all teachers to their professional (i.e., school-related) activities and image. Mollie Cottingham, who in 1957 was to become the second woman to serve as president of the BCTF (Hilda Cryderman in 1954-55 was the first), advised women teachers in 1952 that, "you must support your men colleagues in seeking to keep our work at its professional standard by supporting their efforts to raise salaries at the maximum" (Cottingham 1952, 272). BCTF officials cautioned teachers explicitly against participation in activities which potentially interfered with dedication to education, including marriage, child-bearing, domestic duties, or the widespread (but, unfortunately, not explicitly documented) practice, often necessitated by inadequate teaching wages, of holding employment outside of teaching (BCTF 1961d, 430). An editorial in a 1955 edition of The B.C. Teacher, for example, warned about the ethics of combining a teaching career with marriage and family:

School boards maintain that it is not proper for a teacher to insist on her right to work right up until the time of confinement, to the embarrassment of her pupils and their parents.

It is difficult to find any excuse for the teacher who unreasonably asks for special leave to be married. Surely the welfare of the pupils comes before personal convenience. True, a school board can deny leave in such instances but why should they be placed in that position? . . .

The B.C.T.F. appeals to all married women teachers, and to single teachers about to be married, to be considerate and fair in dealing with the type of problem described above. Otherwise, they will not only be acting unprofessionally as individuals but they will be creating a condition which will tempt school boards to return to policies against the employment of married women teachers (BCTF 1955b, 199).

Professionalism required exemplary behaviour on the part of the

individual teacher. Even though earlier forms of overt personal regulation by school officials had often disappeared, teachers were expected to police themselves on moral/subjective grounds. It was now the teacher's responsibility to ensure his, and especially her, utmost moral conduct and adherence to community norms. Through its pronouncements and actions the federation perpetuated earlier notions of an ideal teaching force characterized by highly qualified and paid, morally distinguished, full-time male (or, if female, then totally dedicated) professionals.

PROFESSIONALISM AS NONPARTISANSHIP

BCTF officials reinforced their emphasis on quiet leadership for professional development with a strenuous effort to create an image of nonpartisanship. Leading teachers and state educational authorities in the 1950s context of industrial modernization reiterated calls made by educational reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to advance teaching as an occupation which transcended the fragmented interests of homes and workplaces. Educational improvement through a teacher-state alliance required trade-offs on the dual nature of teaching as a productive and moral/subjective enterprise. The development of a highly educated, modern, civilized population would be founded upon social guidance provided by teachers who were rational, moderate professionals rather than self-interested agitators. Therefore, teachers would abandon any propensities they might have to pursue working class and gender-related objectives so that the state would relinquish the most direct forms of control to enable teachers greater occupational autonomy and partnership in educational decision-making. However, as the teachers would discover, the state at the provincial and local levels was not prepared to abandon its educational authority while teachers moved to sever any direct organizational

ties they had with potential political allies.

In stark contrast to calls in the 1930s by RTA and VSSTA members for widespread social reform, the BCTF acted in the 1950s as if political issues had no relevance to education except on specific matters of educational legislation or policy. The pages of the federation's major publication, The B.C. Teacher, contained no mention of political parties or party affiliations, even on background articles which introduced new education ministers or other elected officials. In order to promote its image of nonpartisanship and persuade other groups of the importance of educational matters, the federation began to establish forums through which issues of professionalism could be discussed with input from business, government, community, and labour groups as well as to bring together teachers themselves.

Beginning in 1950, the BCTF organized annual summer conferences of local teachers' association representatives in order to share experiences and develop coordinated federation action on matters of general professional concern. The major topics of discussion at the 1950 conference, for example, were salary negotiations, pensions, public relations, and group dynamics (Ovans 1950). In 1952, the federation organized the first of several provincial education conferences that were intended "to provide members of provincial organizations with an opportunity to learn the aims and objectives of British Columbia's Educational System and in turn to express their opinions as to what should be its place in certain areas of an individual's 'over-all' education". (MacDonald and White, 1955, 1). The conferences attracted representation from a wide range of groups. Besides BCTF participation, delegates representing the department of education, school trustees, parent-teachers' organizations, the University of British Columbia, the provincial chamber of commerce, the B.C. Federation of Labour (BCFL), the provincial council of women, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and

other organizations gathered to discuss such issues as the aims, roles, financing, and evaluation of education in British Columbia.

The conferences provided teachers with a potential forum to publicize their grievances on such matters as inadequate salaries, high class sizes, and poor teaching conditions. Instead, the BCTF adopted a low profile, allowing the opportunity for the other groups at the sessions to express their own positions so that widespread interest might be generated in education as a major public issue. Lacking an established political voice, teachers feared that the negative consequences of overt occupational demands might outweigh the benefits. The BCTF public relations officer, commenting on teachers' desires for improved salaries and teaching conditions in 1952, advised teachers that,

If we sell it straight as what the teachers want, the pill will be too big for most of the public to swallow. But sugarcoat it a little bit and watch how easily it goes down! . . . The fact that the teaching staff is inconvenienced is not a selling point; but injury to the child's educational experience is (Cruit 1952, 151).

For the teachers, professionalism came to signify public acceptability and vague references to concern for quality educational service.

At the 1954 summer workshop, BCTF members reinforced the federation's stance of quiet consultation with an explicit definition of professionalism. Professionalism, delegates agreed, was defined according to criteria of academic training, control over requirements for admission to the profession, the use of goodwill in order to develop a clientele and advance the profession, a broad service ethic, and responsibility for professional activities and members' behavior. Participants in the workshop stressed that teachers did not meet fully the first three of these standards. They suggested that local teachers' associations should develop professionalism by convincing members to attach salary expectations to educational qualifications, publicize the community services offered by teachers, and highlight the symbolic aspects of membership in a professional organization

through an emphasis on membership certificates and a ceremony of induction into the BCTF (BCTF 1954b, 68). The federation executive readily adopted these recommendations, encouraging all beginning teachers to participate in an induction ceremony, asking BCTF members to display with pride their membership certificates in classrooms or offices, and seeking increased opportunities for in-service training programs for teachers (BCTF 1954a, 80). At the same time, the federation's president, Hilda Cryderman (1954, 101), presented the more general claim that because "teaching is the only profession which has now virtually no control over the training and certification of its members," teachers should be granted full partnership in the formulation of educational policy.

As teachers looked towards professional educational partnership, leading members of the BCTF were increasingly uncomfortable with the federation's formal affiliation with labour, which had begun in 1943. The spectre of communism within the trade union movement, which beginning in the late 1940s constituted the basis for a purge of leftists from labour organizations, intensified the discontent that many teachers held for labour politics. Although the Trades and Labour Congress with which the BCTF was affiliated was far more conservative in leadership and policy than the industrial unionism of the then left-dominated B.C. Federation of Labour, strong public antipathy to images of communist-induced labour radicalism was a recurring issue for teachers. A BCTF delegate to the 1948 TLC convention observed that media coverage highlighted an attempt by communist delegates to dominate the convention even though the alleged event did not occur as portrayed. Teachers remained wary of similar machinations at other conventions, concerned primarily with the fear that they might convey a negative impression to the general public. Teachers were further disturbed by labour's militant response to Bill 28, a new Labour Relations Act. Passed in 1954 amidst economic slowdown, the legislation increased the powers of the

minister of labour to regulate labour disputes, authorized the minister to refer strike cases to supreme court justices for rulings on the legality of the strikes and, if a strike was declared illegal, empowered the minister to decertify the union or remove its bargaining rights. As labour leaders attacked the bill as "vicious class legislation" intended to "destroy trade unionism," labour strife intensified in the province. This was clearly not the direction in which the BCTF's leaders wanted to move. In 1955, federation officials advised teachers to refer to their local organizations as "local associations" rather than "locals," in order to avoid the connotation that they were trade union organizations (BCTF 1955c, 321; Jamieson 1968, 385-386; Mitchell 1983, 267; Phillips 1967b, 142; Templeton 1950a; Templeton 1950b; Tysoe 1948).

Teachers' discomfort with labour issues was given concrete expression in an incident in 1953 which involved an impending strike by non-teaching educational workers in Richmond school district. Local teachers, unsure of what action to take, looked to elected BCTF officers for guidance. The federation's official position was presented in The B.C. Teacher. Teachers were advised in such situations to remain neutral as long as possible, but to cross picket lines in order to carry out teaching duties until such time as the school environment became unhealthy and to refrain from participating in any work normally carried out by workers who were on strike (BCTF 1953, 12). Although the strike did not materialize, the federation's position clearly conveyed teachers' reluctance to become enmeshed in a potential conflict.

Claims of professionalism became a convenient means by which teachers could distance themselves from a labour movement under attack. Reminiscent of the stated objectives of social and educational reformers earlier in the century, teachers set out to blur the lines of class conflict. This they did by emphasizing the unique attributes of their occupation as opposed to other working class occupations.

The BCTF was provided an opportunity to broach formally the issue of trade union affiliation in 1956 when an impending merger between the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour required all member organizations to re-apply for affiliation to the new Canadian Labour Congress. Although the debate over re-affiliation prompted a revival of the same arguments presented by teachers in the early 1940s to support or oppose affiliation, there was less intensity in the new discussions. Labour matters seemed out of place amidst talk of professional development and educational advancement. BCTF officials acknowledged that teachers had received many indirect benefits from labour affiliation, particularly through a heightened sense of organizational cohesion and willingness to assert demands for occupational benefits. However, few federation members had been active in any form of labour liaisons since the early 1950s, and most teachers felt that the ties with labour had produced no significant tangible results. Just as the BCTF did not play an active role in the labour organization, other unions seemed uninterested in educational affairs. A proposed increase in membership fees for the new Canadian Labour Congress was sufficient to convince several teachers who were otherwise ambivalent about the affiliation question that re-affiliation would not be in their own best interests. In addition, many teachers were uncomfortable with the growing politicization of labour in the province (which was formalized with the BCFL's endorsement of the CCF party in 1957). Consequently, in 1956 the links with labour were broken after fifty-four percent of the province's teachers voted against affiliation with the CLC. The media seemed more interested than most teachers were in the affiliation question and its possible contentious nature. While the Victoria Herald (1956) observed that a "Slim Majority of Teachers Swings Vote Against Labor," the Vancouver Province (1956) proclaimed that an "Anti-Labor Tide Sweeps B.C. Teachers From T.L.C." (Ovans 1955a, Ovans 1955b, Ovans 1956, Ovans 1962).

FORMAL PATERNALISM

In the name of professionalism, teachers were less likely to become masters of their own destiny as believed by teacher leaders and commentators who viewed teaching as a steadily evolving professional occupation than to be subordinated to state rule. Teachers' pursuit of a quiet, consultative form of professionalism often allowed government officials a free hand to develop policy initiatives. For example, Ray Williston, who served as education minister from 1953 to 1955, observed that because teachers did not constitute an effective lobby group, he was able to make changes in such areas as school finance, curriculum and teacher training with little or no input from teachers (Williston 1982). Not surprisingly, the BCTF's rejection of activities which were or appeared to be narrowly "political" or partisan in nature was actively encouraged by the state. In many respects, the earlier paternalism of school boards and provincial officials had been transferred on a broader more formal scale to government-endorsed ideologies of altruism and concern for the "public interest." State promotion of apolitical professionalism in British Columbia matched patterns in other jurisdictions such as Britain where "indirect rule" or ideological proletarianization ensured that teachers would comply with state education policies (Derber 1983, Lawn and Ozga 1986).

The state's promotion of legitimate professionalism involved an emphasis on the moral/subjective dimensions of teaching which set the occupation apart from supposedly less socially responsible groups. Commenting in 1953 on teachers who were candidates in a provincial election, deputy minister of education F.T. Fairey argued that because of the sensitive nature of teaching and working with children, the teacher is "not a complete citizen. . . . The teacher has no business in politics. . . . The teacher's place is in the

classroom, and that is where he should stay" (Victoria Colonist 1953). In a similar vein, education minister L.R. Peterson, speaking at the 1957 annual general meeting of the BCTF, warned teachers unequivocally of the distinction between a service orientation to professionalism and a narrower strategy of self-interest:

May I be forgiven if I suggest that every measure you may initiate or execute or recommend affects not only the future of teaching as a profession, but the future of education. If, in the view of a substantial number of our citizens, such a measure is solely to your advantage as a specific group, and if it carries with it any implication of a lack of concern for the rights of society or the rights of others, then this measure or proposal or action will arouse bitterness and resentment. It may seem to be tactically successful at the time, but strategically it will eventually fail of its purpose and will undermine your professional development. If, on the other hand, the measure you advocate is primarily and clearly for the purpose of advancing the cause of education, if it shows a sense of reality and of justice, then most people will sincerely support you (Peterson 1957, 419).

These patronizing sentiments were expressed formally in state policy on education and non-education issues which treated teachers as "less than complete citizens." Teachers' notions of altruism and their lack of organizational strength allowed government officials to claim conflict of interest as a rationale to exclude teachers from important decision-making bodies. The department of education, for example, denied until the 1954-55 school year BCTF requests to have direct federation representation (as opposed to the existing practice of government appointment of individuals) on the central provincial curriculum committee which had been established in 1935 to coordinate the restructuring of provincial curriculum development in accordance with the Putman-Weir recommendations. After the 1947 legislation to authorize automatic membership of teachers in the BCTF, the federation's executive argued that the federation should serve as the teachers' voice and have direct representation on the committee. The deputy minister of education, F.T. Fairey, however, argued that direct BCTF participation in the committee would actually be "weakening to the federation's position" as an independent body (BCTF 1948b; Cottingham 1957, 92; Dee 1949). Another

illustration of formal restrictions on teachers' rights was the explicit prohibition in the provincial Municipal Act for teachers to hold municipal office. The BCTF, as part of its campaign to improve the status of teaching, began in 1948 to seek legislation to remove this restriction. However, the provincial government argued that it could not change the legislation without the agreement of the municipalities, while the municipalities contended that because municipal councils dealt with school matters, teachers could not serve on council without being in a position of conflict of interest. The BCTF, however, asserted that school board business was distinct from municipal matters. Only in 1956, when the government itself was under attack for conflict of interest involving a cabinet minister, was the Municipal Act amended to allow school board employees to serve on municipal councils as long as they abstained from votes on school matters (BCTF 1956b, 321).

Ironically, teachers' pursuit of responsible professionalism forced them to seek legal protections from and partnership with groups which operated under political pressures and structural conditions that superceded relations with teachers. Cooperation with trustees and government could only go so far because teachers were employees of school boards and subjects of state policy. The BCTF's dilemma in the 1950s was summarized lucidly by a regular contributor to The B.C. Teacher, who suggested that:

Because of the limitations arising out of their position as an employed professional group rather than as an independent group such as the lawyers and the doctors, teachers have not been able to contribute as much as they would like towards the improvement of the curriculum, instruction, and standards. That is why the B.C.T.F. is presently so concerned in furthering its working relationships with the Department of Education and with the B.C. School Trustees' Association (Bayley 1954, 13).

The contradictory nature of teachers' strategy of cooperation with employers and their position as dependent employees was revealed graphically in 1956 when delegates to the B.C. School Trustees' Association's annual convention asserted their intention to regain control over schools and

restrain teachers' salaries. Taking heed of the government's lead in defending management rights as the foundation for labour peace, trustees argued that a shortage of trained teachers provided the teachers with an unfair bargaining lever. In fact, teachers had not made wage increases a major federation objective even though their incomes were not keeping pace with average industrial earnings; the median salary for B.C. teachers had increased by thirty-seven percent over the past five years, from \$2,668 in 1950 to \$3,644 in 1955 (PSR 1950, PSR 1955), compared to higher average wages and increases, from \$3,163 in 1950 to \$4,420 in 1955, marking a forty percent increase, for salaried workers in industrial firms (calculated on the basis of average weekly earnings for firms with fifteen or more employees. Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1953, 704; Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1958, 771). Nonetheless, trustees were aware that the logic of highlighting teacher salary increases in a period of escalating school costs had a direct appeal to concerned ratepayers. As collective bargaining between teachers and trustees proceeded in 1956, the BCSTA instructed school boards to pursue two measures to constrain teacher salary increases, and drew public attention through a newspaper advertisement which criticized escalating teacher incomes. First, the adoption of regional or zonal salary standards would minimize competition among school boards. Second, the trustees advocated a merit-based rating system which would tie teacher salary levels to standardized performance norms. Teachers were shocked at the trustees' claims and tactics. Professionalism, the BCTF assumed, involved discrete treatment of salary matters and consultation rather than standardized assessment of performance. In its own advertisement placed in two Vancouver newspapers, the BCTF argued:

We regret that an association with which we should like to work in partnership for the advancement of education has chosen to make a public attack upon us. We shall continue to strive for a maximum co-operation among the organizations which have a responsibility toward public education (BCTF 1956a, 274).

The BCTF's conciliatory appeal did not end with the advertisement. The advancement of teaching as a profession, according to federation leaders, required all local teachers' associations and members to take responsibility to overcome a growing apathy towards federation affairs. In order to avoid delays in negotiation procedures, local associations were to present their salary demands earlier in the fall (Boyd 1957, BCTF 1956c, BCTF 1957).

However, the limitations of professional cooperation became evident with a 1956 BCSTA policy statement which declared that school boards were to set arbitrarily teacher salary levels. Trustees, basing their assertion of managerial discretion on the absence in the Public Schools Act of any compulsion to bargain, intended to ignore the collective bargaining and arbitration practices which had been established over the past several years. Initially, several local teachers' associations indicated that they would refuse to accept the salary scales imposed by school boards and take the matter to arbitration. Trustees, however, rejected arbitration as an option since arbitration depended upon prior negotiations which had not yet taken place in the districts of concern. The teachers' dilemma was recognized by BCTF general secretary, C.D. Ovans, who observed,

We are not questioning [trustees'] argument that the law doesn't require them to negotiate. In practice we require them to negotiate because if they don't come to an agreement with us our policy is such that they won't be able to staff their schools. Our only problem is to persuade the membership to stand fast on the policy. We don't have to look to the law for protection and it is better that we rely on our collective strength rather than on legislation anyway (Ovans 1957).

Teachers' reliance upon their "collective strength," though, was also problematic. The BCTF's recent efforts to develop a kind of professionalism which downplayed teachers' position as workers minimized the possibilities that teachers would seek the right to strike through recognition of their occupation in the provincial Labour Act. BCTF staff members rejected for the time being the likelihood of effective strike action by teachers because of the widespread belief among teachers that a strike in an essential service

like education was morally wrong or "unprofessional" and the realization that a strike by teachers would not place any economic pressure on an employer. The only other recourse that teachers felt they had under the circumstances was to declare particular school districts "in dispute." The "in dispute" designation was a tactic employed by teachers' organizations in several provinces as a "professional" response to occupational problems. When a teachers' organization declared a school district accused of unfair labour practices as being "in dispute," teachers were instructed by their organizations not to apply for teaching positions to fill any vacancies which might arise in the district. The tactic could be effective only if all teachers adhered to the federation's directive and if it was applied only in high vacancy situations, such as might be created by a mass resignation of teachers in the district. In fact, given the teacher shortage in 1956, teachers in the small B.C. district of Enderby successfully carried out such an action while teachers in other districts, including Surrey, Delta, and North Vancouver were able to use the threat of similar action in order to persuade their boards to enter into negotiations (Spragge 1957).

The state's response to further threats by teachers in 1957 to resign and declare "in dispute" any districts where trustees were reluctant to negotiate teachers' contracts played upon both the productive and moral/subjective dimensions of teaching. Teachers' employment relations were regulated by the state, which also declared teachers' role as educators to be an essential public service. Teachers were seen to have a moral obligation to carry out their duties of educating youth. The provincial government announced that because teachers' threats to declare over half of the province's school districts "in dispute" disrupted the provision of educational services, it would suspend the provision of compulsory membership in the BCTF.

As teachers began to consider responses to the government's intended

action, including the possibility of withdrawal of services from all activities except scheduled teaching duties, the minister of education arranged a series of meetings in March, 1958, among senior government officials and BCTF and BCSTA executive members. The minister's intervention in the dispute reaffirmed the government's commitment to retain ultimate authority in educational matters. As a result of the meetings, the three parties agreed to a rigid system of formal procedures to regulate contract negotiations between teachers and school boards. In effect, the agreement outlined a temporary truce which established conciliation procedures to settle outstanding disputes in twenty-four school districts and created a permanent joint committee of BCTF and BCSTA representatives to serve as a sounding board for local school boards and teachers' associations. However, the parties were more concerned with assurances for long-term stability in teacher-school board collective bargaining. Later that year, in accordance with the agreement, the legislature passed an amendment to the Public Schools Act which acknowledged explicitly for the first time the right of teachers, through their local associations, to bargain collectively for contracts. The terms of bargaining were heavily restricted. Only salaries and bonuses were subject to negotiation. The bargaining process was governed by a strictly specified time framework whereby negotiations for contracts for each upcoming school year which were not settled by November 15 of the preceding year were subject to compulsory conciliation and arbitration (Cottingham, 1958; Muir 1968, 106; Peterson 1958).

Teachers, trustees and government officials viewed the legislation as a necessary measure to stabilize educational relations. While bargaining placed teachers and trustees in a formally antagonistic relationship, the tight bargaining framework promoted quick, conciliatory conflict resolution. The parties believed that educational growth and progress required a degree of attentiveness which was too important to waste on salary determination and

other mundane issues. BCTF leaders, for their part, were satisfied that consultation had brought them favourable results, offering them for the first time the explicit right to bargain. The formalization of bargaining allowed teachers the apparent freedom to proceed with professional development rather than concern themselves with problems of industrial relations. At last, it seemed, the paternalistic authority of trustees to set wages and conditions of work had been overcome. Teachers could now set about organizing into a strong professional group the disparate mass of teachers, many of whom had little or no formal qualifications, who had been hired to staff the schools during the growth years of the 1950s. It mattered little to BCTF leaders at the time that the terms of bargaining had been set by the state at the urging of trustees.

THE CHANT COMMISSION: EFFICIENCY AND CORPORATE REQUIREMENTS IN THE SCHOOLS

The establishment of a framework for industrial harmony in teacher-state relations in British Columbia in the late 1950s paralleled efforts to restrain more turbulent social changes and labour unrest, reminiscent of the turmoil which preceded the Putman-Weir inquiry into the education system in the 1920s. Throughout the 1950s, the highly uneven and unstable nature of the provincial economy was marked by erratic variations in the industrial relations climate. The province experienced a series of intense industrial disputes, particularly in the important lumber and construction industries which were subject to cyclical growth and rapid technical reorganization. The provincial government, motivated by premier W.A.C. Bennett's populism which emphasized individuality over the apparently selfish interests of trade union leaders, introduced increasingly more restrictive legislation in order to shut down labour unrest. However, with its concentrated resource industries, British Columbia had the most highly unionized workforce in the

country; the unions' reputation for militancy was enhanced as workers refused to allow the government to regulate them tacitly into submission. After work stoppages reached record highs in 1958 and 1959, the government passed a new Trade-Unions Act in 1959 at the urging of business leaders in order to clarify injunction procedures applicable on actions prohibited by the Labour Relations Act and to give unions a legal status which made them liable to damage suits (Jamieson 1968, 374-375; Jamieson 1973, 131-132). As in the 1910s and 1920s, the state also began to look towards schools to ameliorate social and economic conflict. By the end of the 1950s, schooling's uncompleted promise to usher in the rational corporate state appeared both more essential and closer to fulfillment than at any time since the early 1920s. Teachers linked their hopes for advancement as a profession to the reorganization of schools for technological efficiency.

The massive growth of schooling systems began to draw unprecedented scrutiny toward educational issues in British Columbia as well as throughout the industrialized world. In Canada, the purposes and consequences of public education became, for the first time, the subjects of an intense nation-wide debate. Controversy raged, especially between critics of the education system such as Hilda Neatby (1953) in an attack on educational progressivism in So Little for the Mind and the system's defenders or more sympathetic critics. The debate was intensified with the launch in 1957 of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union. The news of the launch had an immediate impact, raising questions about the adequacy of North American education systems and their ability to provide the thorough intellectual and scientific basis that was required to allow for successful international competition in space exploration, military capability, and technological advancement.

The education system became a visible target for discussion about public priorities largely because it stood alone, distinguished by compulsory schooling legislation, as a systematic, near-universal point of contact

between individuals and the state or corporate order. As Lockhart (1979) emphasizes, schooling was coopted in the shift from an "old" liberal ideological focus on competitive market individualism to a "new" liberal doctrine of rational intervention by the corporate state. This transition was fuelled by conditions which facilitated vast concentrations of private capital and massive social and fiscal investment at corporate and state levels. The development of large-scale enterprise and increasingly integrated commodity markets prompted corporate demands for greater coordination of investment patterns and supply and training of the labour force. Schooling had previously been treated in the political realm as a general child-development institution and, for a few groups, the basis of more privileged academic pursuits. Now formal education was gaining recognition both as the central mechanism for providing credentials required for entry into the workforce and as a major component of the social wage. The more favourable view of the potential benefits of schooling was buttressed by the appeal of "human capital theory" among business interests, policy makers and educators. The theory stressed that education was not a mere privilege, but a productive investment which would enhance individual choice, raise productivity, and provide a strong foundation for rapid economic development (Karabel and Halsey 1977, 12-13; Schultz 1961).

State responsiveness to these issues was revealed through the establishment of a series of government inquiries into education. In Canada, between 1950 and 1958, four comprehensive provincial commissions and a federal commission were appointed to investigate educational matters, and in 1958 and 1959, joint meetings were arranged among commissioners from Alberta, British Columbia and Manitoba (Johnson 1964, 255-257). A common theme throughout the commission reports was the need for more rationally organized education systems oriented to meet the diverse requirements of a complex society. The investigations repeatedly condemned previous educational

emphasis on strict academic training for its inefficient utilization of resources, unsuited for the changing demands of a rapidly growing post-industrial economy.

A royal commission on education appointed by the British Columbia government in 1958 played a prominent role in the advocacy of educational reorganization for social advancement. The commission, chaired by S.N.F. Chant, dean of Arts and Sciences at the University of British Columbia, was instructed to inquire into the total provincial education system, with particular emphasis on student achievement and, for the first time since the Putman-Weir commission in the mid 1920s, on educational programs. The broad scope of the inquiry was matched by high levels of public interest. In 1958 and 1959, the commissioners received 366 briefs, held thirty-four sets of hearings throughout the province, and visited 116 schools (British Columbia 1960).

The BCTF was perhaps the group most interested in the hearings. The commission provided teachers with a clear focal point upon which to promote "professionalism" and demonstrate their expertise through an understanding of the school system as a whole. Consequently, the BCTF welcomed the initial announcement of the inquiry and remained supportive throughout, submitting an extensive brief to the commissioners and offering resources and personnel to the commissioners as the inquiry proceeded. In addition, several local teachers' associations submitted briefs and cooperated fully with various phases of the inquiry, often allowing the commissioners to observe or even participate in class periods.

In general terms, the Chant commission report, released in 1960, concurred with, and incorporated many of, the teachers' submissions. The BCTF and commissioners saw a well-funded, soundly organized education system as the foundation for social and economic progress in a rapidly changing society. Both groups agreed that a strong school system required a better

qualified, well-paid teaching force. The commissioners supported in general terms the BCTF's call for improved standards in teacher training and certification; only candidates with strong academic performance should be admitted to teacher training programs, certification should be contingent upon a minimum two years of university-based teacher education, immediate steps should be taken to require all teachers to have a university degree (specified by the BCTF as the product of a five year professional program), and comprehensive in-service training opportunities should be offered to enable less qualified teachers to upgrade their training and to facilitate the professional development of all practicing teachers (BCTF 1959d; BCTF 1960d; British Columbia 1960, 196-197, 215, 235).

Despite the general convergence in the two sets of recommendations, the priorities advanced by teachers and commissioners revealed a slight variation in emphasis. The Chant report stressed that schooling should serve primarily "the public interest" and national economic development. Teachers, by contrast, promoted more fully the ideal of service to their clients (i.e., individual pupils), although students had to be responsible to the general interest through development as responsible citizens. In its brief to the commission, the BCTF argued that:

The aim of the public schools system should be to provide every child with the opportunity to learn what rights and responsibilities he will have as a citizen, and to stimulate in him the desire to exercise these rights and responsibilities when he comes of age (BCTF 1960e, 229).

In addition to their provision of a general core of knowledge and academic and vocational training, schools had to be prepared to offer services that would accommodate students with a wide range of individual differences. Consequently, teachers proposed that school curricula and programs should be tailored to varying paces and levels of student performance, cognizant of particular categories of students with special needs (BCTF 1960f, BCTF 1960g, BCTF 1960h). Teachers' concern for service to individual needs and

commissioners' dedication to technical progress signified a variation more in emphasis than in general principle, converging in a common commitment to post-industrial harmony. Nonetheless, the distinction provided for the first time an indication of divergent interests which by the end of the 1960s would result in increased teacher-state conflict.

The Chant Report encapsulated the prevailing atmosphere which had come to motivate educational reform as a matter of "progress." The education system, argued the commissioners, should be oriented primarily to the aim of intellectual development:

In the course of this century there has been an immense increase in our knowledge of man and of the world in which he lives. The rapid development that has taken place in the fields of science and technology is but one example of this. Such intellectual progress has no finality, and as it brings changes so must the school programme change; otherwise education loses touch with the realities of life and becomes outmoded. But even beyond this, education is the principal means of progress. It does not merely move forward in the current of progress, but it actively provides in large measure the source and the direction of progress (British Columbia 1960, 23-24).

Education-driven social progress, in the commissioners' view, required a rationally-organized, efficient education system to produce skilled individuals prepared for diverse class and gender roles.

Educational reorganization, according to the Chant report (in agreement with BCTF proposals), involved channeling the often unfocussed array of school programs which had accompanied provincial school system growth into two distinct streams of academic and vocational-technical programs. The report proposed a four-tiered education system, with each stage separated by systematic examination procedures to determine the future options available to each student. All students would enter elementary school, organized around a common program from kindergarten to grade seven. Students who successfully completed grade seven and passed an entrance examination would enter high school (grades eight to ten) while students who were not successful would either terminate their education or gain placement in a

vocational program (grades eight to twelve, with possible transfer to the regular high school program in grade ten if a pupil demonstrated "unusual progress"). High school completion and another entrance examination would be used to determine entry to the collegiate academy level (grades eleven to twelve), where students would follow either academic or commercial-vocational streams. Finally, upon successful completion of grade twelve and an additional entrance examination, students would qualify for admission to programs in either university or institutes of advanced technology (British Columbia 1960, 275-277).

The report emphasized the importance of grounding this whole system around a cluster of basic public school courses in reading, writing and arithmetic. The authors recommended that school time and resources be concentrated upon these core subjects, with a secondary focus on science, social studies, and language subjects. Courses in the arts, health, personal development, and vocational areas were identified as being too specific to be accorded the central position that the core courses received in the curriculum.

This core cannot be put aside, for once it is neglected the means for expanding knowledge is lost. There are other subjects that have a temporary attraction or even some definite utility. For example, it is nice to learn to dance or sing. It is useful to learn how to cook or saw a board. It is important to learn how to drive a motor-car. But only a few years are available in which to educate the members of each generation, and time cannot be afforded for too many by-paths. While basic education was always important, it was never more so than in our time because of the increasing complexity of the world in which we live (British Columbia 1960, 283).

The sense of urgency expressed in this statement was reinforced by the report's critique of educational progressivism and the project method that had been promoted in British Columbia since at least the 1920s by teachers and officials like Charlesworth, King and Weir. "The lesson," or the specific subject matter to be mastered, was now to constitute the fundamental educational experience, unhindered by irrelevant or distractive pursuits.

Disciplined learning was to be encouraged and wasteful use of time and resources, both in the classroom and in the administration of schooling, were to be discouraged (British Columbia 1960, 155, 353-359).

In many respects, the emphasis on content and cognitive development tended to echo the more traditional schooling practices which educational progressives had attempted to repudiate. At the same time, the commissioners recommended the retention at the heart of the education system of the virtues which nineteenth century school reformers had promoted so vigorously - character training, moral development and "emphasis on good habits and right attitudes." Schools were necessary to teach students **how** to think, not merely **what** to think (British Columbia 1960, 18-23, 408-409). The Chant recommendations recognized that while the advancement of a quality education system required increased funding, educational services could be rationalized by emphasizing the labour-intensive nature of schooling:

It should not be assumed that all of the problems and deficiencies of the public school system can be overcome by money alone. Education is not a mechanized process, and some of its most important features are not basically economic. Devotion to the cause of education on the part of teachers and of all those concerned with the administration of the public schools cannot be bought by money. Teaching is more than an occupation; it is a calling, and the services of dedicated teachers are beyond price (British Columbia 1960, 411).

Teaching, though grounded in professional skill and training, was to be promoted as a calling to offer both moral/subjective and productive services. Presumably, the welfare of highly motivated, efficient teachers who did not pose a political threat to the state would somehow mystically be looked after in the public interest after the school system was reorganized.

Despite its reiteration of traditional educational philosophies, the Chant report was by no means a reversion to nineteenth century educational values. It is important to recognize the report's connections with the wider rational reorganization of advanced industrial society. Schooling now occupied a central place in the social division of labour. Its purpose was

to facilitate, in conjunction with other social institutions, social development and economic progress. Schooling would channel pupils into appropriate places in either higher education or the labour force, at which point broad skills and capabilities would be translated into more precisely defined tasks. A responsiveness to the social milieu of the early 1960s was revealed in the observation that the report's only major initial critics were persons who had a specific interest in the existing school system. The dean of education at the University of British Columbia, for example, viewed the report as a reactionary document intended to destroy educational progressivism, while art and music teachers feared the marginalization of their subjects within a reorganized school program, and Burnaby school superintendent C.J. Frederickson expressed disappointment over the lack of recognition in the report for the role of school district supervisors (Frederickson 1961; Johnson 1964, 266-267; Scarfe 1961).

The report's philosophical impact was more profound than its practical application. The Social Credit government, preoccupied with a major hydroelectric construction project and legislative reorganization following a slight reduction in its majority in a summer, 1960, election, withheld public release of the report for nearly two months after it had been submitted. Although the government proceeded in the 1960s to reorganize the education system in a manner consistent with the vision outlined by Chant and the other commissioners, many of the report's recommendations were not followed. In June, 1961, the department of education appointed two professional advisory committees consisting of representation from teacher training institutions, school administrators and, in fulfillment of teachers' longstanding desires, the BCTF, to provide guidance in the process of curriculum revision. The first major change, beginning in September, 1961, involved the transfer of grade seven to the elementary school level in order to prepare for forthcoming introduction of the academic and vocational streams. Despite the

general orientation to a bifurcated high school system, though, the government followed a less rigid series of divisions than the commissioners had recommended. The junior high school years (grades eight to ten) would not be divided strictly into two streams, but would emphasize a common core of education, oriented more to intellectual than to affective development, which would facilitate student choice of more specific programs in senior high school. Contrary to the Chant recommendations for examination-based promotions, the government reorganization emphasized intensive guidance and counselling supplemented by local evaluation of student achievement. The province would examine students at the end of grade seven not to determine placement but to establish a set of provincial norms. These changes were accompanied by measures (following the commission's recommendations) to increase the length of the school year by at least three days, to increase the allowable minimum school day length by fifteen minutes and the maximum by thirty minutes at the secondary school level, and to reduce the entitlement formula by which teacher allocations were determined for elementary schools from forty pupils per teacher to thirty-nine (English 1962, Levirs 1961, Peterson 1961).

In 1963, the government announced its intention to have a fully reorganized education system in place by 1967. Five main programs - pre-university, pre-technical institute, and three vocational areas - were to be offered at the secondary school level. The core subject areas, defined in a slightly broader way than in the Chant report, would serve as the focal point of the system. Studies would become more specialized starting at the grade eight level (Levirs 1963). In addition, the department of education increased educational services for slow learners and disabled students. A two to three year "occupational program" was also established, oriented to pupils at the junior high school level who had been identified as disinterested in or lacking ability to complete the regular school program,

in order to "produce a young person of value to his employers in tasks within his ability" (Levirs 1961, 6).

The department of education undertook a number of measures to facilitate these changes. In addition to the curriculum advisory committees established in 1961, the department established committees made up primarily of teachers to revise the curriculum in specific subject areas. In-service training programs were organized cooperatively by the BCTF, the department of education, the college of education, and school boards in order to prepare for the introduction of new curricula into the schools. New or revised courses at the junior and senior high school levels were developed in mathematics, the sciences, languages, health, industrial arts, and home economics. For new teachers, the department stipulated in 1962 that a minimum of three years of training in the college of education would be required for permanent certification. The deputy minister of education also announced that a requirement for all teachers to have an education degree would be established sometime in the future. Finally, the government announced plans to expand the education system through the opening of several vocational schools, an institute of technology, and the creation of two new universities (English 1962).

Educational changes which followed the Chant report's recommendations reflected a general consensus that the school system required greater focus, organized particularly around vocational and academic programs. The question remained, though, of why the government did not wholeheartedly adopt the recommendations and why it softened the introduction of proposed changes to the school system.

The answer, in part, was that entrenched interests in the school system prohibited the government from taking too strong an interventionist role in educational reform. Government officials, for example, were sensitive to the political consequences of upsetting the relationships which governed local

and central input into educational decision-making. The presence on the new provincial curriculum committees of educators with established skills and backgrounds reduced the likelihood that curriculum guidelines would be introduced which would alter radically any existing classroom procedures. Personnel such as faculty at the UBC College of Education and teachers who belonged to provincial specialist associations which the BCTF had organized in the late 1950s to provide continuous evaluation and coordination of curriculum practices had legitimate curricular authority which could not be ignored by the department of education.

Educational restructuring, especially given the labour intensive nature of schooling, had contradictory implications for the state. Such measures as decreased pupil-teacher ratios and the creation of new supervisory and clerical positions, combined with salary demands associated with higher teacher credentials, would have the effect of increasing the total wage bill, and thus the costs, of the education system. The provincial government had to contend with both recurring public outcries over rising school costs and the recognition that a strong fiscal commitment was required to produce a return on the investment in human capital.

The provincial government's approach to educational reorganization was guided ultimately by a strengthening relationship among schools, the state and corporations, signified by increased federal funding of education. Political excitement over broad educational philosophies or details of school programs tended to overshadow a significant movement in Canada towards a federally coordinated labour market strategy. The federal government, responding to shortages in skilled labour and rising unemployment especially among unskilled workers, instituted a Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act in 1960 to encourage provinces to expand training and apprenticeship programs in the sciences, engineering and other vocations (Stager 1981, 37-38). Through cost-sharing agreements with the provinces,

the federal government agreed to provide half the costs of designated training programs. Federal funding of education in Canada rose by a factor of nearly three times, from \$132.2 million to \$368.6 million between 1960 and 1965, while total national expenditures on education doubled from \$1.7 billion to \$3.4 billion over the same time period (Statistics Canada 1978, 26). These trends were even more pronounced for the funding of elementary and secondary schools in British Columbia, where federal funding increased from \$6.6 million in 1960 to \$21.1 million in 1965 compared to an increase from \$134.4 million to \$230.3 million in total elementary and secondary school costs in the province (Statistics Canada 1978, 188).

Although federal funding of education provided more revenue for educational services, the funded programs did not always match provincial priorities. Les Peterson, British Columbia's education minister in the 1960s, noted that,

[The federal government] participated on a formula which meant that some areas you'd be inclined to give greater priority than was demanded because you were using 50 cent dollars and the money was easier to come by. In education that [sic] may not have properly belonged under that wing you would try in order to have more money available for you to do the things you wanted to do in education. So that was distorted. That type of programme always does distort basically (Peterson 1982, 6).

The establishment of vocational and technical training tended to reflect the direct workforce needs of industrial employers as well as federal government initiatives. Peterson observed that "a very close relationship" existed between industry and the ministry of education in the 1960s:

We [the ministry of education] used advisory boards and we had people from industry there, so we were training for their specific needs. And if there wasn't employment for your student at the end, your course was a failure. Basically, that is how vocational and trades training was started (Peterson 1982, 7).

Industry's entry into schools and educational decision-making was also accomplished by securing the cooperation of teachers. Major mining and lumber companies such as The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company and MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. began in the 1950s to offer regular tours and

information packages to teachers under the guise of promoting practical education experiences. Teachers, in turn, presented in classrooms and articles in The B.C. Teacher descriptive accounts of the industrial operations and their benefits for provincial economic growth (see, for example, Ritchie 1957; PSR 1957, X38; Young and Flather 1954). Ironically, teachers, in the course of extracting themselves from apparently political matters in general, tended to accept these arrangements as objective learning tools rather than question their role in the dissemination of specific corporate interests.

Corporate hegemony was also illustrated in the development by corporate philanthropic foundations of new school management practices which could make teachers willing agents in the technical regulation and intensification of their occupation. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, for example, sponsored a major study of North American teacher education in 1961 as part of its agenda to enhance the base of "professional knowledge" which governed college, university and school teaching in Canada and the United States. Organizations like the BCTF saw the study as a useful tool in their quest for occupational autonomy and professional status, ignorant of the possibility that the study findings would provide the sponsoring organizations with systematic information which could eventually be used to reorganize and possibly deskill teaching by specifying teaching functions and reducing teachers' occupational autonomy. In a similar manner, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, as part of its general endeavour to promote the health, education and welfare of young people, had begun in the 1950s to provide resources for a program of coordinated research and training in educational supervision in Canada. In 1954-55, the foundation provided over three thousand dollars to train rural high school teachers to promote adult education and "community improvement" in the schools. More importantly, the Kellogg foundation extended a grant of over \$270,000 to the Canadian

Education Association for a five year program, beginning in 1951, to systematize school administration practices. These funds were used to support a national conference of school superintendents, a series of workshops and courses which were attended by over one quarter of the nation's educational administrators between 1951 and 1955, and initiatives to advance efficient administrative and educational practices in accordance within larger, consolidated school administrative units. Like the Carnegie study, the school administration program converged with the interests of senior school administrators and teachers to restructure school operations in order to enhance educational performance. From the foundation's perspective, teachers and administrators became accomplices in the process of tailoring school and state to the interests of corporate development (Chambers 1948, Ovans 1961a, W.K. Kellogg Foundation 1955, 105, 210-211).

CONTRADICTIONARY VISIONS OF TEACHING

State officials and school administrators did not require extensive visible regulation over teachers as long as resistance was undermined by teachers' active acceptance of professionalism as a natural part of a neutral post-industrial order. Teachers sought a form of professional autonomy, accompanied by prolonged special training, improved teaching conditions, and respectable salary standards, that did not call into question schools' contribution to the reproduction of capitalist society. The portrayal of teaching advanced by state and corporate officials, the Chant commission, and teachers themselves as a "calling" echoed both the notions of moral righteousness desired by nineteenth century school reformers and visions of industrial harmony promoted in the twentieth century by state and corporate interests. However, under the human capital theory which was evident in the report, the veil which had formerly obscured the logic of increased social

productivity and capital accumulation was partially lifted. Every individual was characterized to have a stake in technical advancement, and teachers were to be the agents charged with fostering the development of individual capabilities. Teachers' professional role, according to the BCTF, required the removal of visible signs of low teacher status in order to enable teachers to nurture their occupation into a position of socially responsible autonomy.

In general, the province's school teachers found the Chant commission's report highly favourable to their interests, although the BCTF urged caution in the interpretation of the report. Federation officials argued that in accordance with the report's recognition of the central importance of teaching to the school system, teachers should be consulted fully prior to the implementation of any reforms (BCTF 1961a). The commission provided legitimacy for teachers' quest for full professionalism characterized by better working conditions, improved salaries and benefits, greater responsibility to plan and apply pedagogical techniques, and increased control over occupational discipline.

Nonetheless, teachers' professional aspirations were marked by strong contradictions. Despite the optimistic vision promoted by the Chant report and BCTF leaders of an educational future led by a relatively autonomous, highly respected and well paid professional teaching force, teaching continued to be defined and regulated by state policies and practices.

Teachers, upon close scrutiny of the Chant report, clearly recognized there were important drawbacks to the commissioners' recommendations. Teacher welfare, according to analysis by BCTF finance critics, potentially was threatened by the Chant commission's treatment of teachers' salary and bargaining matters. In particular, the federation feared that the report made it possible for the goal of respectable salaries and status to be confused with the perception that teachers had already attained those

conditions. The commission's research, for example, was based on data which overstated both the levels and provincial variations in actual teachers' salaries. Teachers opposed two recommendations which the commissioners advanced to create province-wide stability to a system which teachers felt was already sufficiently orderly and homogeneous. First, the report, seeking to eliminate annual local salary negotiations between teachers and school boards which were potentially contentious and disruptive to the school system, supported an amendment to the Public Schools Act to establish provincial negotiations between the BCTF and the BCSTA. Teachers argued that such a measure in the absence of a fully qualified teaching force would compress the total salary grid and minimize the incentive for individual teachers to improve their qualifications. Second, the report recommended bonuses for outstanding teaching performance. The BCTF feared such a measure would enable trustees to introduce merit pay and standardized teaching assessments which would undermine teachers' legitimate rights to determine professional standards (British Columbia 1960, 206; Spragge 1961).

Teachers were less cognizant of the limitations to their own appeals to professionalism. The advancement of the occupation, according to the BCTF, now depended upon professional education built on a specialized body of teaching knowledge. In 1961, for instance, the chairperson of the BCTF Committee on Teacher Education and Certification wrote that:

Much of the teacher education in the past has, of necessity, been built on the philosophy of a trade school where enough of the skills could be taught in a short period of time and whatever else was to be learned could be achieved as the result of some kind of in-service education. A program of this kind denies the very existence of teaching as a profession. A profession is founded on a body of knowledge which takes a recognized period of time to master (Parrott 1961, 169-170).

However, as noted in the previous section, "teaching knowledge" frequently was defined and organized through state and corporate bodies concerned to restructure or undermine much of the practical knowledge which allowed teachers, at least in the classroom, to exercise control over their craft.

Teachers' position on the issue of supervision illustrated the contradictory ways in which their own aspirations for professional autonomy in the labour process and the state's ability to exercise formal regulation over the occupation often intertwined. Teachers felt that the teaching force as a whole, given the recent influx of poorly qualified persons into the occupation, required sympathetic guidance in order to perform classroom functions adequately and gain a high level of professional competence within a revised school structure. The BCTF, in its brief to the Chant inquiry, indicated strong support for the rational model of school administration developed in the Kellogg Foundation project on educational leadership. The aim of supervision was to enhance teachers' professional growth and free teachers and administrators from duties which interfered with their primary tasks. Under the favoured arrangements, the district superintendent was to serve as a chief executive officer. The superintendent was to be an educator who had the experience and expertise to coordinate the instructional and business aspects of school district affairs. At the school level, the principal would occupy a similar position, serving both to administer school business and to supervise and evaluate teachers in a constructive manner. The principal, then, would become a facilitator of quality teaching rather than a mere bureaucratic functionary:

Any principal is bound to help his teachers approach their maximum efficiency in imparting to their students the knowledge, skills, and attitudes involved in the courses they teach. He may do so directly by giving them suggestions on how to improve their techniques of instruction. He may do so more generally by helping them to appraise themselves (BCTF 1959d, 135).

Finally, routine school functions would be eliminated, if possible, or be carried out by additional clerical and auxiliary support (BCTF 1959d). Teachers sought a clear division of labour in the school system, resembling business hierarchies oriented to productivity and profitability, but governed more by open-ended educational concerns of developmental interaction and

learning.

Teachers were particularly troubled by the role of the school principal which entailed both administrative and educative functions. Traditionally, principals were influential teachers and often leaders of the teachers' federation who were just as likely to remain aloof from the rank and file teachers as to advance the cause of teaching as a whole. These ambiguous strains were likely to intensify given the enhancement of the principal's role within the increasingly more complex organizational structure of schooling. Principals were potentially "friendly" to teachers but they also constituted a level of managerial control that could be extended over teachers. Many teachers, aware of the traditional influence and disciplinary powers of school administrators, feared that principals, if allowed to remain in the BCTF, might use knowledge of teachers' participation in federation activities as the basis for unfavourable teacher evaluations in official school reports (Suddaby 1965).

Teachers sought to reconcile the need for external supervision with a concern to minimize the power of any single group over the teaching profession. BCTF policy, regulated by amendments made in 1958 to the Public Schools Act, provided for membership in the federation to individuals and groups whose primary function was related to teaching as opposed to management. Teachers and principals had automatic membership in the federation as well as in local teachers' associations. Program and subject supervisors had automatic membership in the federation, but their membership in local associations was contingent upon the associations' approval. Directors of education were eligible to join the BCTF on a voluntary basis, but could not belong to local teachers' associations. District superintendents, who were empowered by legislation to file reports on teachers, were excluded from federation membership (Ovans 1959, Ovans 1961b).

The BCTF, concerned to avoid a one-way line of authority from the top,

sought to entrench within the school system the role of principal as an advisory/supervisory position subject to the discipline of the teachers' federation. Consequently, for the BCTF, a combined strategy of maintaining principals within the scope of the federation and increasing principals' authority with respect to the total education organizational hierarchy could influence the occupational strength of the teaching force. In 1952, for example, in opposition to a BCSTA proposal that principals be excluded from BCTF membership, the BCTF executive quickly confirmed the policy "that principals are first of all teachers" (BCTF 1952a, 215). In 1965, the federation's general secretary elaborated this position more fully:

It may well be that as we move more and more into the area of bargaining over working conditions that we will find a conflict between classroom teachers and principals emerging. Some aspects of working conditions, particularly as related to assignments, do come under the principals' control. Whether or not problems actually do arise in this area will be determined substantially by the attitude of school principals. The problems are there whether or not the principals are in the organization. If the principals are within the organization we have some control over them. At least we can require that they adhere to the Code of Ethics. I would suggest that philosophically we should argue that principals and teachers belong in the same camp. Starting with this premise we should try to arrange things so that a mutual understanding and accommodation is arrived at in respect of all problems which may emerge with further provision that any conflicts should be resolved within the professional family (Ovans 1965b).

In 1959, the BCTF executive recommended a policy, subsequently endorsed at the AGM, which emphasized that the concept of supervision entailed much more than mere reporting. The federation policy stated that supervision from principals and district superintendents, which tended to be focussed on the writing of reports on teachers, should stress more fully the advisory and remedial nature of supervision before action could be taken against an unsatisfactory teacher (BCTF 1959a, 119; BCTF 1960c, 368).

However, the teaching force as a whole remained ambivalent about the structure of supervision. Classroom teachers were rarely under direct surveillance, even if a supervisory presence was deeply engrained into school regulations and operations. Findings of a 1959 BCTF survey on the

supervision of teachers, revealed in part that supervisory practices were looser than commonly supposed, and that many teachers were confused about or in disagreement with BCTF policies on supervision. Out of a total of 5,184 respondents, 809 indicated that they had not ever been visited by their principals and 1,357 stated that they had not been visited by district superintendents. The formal structure of teacher supervision, in other words, often translated into a laissez-faire orientation to classroom practices - if no problems in classroom management were drawn to the attention of school administrators, then classroom visitation for reporting purposes was not essential. Nonetheless, reporting had a documentary function which teachers were not adverse to, although they were not sure who should carry out this activity. In response to a question on who should write reports on teachers (with multiple responses permitted), 3,071 teachers indicated that district superintendents should have this responsibility and 2,833 indicated that principals should; 2,517 responses indicated that reports should be filed by other school system personnel, including supervisors and consultants who were in practice prohibited from doing so according to the policies of both the department of education and the BCTF (BCTF 1960b). Perhaps the most revealing observation about the practice of school supervision was reflected in the words of a former BCTF president, who observed that,

It is only partly true that teachers must conform to survive. Teachers have only to demonstrate that they can come to grips with the system and operate it. Having proven this, they can do pretty well as they please. It is my experience that teachers set up imaginary barriers, taking curriculum guidelines for the tablets of Moses (Hutchison 1969a).

Regardless of how strictly they were regulated by legislation and supervisory practices, teachers still retained a sense that they were in command of the classroom setting. Teacher professionalism seemed to be largely a matter of individual teachers' abilities to overcome the "imaginary barriers" to educational autonomy and experimentation. The important proviso, however,

was that teachers first had to "come to grips with the system." There remained a strong possibility that teachers would relinquish an independence of vision and action in the process of "coming to grips with the system" which contributed to the conservatism that teachers were being criticized for.

The question of what a distinct teacher vision might entail was complicated by division in the teaching force associated with increasing segmentation and hierarchy in the school system. Although most teachers, as indicated in the BCTF policy, wanted administrators to remain a part of the teachers' organization, it was clear that principals and vice principals occupied a status and performed duties which superceded those of the classroom teacher. In addition, the growing emphasis on subject areas and specialization reinforced stratification within the teaching ranks, with greater value placed on teaching in the core areas and senior levels than on general classroom teaching and the fringe subjects. These distinctions were not new, but they were intensified with their extension and formalization as recognized in the Chant report and submissions to the commission. Finally, the consolidation of teacher training in the universities in the late 1950s produced a distinct split between the older products of the Normal Schools and the new university graduates entering the occupation. The Normal School emphasis on strict standards of discipline and practical methods governed by long-time educators signified an older generation of teachers who were out of step with the new pedagogies and broader liberal arts training associated with the university programs. The university graduates, prepared to identify themselves fully as professionals, tended to scoff condescendingly at the unqualified teacher and Normal School product as an embarrassing detriment to professional recognition (Sutherland 1987). In 1954-55, the proportion of teachers in British Columbia who had less than two years of training beyond high school was 54.4 percent, compared to 35.1 percent with university

degrees. The balance shifted during the next several years, as the proportion with less than two years of post-secondary training declined steadily, to 39.1 percent of the provincial teaching force in 1963-64 and 29.3 percent in 1966-67; during the same time period, the proportion of teachers with university degrees gradually increased to 40.5 percent in 1963-64 and 46.3 percent in 1966-67 (Statistics Canada 1971, 100).

The gender composition of the teaching force remained relatively constant, with the proportion of men increasing slightly from forty-three percent to forty-four percent between 1955 and 1965 (Statistics Canada 1978). There were, however, important gender differences in patterns of teacher recruitment and teaching position. The university program tended to attract men to the occupation while many of the women who entered teaching in the late 1950s and early 1960s were products of the Normal Schools who had left teaching for marriage or other reasons and had returned to teaching as teacher shortages became acute. Between 1958-59 and 1965-66, the proportion of male teachers with university degrees increased from 54.3 percent of all male teachers to 63.8 percent, while the corresponding proportions for females rose from 20.1 percent to 29.0 percent. As in previous years, male teachers and more qualified teachers tended to be concentrated in urban areas and secondary schools while female teachers and less qualified teachers tended to teach in rural areas and elementary schools (Muir 1968, 70-79, 327).

Not surprisingly, given the diversity of teacher background characteristics and teaching positions, teachers in the early 1960s had differing orientations to questions of educational change and federation priorities. The teaching force was becoming divided especially between new practitioners just out of the universities who demanded immediate action to improve teachers' status and take advantage of opportunities to reform the education system, and older teachers whose survival in the classroom over

time had depended upon skills and techniques which were now being challenged by the Chant recommendations. BCTF leaders, accustomed to teachers' relative docility in the 1950s, were called upon increasingly to manage a teaching force oriented to two different directions. The federation, through its own prioritizing of demands for increased educational credentials as the vehicle for gains in teacher welfare, status, and decision-making capacity, welcomed without asserting too strongly its own initiatives any measures provided by government, trustees or industry which would promote education and educational funding. BCTF officials also were concerned to respond to new educational programs in such a way that they would neither alienate public support nor further fragment the federation's membership. In following this approach, however, the federation, and in particular its executive, faced mounting but contradictory criticism from members in the early 1960s who were concerned that the organization was becoming at one extreme, "too dictatorial," or at another, "too lacking in direction" (BCTF 1960a). Many teachers, dissatisfied with inadequate progress on the improvement of teacher status, pushed for stronger action with regard to salary and bargaining matters. In 1960, over fifty local teachers' associations took their negotiation cases to arbitration against the advice of the federation's general secretary, and several locals began to agitate for provincial bargaining in order to avoid problems in particular districts (Ovans 1960).

Initially, criticism of the federation appeared widely scattered, detached from any organized interest or focal point. Government action to begin implementation of many of the Chant report's central recommendations, however, provided a potential basis around which the federation's official position could be consolidated or oppositional forces within the BCTF could become crystallized.

Despite the BCTF's generally favourable initial reaction to the report, teachers' opposition to specific aspects of school reorganization began to

mount as they examined the report in greater detail amidst news of government plans to act on the report. Consistent with the federation's appeal for caution following the release of the Chant report, the federation's curriculum committee expressed concern at the 1961 annual general meeting that the government had acted too hastily in its decision to transfer grade seven to the elementary schools. Delegates to the meeting also adopted a series of statements from a BCTF Chant Report Assessment Committee which argued that the major aims of the report could be fulfilled without a drastic reorganization of the school system. The teachers felt in particular that the definitions of "intellectual development" and core courses needed to be broadened to include such subjects as music and art. They also contended that existing educational structures and personnel, with an infusion of additional funding and resources, would be able to provide students with suitable preparation and assessment for progress through the various streams that would be offered in the new educational programs (BCTF 1961b).

The variety of changes to the education system which the government planned and implemented, however, tended to have the consequence of diffusing teachers' criticisms. Some teachers, fearful of the demise of educational progressivism and the restrictive definitions of core curricular areas, were critical of the report's general principles; others felt that they had not had adequate time to prepare for program changes; and still others resented the practical difficulties associated with the mechanics of having to deal with new curricula and regulations on a day to day basis. Curriculum revision, in particular, proved to be a touchy area for teachers who frequently were not supplied with new course guides or textbooks until after the school year had begun. Teachers expressed their frustrations by passing at the federation's 1962 annual general meeting a series of resolutions including requests that the government consider submissions of teachers and other educators prior to implementing further changes to the education

system, that it provide teachers with more complete information about changes to curricula, and that it return the length of the school day to levels that had been maintained up to 1961 (Allester 1966; BCTF 1962c, 352-354; Ovans 1964).

The absence of a strong political base within the organization and strategies to confront the government more forcefully, however, prevented the teachers from pursuing their grievances any further. Following the announcement of legislation to implement aspects of the Chant report, for example, mass protest meetings suggested by teachers around the province did not materialize. The federation's officials preferred the quiet approach developed in the 1950s whereby federation representatives carried on regular correspondence and consultation with the department of education and attempted to present a unified public front on behalf of teachers. This approach, which the BCTF's general secretary called the tactics of persuasion, was maintained according to the rationale that the mood of teachers was not militant and that, in any event, government legislation and regulations could be put into effect to constrain any stronger action which might be taken by teachers (Ovans 1961c).

When it appeared that the traditional approach was not having any impact on the government, several teachers began to turn their criticisms inwards, expressing their dissatisfaction with the BCTF leadership. The tactics of quiet diplomacy, some teachers felt, did not convey adequately the depth of teachers' grievances, failed to produce any effective action, and undermined teachers' case for professionalism. Even the normally placid BCTF front was broken over the federation's inability to gain favourable government response on the issue of new report cards, although the federation's position was that the government had failed to respond to BCTF lobbying. The editor of The B.C. Teacher emphasized that:

Teachers are completely dissatisfied with being faced with trying to put into practice some recommendation of the Department of Education without

having the necessary background information. The latest example of this is the revised Report Card to Parents. The cards were distributed to schools with completely inadequate direction for completing them. . . .

The Federation through the customary procedure of a delegation to the Deputy Minister has already protested the changes made in the report cards. Moreover, Federation representatives on the new Professional Curriculum Committees have voiced criticisms of specific details.

It is time that the Minister of Education paid a little more attention to the considered submissions of the teachers through their professional organization, the B.C. Teachers' Federation (BCTF 1961c, 87-88).

However, some teachers were more disenchanted with the BCTF leadership than with government, as clearly expressed in another article in The B.C. Teacher:

With so little self-determination in regard to our own working conditions, how can we aspire seriously to professional status? Forgetting that the main criterion of professionalism is the degree of control we exert over our own practice, and focussing our attention only on the gains we have made in the past, we tend to overlook the essential gains yet to be made. We are pacified with some of the trappings of professionalism - induction ceremonies, code of ethics, genteel behavior. We tend to think that if we have university degrees and good public relations we have achieved our ends. We forget that without self-determination we are merely employees who jump when told to jump. What we must realize is that unless we are prepared to use our tremendous potential strength and exert some kind of pressure, i.e., act in an "unprofessional" manner, every indication shows that true professional status will be denied us.

Although the rank and file of teachers must bear a considerable portion of the blame for our present inertia and complacency, our paid and elected officers, it seems to me, are not providing the strong leadership we need at this time. This lack of leadership is seen not only in salary matters, but also in a failure to present the teachers' point of view to the public. . . . Not only do our officers display a curious reluctance to publish our viewpoint; they as well exert a subtle pressure on individual teachers who might desire to do so. It is not considered ethical for a teacher to rush into print expressing views which might endanger the good name of his profession (Sanford 1961).

The federation received complaints from teachers that federation staff, central committee members and executive officers had become too powerful, secure in their positions and in possession of confidential information that other members did not have access to. Many teachers felt that a lack of decisive leadership was detracting from teachers' economic and professional objectives (Aitchison 1962, Cull 1962).

There was, however, also concern within the BCTF leadership over low participation rates of teachers in federation activities and inadequate

knowledge by members about federation affairs combined with the perceived dangers of the traditional course followed by BCTF officials. Elected federation executive members, in regular direct contact with members of the teaching force in general, began to take exception to the traditional powerful role played in BCTF activities by the federation's general secretary and other appointed staff members. The strongly centralized decision-making of the BCTF staff, oriented in large part to the maintenance of regular liaisons with officials in the department of education, had traditionally been distant from the affairs of most regular classroom teachers. Now, the federation's executive became agitated because it, too, was constrained by the official procedures.

One of the major problems of formal educational consensus, reflected in the BCTF's high integration into procedures and information initiated by the state, was teachers' inability to formulate alternative educational strategies. In 1962, members of the executives of the BCTF and local teachers' associations began to discuss privately a strategy which would effectively increase input by practicing teachers into federation affairs and move the BCTF into a position to combat government policies. They suggested that the federation should engage in an internal public relations campaign to promote the BCTF among teachers. They also argued that a clear division of labour should be established within the federation in order to emphasize the distinct nature of the federation's two functions of improving teacher welfare (salaries, benefits and working conditions) and enhancing professional services in the areas of curriculum, professional development and teaching resources (Aitchison 1962, Cull 1962). One teacher active in federation affairs observed that there existed few issues around which teachers could be mobilized in a unified manner:

At the present time, there seems to be no burning issue, or should we say central issue, to unite a majority of teachers and give them sufficient reason to take an active interest in B.C.T.F. affairs. Does it not behove the leadership to find such an issue in the hope that it

will stimulate more activity on the part of the average member or at least amalgamate thinking on one phase of our activities? Possibly more active opposition to merit rating might be such an issue (Aitchison 1962, 1).

He suggested further that the BCTF would have to change its course in order to promote a more active role for teachers in educational leadership:

Our attitude of always having "amiable" relations with both school boards and the Department of Education has deprived us of a position of leadership in education in this province and as a result our policy has not been felt either by the public or the Department of Education - we are the last to be consulted on any contemplated changes. I would like to see a more aggressive and militant leadership steering an 'educationally true' course in the A.G.M. and preparing the field for action in the following year.

We, as teachers, are great fence-sitters and need to be shooed into action. This is the duty of our executive. At present the situation seems to be in the reverse position (Aitchison 1962, 2-3).

The degree to which teachers were unable to pursue militant and aggressive educational leadership through their commitment to ideals of respectable "professionalism" was illustrated by a BCTF plan in the early 1960s to categorize the teaching force on the basis of qualifications and successful teaching experience. At the 1960 annual general meeting, the federation's membership committee was instructed by the membership to draft a plan based on the principle that a professional organization should have responsibility to determine the competency (and incompetency or inefficiency) of its practitioners (BCTF 1960c, 425). BCTF officials saw the categorization of teachers as an extension of the provision of automatic membership in the federation. The BCTF adopted a plan at its 1962 annual general meeting which identified three categories of teachers - all beginning teachers, for a three year period, and all qualified, experienced teachers arriving from outside the province, for a one year period, were classified as Probationary Teachers, while competency, defined as successful completion of the probationary period, provided the basis for classification into the categories of Teacher and, for Teachers with a university degree, Professionally Certified Teacher. The plan was clearly worded to emphasize,

contrary to the stated interests of the B.C. School Trustees' Association, that the categorization of teachers had no relevance for questions or ratings of teacher merit (BCTF 1962b). The plan was also amended to remove any direct relationship between categorization and salary matters. Based upon the initial instructions which the membership committee received from BCTF officials in 1960, the plan had specified that member categorization should be reflected in salary policy. But following the strenuous objections of several teachers who feared that categorization might pose a new obstacle on the path to salary advancement, the reference to linkage with salaries was deleted (BCTF 1960c, Evans 1967).

Despite the federation's stated intention to develop the plan as a mechanism by which teachers could gain greater control over their own welfare, the potential effectiveness of the plan was dubious. The plan explicitly acknowledged the limitations to teachers' control over their membership in a statement that the BCTF could do no more than encourage school boards to file reports to district superintendents on teachers whose competence was in doubt. The BCTF could not act autonomously; teachers' wishes would have to be conveyed to a higher level of school authority.

In practice, given the state's formal authority to regulate teaching, the real impact of the member categorization plan was minimal, and the plan was abandoned by the end of the 1960s (BCTF 1960c, Evans 1967). The plan had provided a focal point for the energies of some members, and contributed to the rhetoric of professionalism, but there was no evidence that it had any actual practical value. For most classroom teachers, more significant changes were occupying their time than the question of what category their federation said they happened to fall into.

WORKING CONDITIONS AND TEACHER UNREST

Teachers became increasingly aware of contradictions in their roles in state-coordinated social reproduction, even if they could not locate the source of their restiveness. The enhancement of teaching as a state function, represented in ideologies of docile professionalism, involved in large measure an intensification of teaching. Being told that they were professionals meant little to teachers faced with working and salary conditions that revealed otherwise. These contradictory experiences led teachers to embrace a vision of professionalism grounded in militant, aggressive educational leadership.

New emphases on science, rationality and programmed learning were very unsettling for teachers who previously had been forced to rely upon classroom survival skills which they had developed through a combination of experience and craft tradition conveyed by senior educators. The official line, promoted by state and educational leaders through such devices as the Chant report and the CEA-Kellogg project on educational leadership, was that education based upon individualized learning rather than group instruction stood as the mark of economic progress (BCTF 1966c, 9). The reality for most teachers, though, was that resources and support necessary to enable them to carry out the new tasks and expectations were not forthcoming. Teachers felt that their own expertise and skills were being undermined. Central educational planning was reducing, not enhancing, teachers' discretionary capabilities. One teacher, for example, who had received support from the BCTF to attend in California a summer seminar on programmed instruction (sponsored by the Center for Programmed Instruction which was funded by the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the United States Department of Education), observed that:

Whether we like it or not, the electronic age has entered the classroom. I believe, the methods proposed by the psychologists and so-called

programmers are not the best and most useful forms or methods of employing programmed instruction. The teacher in the classroom must examine his or her techniques and requirements and make the program fit into the dynamic teaching situation. The promoters are all too willing to force the classroom to adjust to their programs. . . .(Vincent 1962, 67).

Teachers' general concerns were given more concrete expression with the release in 1962 of a Canadian Teachers' Federation report on teacher workload. The report revealed that British Columbia classroom teachers worked an average of fifty hours per week on tasks directly related to their jobs; forty-eight percent of that total was instructional time and fifty-two percent was spent on other tasks including preparation, supervision, extra-curricular activities, testing, and professional duties (BCTF 1962a, 362). The CTF study reinforced teachers' growing fears that increased teaching loads were compounded by extensive non-instructional responsibilities. At the 1959 annual general meeting, the BCTF had established a policy on class sizes, setting standards of a maximum of thirty pupils in most classrooms, with twenty-five in primary grades and fifteen in classes of special ability students (BCTF 1959b, 432). Delegates to the AGM two years later recorded their opposition to any possible extension of teachers' instructional time and approved a policy statement which declared that teachers and principals should be able to participate on an equal basis with other authorities in the formulation of educational policy (BCTF 1961b, 426).

Despite these official positions, the federation continued its traditional pattern of representations to the ministry of education. The teachers received few concrete results for their efforts. Ministry of education officials maintained that the changes desired by the teachers would be costly and that there was not a sufficient supply of qualified teachers to allow the pupil-teacher ratio to be reduced substantially (Department of Education 1964, 109, 120). Moreover, teachers had little political pressure

on their side to warrant efforts to reduce teacher workload. The BCTF membership was not mobilized to take effective action. Teachers' efforts to portray themselves as professionals without the protection of either detachment from the community or a strong professional organization which could enable teaching to become mystified through distance from onlookers (see Goffman 1959, 114), subjected the occupation to mounting criticism from the public and the media that teaching jobs were "soft," with short working hours and long holiday periods. A version of professionalism which highlighted teachers' moral/subjective responsibilities as educators to the neglect of teachers' productive tasks as workers left teachers poorly equipped to guard against intensification of their work. Isolated from organized labour and unable to influence state policy, teachers stood vulnerable to generalized criticism which might otherwise have been directed elsewhere (BCTF 1963, 110).

The data contained in the 1962 study on workload prompted teachers to take a stronger stance on their own behalf. In 1963 and 1964, BCTF officials, including members who had been critical of the federation's traditional strategies, began an informal campaign to emphasize to teachers and the public that class size and teacher workload were matters of quality instruction to pupils (Aitchison 1963, BCTF 1964b). Elected BCTF officers began to shift their lobbying focus from the provincial government to incorporate tactics that also included "more extensive and aggressive action" at the local level. Results that could not be gained politically would now be pursued by attempting to increase the scope of bargaining. At the federation's 1964 annual general meeting, delegates amended the BCTF policy on working conditions by adding the statement that "the Federation take the strongest measures to ensure the right of teachers to negotiate, and if necessary arbitrate, all working conditions" (BCTF 1964a; BCTF 1964c, 391; Cairnie 1964, 385).

Teachers' concern with bargaining rights appeared to be a reversal of the BCTF's initial support for the 1958 amendments to the Public Schools Act which specified a rigid bargaining structure. In practice, teachers' reaction to the legislation varied with their fortunes in negotiations. However, legal decisions such a 1962 ruling to overturn an arbitrated award of summer session pay to teachers in one district because the settlement was considered a non-salary "bonus" item highlighted teachers' limited scope of bargaining. In 1963 and 1964, several trustees adopted the position that nothing other than salary scales could be negotiated and considered for arbitration. After arbitrated settlements were made in twenty-five percent of the province's school districts in 1963 and forty-five percent in 1964, the BCTF claimed that trustees were allowing bargaining to lapse given the likelihood of arbitration decisions against teachers (BCTF 1965a; BCTF 1965b; Thompson and Cairnie 1973, 12).

The British Columbia School Trustees' Association played upon contradictions in teacher professionalism. Trustees recognized that teachers' interests as dependent employees could be undermined by exposing professionalism as an ideology. Unofficially, the BCSTA rejected for bargaining purposes teachers' claims to professionalism, arguing that this was a device which was artificially driving up teachers' salary levels. Instead, the trustees saw themselves as employees empowered to set rules, regulations and policies which governed teachers' non-salary benefits and working conditions, allowing for consultation with employed teachers where good working relationships were established. The trustees argued that the adversarial bargaining relationship negated notions of partnership between teachers and trustees. The BCSTA's official salary policy asserted teachers' position as employees through support for restriction of bargaining to encompass teachers' salaries and the establishment of provincial salary scales and merit pay to regulate the costs of teacher labour (BCSTA 1964).

The BCTF, alarmed at the potential consequences of the trustees' actions, acknowledged that teachers in British Columbia had at their disposal no effective pressure tactics. They could benefit only where the shortage of qualified teachers could be presented as a device which might detract from the school system's ability to provide adequate educational services. Teachers feared that the trustees' policies, especially on provincial salary negotiations, would contribute to the deterioration of teacher salaries and would result in an eventual loss of local control over educational standards (BCTF 1964b).

However, because trustees were simply acting on provincial legislative guidelines, teachers singled out the provincial government for criticism. In 1965, reflecting teachers' growing mood of militancy, the editor of The B.C. Teacher observed that the Public Schools Act constituted a denial of teachers' basic right to collective bargaining, contributing to "antagonism and hostility among teachers" (BCTF 1965b, 140). BCTF officials were further disturbed at the provincial government's proposal to introduce legislation which would enforce bargaining and compulsory arbitration based on regional districts or zones rather than local districts (BCTF 1965b, Ovans 1965a).

The dispute over bargaining generated a newfound solidarity within the BCTF. Federation officials worked successfully with local teachers' associations in order to ensure that a provincial strategy was in place. Isobel A. Cull, a Vancouver elementary school teacher who had advocated the search for such a unifying issue in the early 1960s and was president of the federation in 1964-65, argued that teachers should combine this recent strength with the current shortage of teachers in order to demand additional school personnel to reduce teacher workload. Teachers could successfully converge their interests as workers and professional educators under such a strategy:

I think the time has come to wage a battle on two fronts: provincially, for a change in the entitlement formula, and locally for hiring

— paraprofessional help. This is one occasion when teacher welfare and educational improvement are synonymous (Cull 1965, 357).

The federation carried the assertive tone conveyed in these remarks into its relations with government. BCTF officials began to present several items of concern to teachers, including curriculum changes, examinations policy, salaries and bargaining, teacher shortages, excessive workload, and school finance, as interconnected problems rather than discrete or vaguely formulated grievances. Class size served as a rallying point for evoking teacher and public support for a BCTF position on education.

In a 1966 brief to the government on class size, the BCTF presented an "urgent appeal" to "refresh the memories of persons in authority" about disparities between government commitment to the Chant commission's recommendations on class size and the actual situation. The teachers were indignant that over forty percent of elementary school classes surveyed by the BCTF had more than the limit of thirty-five pupils which the Chant committee had recommended as the maximum allowable pupil-teacher ratio (BCTF 1966b, 2-3). The federation brief cited government figures which revealed that between eleven and twelve percent of teachers each year had left teaching positions in the province, with the number of teachers leaving increasing steadily from 974 in 1955, to 1357 in 1960, and 1757 in 1965. Large classes and heavy workloads, the BCTF argued, were the causes, not the consequences, of teacher shortages (BCTF 1966b, 6-7).

Rising teacher militancy was also evident in teachers' consideration of the possibility of strike action in 1966. A resolution from the Vancouver Secondary School Teachers' Association that strike action be employed to pursue contract demands was narrowly defeated at the annual general meeting, but a second resolution from the same association seeking legislation to eliminate compulsory arbitration and to provide teachers with the right to strike was adopted by a similarly narrow margin (Vancouver Sun 1966).

In response to the new aggressiveness displayed by the BCTF, provincial department of education officials began to assert more strongly their own positions. The department, like teachers, was concerned about problems associated with potential chaos in the education system induced by such problems as collective bargaining and teacher shortages. However, for government and department officials, these issues were conceived as matters of fiscal and political management.

Department of education officials found that they could regulate teaching effectively by sharpening the contradictions which beset the occupation. For example, some of the channels open to the department to alleviate teacher shortages, such as the granting of temporary teaching certificates, undermined the development of a highly qualified, stable teaching force. Also, the department, adopting the Social Credit government's common tactics of trying to divide union leaders from rank and file members, accused BCTF leaders of being more concerned than the federation's membership about the number of large classes in the province (Allester 1967a, Ovans 1967). Senior department officials criticized BCTF demands for solutions to educational problems as too costly, and ironically for teachers who sought professional autonomy from government regulation, alluded to the pragmatic, indefinite nature of education as a moral/subjective endeavour guided by conscious teacher activity:

It might be preferable if, instead of insisting on larger and larger expenditures on education, the Federation devoted its energies to ensuring increasingly effective use of the expenditures now being made. . . . There is a great deal of "fuzzy-thinking" about educational research. Many think you can solve all problems by spending money and having a lot of people do something called research before taking any action. I would suggest that the problems won't wait that long for solution. I would also suggest that many of the problems are not approachable through research in the usual sense of that word. They involve the opinions and values of human beings, not the statistical conclusions of science (Levirs and Meredith, 1966, 5-6).

Department officials demonstrated their managerial prerogatives by shifting between formal and informal postures as the task demanded. In the

same way that BCTF leaders had relied traditionally upon regular liaisons with government authorities to discuss matters of concern to teachers, so relations among ministers, deputy ministers and superintendents within the department of education often tended to be conducted at an informal, interpersonal level (Peterson 1982, 9-10; Williston 1982, 5, 9). Consequently, the "politics of persuasion" could be effective under appropriate alignments of interest and power blocs. When pressed by teachers, though, department officials tended to adopt a rigid formalism in the interpretation of the vast array of educational legislation and regulations that was now in place. At one level, department officials claimed that their authority was restricted by local decision-making powers and broader government policy. Responding to BCTF arguments that the system of departmental school-leaving examinations be abolished, for example, the provincial superintendent of education wrote that:

Nothing would please us in the Department more than a whole solution of the examination problem, especially one that would relieve the Department of the full measure of responsibility for determining standards in the schools. However, we have that responsibility by law (Levirs 1966a).

More significant, however, was the recognition by departmental officials that these regulations provided them with indisputable authority over the most crucial educational decisions. As the superintendent of education wrote in a statement prepared for the minister of education (in this instance in response to a BCTF call for a joint committee to study problems associated with temporary certification), "Although the Department will always welcome the advice of the B.C. Teachers' Federation, it is not prepared to hand over its responsibilities in regard to certification to it" (Levirs 1966b).

As a result of the department's stance, the BCTF remained frustrated by a lack of progress with respect to its positions on class size and other major areas of concern. For classroom teachers, the realities of having to deliver an expanded range of curricular offerings to unprecedented numbers of

students without the supporting resources to which they had been led to believe they were entitled were having a discomfoting effect. At the BCTF's summer conference in 1966 and the 1967 AGM, delegates openly and frequently talked of militancy and the need for teachers to be more actively involved in the setting of educational policy (Robertson 1967, 340-341).

These concerns were reinforced by reports of educational change and teacher unrest outside the province. The BCTF monitored developments in other provinces such as Quebec and Ontario, where teachers were adopting an increasingly outspoken or militant posture in response to new education legislation (BCTF 1966a, MacLeish 1967). The long-standing integration of B.C. teachers in national and international teachers' bodies was prominently reflected in the role played by the BCTF's general secretary, C.D. Ovens, in the drafting of a document on the status, rights and responsibilities of teachers endorsed in 1966 by teachers in seventy-five nations (ILO 1967).

Associated with all of these factors was a BCTF leadership prepared to take decisive action in accordance with what it saw as the desires of its membership. In 1966, federation officials began to discuss with outside consultants a public relations campaign which would publicize on a continuing basis BCTF policies and activities and issues of concern to teachers. The BCTF in the same year overcame its longstanding reluctance to become involved in electoral politics by submitting a questionnaire on educational matters to candidates in the provincial election and publicizing the results. The federation sought to create for the general public as well as its own members an image of a teaching force that was active in and concerned about the complete realm of public education (Arnett 1966, Lovick 1966, Robertson 1967).

The federation also introduced measures to apply pressures to assert its demands on class size. The moves sent a clear message that teachers were prepared to abandon their tradition of quiet consultation in favour of a

posture based on public visibility and, if necessary, militancy.

In December, 1966, the federation executive prepared a recommendation for the next AGM declaring a commitment of federation financial support beginning in the fall of 1967 for any teacher who refused to teach a class with forty or more pupils. The next month, executive members met with representatives from several federation committees to produce a plan for a one year political action and public relations campaign. Declaring a "war on large classes in British Columbia schools," representatives at the meeting threatened that teachers would take some unspecified "drastic action" if the government did not produce legislation to reduce teacher entitlement formulas and school boards and administrators did not hire more teachers and take steps to reduce teacher workload (BCTF 1967c, BCTF 1967d).

Teachers were heartened by a government announcement early in 1967 that the entitlement formula for elementary schools would be reduced by one pupil per teacher. However, this measure was seen by teachers as far from satisfactory. The BCTF interpreted the government decision as a willingness to respond to teacher strength and so continued to assert its demands, emphasizing that its main concern was with "excellence of instruction" (BCTF 1967a, BCTF 1967b).

Teachers at the 1967 annual general meeting declared their willingness to act by approving the public relations campaign and amending the federation's by-laws to permit an increase in membership fees in order to support the financing of the campaign. Later, in the summer of 1967, the BCTF announced the formation of its own commission on education to inquire into the structure of education and problems of concern to teachers. The commission was chaired by Don B. MacKenzie, a retired Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Vancouver, who was assisted by three other members: Burnaby intermediate supervisor Lorill Hanney, secondary school principal Jim Carter, and BCTF professional development director Bill

Allester. The dual intent of the study was to assess the place of teachers and the BCTF in the education system and to examine the "total fabric" of education in the province. By contrast, according to the BCTF, the Chant commission had been "limited to suggesting changes in a school system which was taken for granted as being basically sound" (Allester 1967b, BCTF 1967e).

The formation of the commission represented an unprecedented stridency on the part of the BCTF. Teachers in British Columbia appeared ready to shed their traditional past characterized by quiet consultation and subservience to government and administrative officials. Unlike its previous stances which were often piecemeal and defensive in nature in response to specific problems and issues, the BCTF in 1967 was prepared to present itself as a provincial body concerned with a broad yet focussed agenda.

TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL CONFLICT

Teachers' circumstances as reproductive workers became redefined in the post-war period to the late 1960s. Public schooling was reorganized to offer pupils citizenship skills and credentials for entry into higher education or immediate vocational and household positions. The expansion of economic production and domestic consumption was orchestrated by state coordination of education and labour market policies. Teachers were expected to possess formal qualifications and skills to guide increased numbers of pupils through a rapidly advancing technology-driven society. Teachers, linking their fortunes to state growth through strategies of docile professionalism, made some real gains in their occupational status and welfare. In the late 1960s, numbering nearly twenty thousand, the British Columbia teaching force was the best educated and highest paid in Canada (Muir 1968, 327, 340; PSR 1978, 132). With representation on provincial advisory committees and active professional committees in such areas as curriculum, educational finance,

professional development, and public relations, and less hesitation to engage in political action, teachers appeared poised to take a strong collective stance in order to influence the direction of public education in the province. Specific guidelines outlining what was to be taught, how, and under which conditions, were dissolving into a series of alternatives which could be modified according to the professional discretion of the classroom teacher.

Despite their occupational advances and a propensity to see themselves as independent professionals with classroom autonomy, teachers became increasingly subject to an array of policy and procedural guidelines from the department of education, school boards, and their own federation. Effective regulation over teaching was often invisible. The previous strict personal authority held by school trustees and state officials seemed distant from the concerns of teachers engaged in sophisticated, modern curricular and extra-curricular activities. Issues such as class size, curriculum organization, and school supervision were coming to be grounded in rational academic training and technical expertise rather than craft tradition and individual discretion. While the competent qualified teacher was potentially able to make important pedagogical decisions in the classroom concerning how the curriculum would be delivered, the wider educational agenda was controlled by the state which retained control over school finance, curriculum, teacher education and certification, and the definition and bargaining rights of teachers, and corporations which actively sought favourable conditions for the production and consumption of particular commodities.

This did not mean that teachers were necessarily subject to direct managerial intervention and proletarianization in the sense that they lost control over their work and working conditions. Instead, to a large extent, teacher-state relations in the post-war period were concerned with what

Derber (1983) calls ideological proletarianization, in which teachers' dedication to the overall aims of the education system overrode the need for school managers to regulate through technical means teachers' labour process. In British Columbia, as in other advanced industrial nations, teachers subscribed to an "ethic of legitimated professionalism" through which the teaching force accommodated to state educational initiatives (Grace 1987). Docile conceptions of professionalism were constituted around what I call the moral/subjective dimension of teaching, in which teaching was defined as an ethical responsibility to the individual learner and the community in general. Teacher "professionalism," as defined by apolitical but competent performance of educational services, effectively replaced through a sense of voluntarism earlier notions of teachers' compulsion to display Christian dedication, habit and moral worthiness.

However, through the failure or technical reorganization of school practices such as collective bargaining mechanisms and curriculum revision, teachers in the mid 1960s were coming to see that a strategy of quiet consultation was based upon a restricted and potentially unworkable conception of professionalism, leaving them weak in the face of undesirable educational conditions. Ideals of professional devotion which effectively had constrained teachers' political actions also implied a commitment by the state to provide levels of educational service that were not always forthcoming. The existence of a provincial organization, the BCTF, offered teachers a potential base through which to assess state policy and mobilize teachers, if necessary, into alternative forms of action. Teachers' propensity to become politically active was not founded upon a consensus regarding which tactics might be employed to pursue teachers' goals. For many teachers, the public declaration that as professionals they expected to enjoy particular professional rights was sufficient while other teachers saw an unbridled militancy as the only effective course to follow. Ironically,

teachers' attempts to coordinate responses to major teaching and educational issues of concern to them produced tensions between the central provincial organization of the BCTF and the federation's stated desires to preserve the autonomy of teachers' organizations and decision-making authority at the local level. Moreover, teachers' quest for professionalism in the 1950s and 1960s oriented them away from established, regular relations with other workers' organizations or professional organizations which could aid them in their search for an effective response to their concerns. Nonetheless, with a structure of guidelines and procedures in place to coordinate the total provincial education system, for the first time B.C. had a provincial teaching force that now appeared ready, if necessary, to do battle to pursue its own aims.

Under these conditions, state attempts to realign education with major economic priorities prompted a period of overt educational conflict between 1967 and 1972. This period, which will be the subject of the next chapter, provided a basis for more intensive state efforts, beginning in the 1970s, to reorganize public education and rationalize teaching.

CHAPTER SEVEN -

EDUCATIONAL CONFLICT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1967-1972

Teacher-state relations in the late 1960s and early 1970s were marked by an unprecedented wave of discord and teacher militancy throughout the advanced industrial nations. A national teachers' strike in Britain in 1969, the incidence of 180 work stoppages by teachers in the United States in 1970-71 (compared to three a decade earlier), and a total of twenty-six strikes by teachers in Canada between mid-1960 and May 1, 1969, concentrated at the end of the decade, revealed the growing willingness of teachers to shed an image of docile professionalism in favour of trade union action (Grace 1987, 211; Muir 1970, 47; NEA 1970). British Columbia was no exception to the general pattern as after 1967 teachers opted - or saw themselves being forced by the actions of the provincial Social Credit government - to become something more than a mild pressure group (Aitchison 1984, 106).

The upsurge in teacher militancy confounded notions of teaching as a quietly evolving profession, but most observers reconciled the apparent paradox with claims that teachers' actions were the consequence of an increasingly younger, more qualified, more male-dominated teaching force striving to turn state power to the advantage of teaching as a mature professional occupation (Burke 1971, Meyers 1973, Stinnett 1968). Other analysts argued that changes in state policy provoked teachers into action to defend what they felt was government encroachment on their professional autonomy (Coates 1972, Downie 1978, Hennessy 1975, Hunter 1981). Contrary to such notions of teachers as a profession or interest group, however, commentators from more critical perspectives saw teacher militancy as a

product of changing material conditions which elicited from teachers a working class response (Martelli 1974a, Repo 1974, Warburton 1986).

Critical and materialist approaches provide a clear rationale for the growing animosity between teachers and governments by viewing educational conflict as the embodiment of a fundamental questioning of political and social structures. Teacher-state antagonism signified a struggle over the rationalization of priorities and practices in work, education and other aspects of social life. The state, responsive to economic development opportunities and corporate pressures to assert more direct industrial management techniques in the schools, began to constrain growth in educational expenditures and restrict the autonomy which teachers had previously been promised. Teachers, meanwhile, dutifully practicing the characteristics of professional development from which they believed occupational advancement and rewards would follow, were jarred by the realization that the rules had been changed.

In this chapter I argue that while teachers' militancy was a consequence of a state rationalization process which reinforced teachers' status as dependent employees, teacher resistance was also guided by the moral/subjective dimension of the occupation. Teachers' altruistic concerns for clients and other unorganized social groups served both as a constraining factor, as in ideologies of quiet professionalism, and a focal point for the emergence of teacher radicalism. The period of teacher-state struggle which began in the late 1960s was much more a conflict over what constituted legitimate educational concerns, forcing teachers and governments to experiment with a wide range of tactics and resources at their disposal, than a simple choice between professionalism and unionism.

SOCIAL UNREST AND THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

Educational conflict and wider social unrest in the late 1960s and early 1970s were not confined to British Columbia. Student leaders associated with such movements as the "new left" in Europe and "students for a democratic society" in North America openly confronted police and other authorities amidst rhetoric supporting revolutionary social change. A wider youth "counterculture," often in alignment with vocal minority groups, called into question structures of opportunity and power associated with the established social and political order. Various groups, including the women's liberation movement, black power advocates in the United States, native groups in Canada, and the separatist movement in Quebec, appeared with a strong political vigour based upon an emergent consciousness of their oppression (see, e.g., Cockburn and Blackburn 1969).

The role of schooling assumed a prominent place in all of these struggles. Students and youth were prevalent in the mythology, if not the reality, of social unrest. Radical critics claimed that schools were stifling the imagination as teachers and other school authorities carried out socially repressive functions. From a liberal perspective, other critics argued that education systems needed to be expanded, not abolished. Because schooling provided access to knowledge and opportunities for social mobility, an enhanced school program could overcome barriers to social advancement. Widespread debates about whether schools "made a difference" provoked a barrage of attacks and defences around the education system (Karabel and Halsey 1977).

The crisis of confidence in the education system symptomized a broader structural crisis in capitalism. In Canada, labour militancy escalated in the 1960s, demonstrated by record numbers of strikes and workers engaged in strike action in 1966 (Panitch and Swartz 1988, 23-24). Industrial conflict

accompanied rapid increases in the gross national product and inflation. Unionized employees sought to consolidate their job security and economic advances under conditions of high employment and rapid technological development; employers began to employ new strategies to contain what they felt were rapidly rising production costs and to assert more fully their control over the costs, organization and politics of production (Jamieson 1968, 467-471; Jamieson 1973, 95).

In the late 1960s, a federally appointed task force investigated what the government portrayed as a crisis in industrial relations. The task force report emphasized the principle of free collective bargaining as opposed to both legal regulation of industrial relations and government intervention in the process of collective bargaining (Canadian Industrial Relations Task Force, 1968). This overt recognition of trade union rights, reinforced in 1971 through amendments to the federal Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigations Act, was oriented towards the attainment of social harmony and a stable industrial relations climate in common with earlier periods of social unrest.

The renewed search for harmony, however, was circumscribed by the efforts of capital to facilitate technological advancement and the reorganization of production in advanced conditions of capitalism. The level of industrial consolidation in Canada and the changing structure of the workforce illustrated these transformations. Nationally, between 1960 and 1970, industrial enterprises declined in number from 32,200 to 31,900 while the average value of production per enterprise increased from \$314.6 million to \$507.7 million (Smucker 1980, 85). In the workforce, declining proportions of workers were engaged in primary industries and manufacturing, increasing proportions were employed in the service sector and white collar work, and the gender composition shifted as the numbers and proportions of women in the workforce increased relative to men (Smucker 1980, 77-81).

Under these conditions, corporations sought to escape from what they defined as a burden of taxation, and began to streamline operations in order to become more competitive on a national and international scale.

Governments, now heavily involved in training and maintaining a large, diverse work force, came to be immersed in political and organizational strategies to rationalize state operations and expenditures. Schools and other social service institutions faced mounting pressures to respond to these changes. State-sponsored initiatives promoted stronger coordination of economic planning with work training and social service delivery systems at provincial, national and international levels (Deaton 1972, Martell 1974b). In Canada, government spending on health, education and social welfare increased from 29.3 percent of total federal government expenditures in 1960 to 37.4 percent in 1970 (see Maslove, Prince and Doern 1986, 56-64). In the provinces, the growth of social expenditures had an even greater impact. Provincial expenditures on health, education and welfare increased from a range of thirty-four to fifty-seven percent of total provincial government expenditures in 1960 to between fifty-four and sixty-seven percent in 1970 (Maslove, Prince and Doern 1986, 150-159). With up to two-thirds of budgetary expenditures directed to these social services, combined with pressures to expand benefits to private capital by investing funds in direct support of economic production, governments began to seek measures which would reduce costs, avoid duplication of services, and increase managerial control over services.

Senior government and industry officials, often with the cooperation of labour leaders and representatives of voluntary organizations, initiated conferences and programs to reassess and restructure state operations and promote wider social and economic planning. Federal-provincial first ministers' conferences, for example, increased in frequency after the late 1960s as government leaders attempted to coordinate policy, programs and

financing arrangements in overlapping jurisdictions, including social welfare, education, health, and constitutional relations.

In the area of education, such documents as the influential Hall-Dennis report in Ontario proposed sweeping changes in the school system. Education was conceived to be a far-reaching enterprise, bursting from its, traditionally confined narrow program offerings which had been oriented to specific age and interest groups. The Ontario report depicted the individual as the paramount social force, governed by a wider sense of social responsibility:

The changing patterns of living, of working, and of recreation require that the educational system prepare the children of tomorrow to live in a world vastly different from that of this generation. There must be education for leisure time, for a more mature culture, and for a greater sense of personal responsibility, and the curriculum must be designed accordingly (Report of the Provincial Committee, Ontario 1968, 13).

The teacher and the student were to be the central determining agents of choice at the core of this expanded educational program, framed within a vast network of responsibilities and authority structures.

A major consequence of the renewed emphasis on change and freedom of choice was the reinforcement of an ideology which placed individuals rather than class or other organized interests at the heart of social dynamics (Martell 1974b). Individualism, however, was to be reproduced in a highly circumscribed manner so that persons were not be left to their own devices. Social planning, conducted by experts in government and corporations and coordinated through institutions like the school, would ensure that individuals were oriented to rational decision-making which would not undermine existing political and social arrangements. Formal education could be employed to conceal and contain the contradictions engendered by the reorganization of productive relations and civil life.

The rational management of social reproduction to coordinate the new individualism required a redefinition of professionalism for workers like

teachers who would carry out reproductive tasks. Teachers who were too comfortable with time-tested teaching methods or were improperly trained to deliver flexible curricular arrangements were counterproductive to educational planning. New forms of regulation accompanied the growing emphasis on education as a planned enterprise. Educational planners concerned to introduce curricula and rational pedagogies based upon the sciences and practical experimentation could no longer rely upon the ideological commitment of teachers who promoted consultative notions of professionalism to gain classroom autonomy and teacher participation in educational decision-making. Educational change in the 1960s depended upon the implementation of technical control measures such as lessons based upon behavioral objectives which specified appropriate units of curricular content evaluation procedures. A system of educational management based upon careful central planning was emphasized, for example, in a major study on curriculum reorganization sponsored by the Ford Foundation in the mid 1960s. The redefinition of teaching and the re-education of teachers was to become a major component of a coordinated curricular reform process to overcome the absence of cohesive sets of formal aims in educational programs:

The writer's own observations in many of the classrooms that are using the newer curriculum materials . . . confirm the importance of preparing teachers in the underlying assumptions and concepts of the new materials. **Many teachers simply cannot adapt themselves to what is required.** Long conditioned to deductive approaches, they turn materials intended for student investigation into objects of rote response. . . .

Clearly, curriculum planners must not stop with the production of materials. If the proposed changes are worth introducing at all, then **they must be introduced thoroughly with careful attention to every component of the change process.** The intent of the new curricula is not adequately comprehended by large numbers of teachers now using them. And neither the general nor the professional curriculum of prospective teachers reflects the point of view of the curricula for which they soon will be responsible (Goodlad, Von Stoephasius and Klein 1966, 103, emphasis added).

Operating under existing conditions, teachers were blamed for being insufficiently flexible or inadequately prepared to contribute to educational progress. Professionalism as it had been defined up to now, in terms of

teachers' capabilities to make responsible educational decisions in the classroom context, was now a potential liability as schools became too expensive and too important to allow for chance and wasted talent. Instead, teacher professionalism needed to be undermined or redefined by educational planners as a trained capacity to implement curricula developed by planning specialists within the education industry.

As the next sections emphasize, the process of educational transformation was mediated through various groups which had conflicting interests, including state officials, local school administrators, and teachers themselves. The state's ability to increase technical regulation over teachers was hindered in particular by pragmatic government problems and the growing militant resistance of teachers.

TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL REGULATION AND CONFLICT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

In British Columbia, the process of educational reform was in many respects well advanced in the 1960s. The Chant report in 1960 provided a clear signal that educational reorganization was imminent. This message was reinforced throughout the 1960s by specific government measures to change educational policies and practices. The provincial teaching force, too, with its emphasis on professionalism and its movement to university-based training was receptive to plans to modernize the curriculum and expand the scope of formal education.

As noted in the previous chapter, however, several factors limited the advancement of a fully rationalized educational agenda. Competing and sometimes conflicting government priorities diverted resources from education to other areas. Teachers began to define their own educational aims, such as a reduction in class sizes to allow for more individual-oriented instruction, in directions that often diverged from government policy. Most teachers did

not challenge the fundamental aims and structure of education in the province. Rather, teachers opposed the manner in which some educational decisions, like an examinations policy, were made without consultation and they expressed dissatisfaction with levels, but not principles, of educational finance. Although legislation and committee structures had formalized relations between BCTF and department of education officials, ongoing, regular liaisons were maintained between the two sets of officials. Unlike most other government departments which during the W.A.C. Bennett administration from 1952 to 1972 were subject to the premier's intense personal scrutiny, education retained a strong degree of relative autonomy at the discretion of L.R. Peterson and other respected associates of Bennett who occupied the cabinet's education portfolio (Giles 1983; Mitchell 1983, 374). Consequently, a certain looseness of procedure and informality was retained in educational governance in British Columbia despite the multitude of policies and regulations on record.

By the end of the 1960s, however, pressures mounted from several sources to introduce more formal, technical educational guidelines into the B.C. education system. In particular, the emergent North American educational orthodoxy of rational curricular planning converged with the provincial government's increasingly more aggressive economic development policies. The notorious zeal of Premier Bennett to promote massive transportation and utilities projects such as highway construction, hydroelectric projects and a regular ferry link between Vancouver Island and the mainland sometimes exceeded even the most concerted efforts by business and financial lobbyists to seek government support for their interests. Companies in such industries as lumbering and mining, now highly capital intensive but beset with periodic labour problems and faced with high costs of moving products to markets, looked to government for favourable economic and labour policies. Their reliance upon the state included demands to stabilize industrial relations,

provide or subsidize infrastructural facilities, and offer fiscal support in the form of grants or tax concessions which would reduce costs, increase profit margins and allow them to remain competitive. Despite a strong ideology favouring small business interests, the provincial Social Credit government was rarely hesitant to capitulate to the major demands of more powerful firms, especially when faced with the risk of losing major industrial enterprises from the provincial economy. At the same time, Bennett was skilled in the art of packaging major government projects and capital-oriented fiscal initiatives in such a way that the political advantages regularly outweighed the disadvantages (Mitchell 1983, Resnick 1974).

In order to finance economic development projects without causing a major political or economic disruption, government had to reassess its overall priorities and funding arrangements. Areas of heavy state funding, like health care and education, offered the government an opportunity to trim expenditures and reorganize services to produce more efficient operations and free funds for its economic development projects. By the end of the 1960s, health care and education combined constituted over half of all provincial expenditures - in the decade from 1960 to 1970, health care expenses increased from 22.5 percent of provincial government expenditures to 28.3 percent, while education funding increased from 19.4 percent to 23.2 percent (Maslove, Prince and Doern 1986, 150-151). While government funding of both health care and education continued to increase at higher rates than did the funding of economic development into the 1970s, it was clear that government's attention was focussed increasingly on ways of constraining growth in the health and education sectors. Health care was not an immediate concern as new federal transfer money became available through B.C.'s adoption of a provincial medical insurance program in 1965 and its subsequent support for a national medicare program which was established in 1968. As a

result of guaranteed federal money in health care, the province turned to education to relinquish funds for other projects.

In 1967 and 1968, the provincial government introduced three measures which tightened provincial control over education finances - legislation to restrict school operating expenditures, provincially-imposed limits on school construction, and the diversion of teachers' pension funds to finance the construction of hydroelectric projects. School finance in the 1960s, based on principles established by the Cameron report of 1945, was shared by the provincial government and local school districts in nearly equal proportions, about fifty-three percent and forty-seven percent, respectively. Essentially, school boards were allowed to set budgets, for which the province provided a basic operating grant plus supplementary grants for capital, transportation and additional costs while the school board covered most capital costs and other operating costs. In 1967, the government passed Bill 86, which contained amendments to the Public Schools Act for the purpose of providing more stringent provincial control over school board finance and restricting increases in school operating expenditures. The amendments, which went into effect in 1968, enabled the provincial government to define the formula on which school base budgets would be calculated (determined according to average approved education costs in the province in the preceding year) and set limitations on allowable spending by school boards. School boards which sought to spend more than 110 percent of the designated base budget required approval from either the provincial cabinet, municipal officers, or through a referendum supported by at least sixty percent of local ratepayers (British Columbia 1968). The government also announced that it would not fund school construction beyond what it defined as "essential" classroom space despite increased enrollments and crowded classrooms throughout the province. The BCTF estimated that the construction freeze combined with continuing increases in pupil enrollment would leave the school

system 382 classrooms below the number required to provide basic educational services in the fall of 1968. Finally, in a measure which incensed many teachers, the government refused to increase its fixed contribution to teachers' pension plans. This meant that, when measured against the related effects of inflation and teachers' salary increases, both the rate of payment and the real monetary value of the pension fund were declining. Despite these restrictions to the growth of the pension plan, the capital contained in the fund proved to be an attractive source of investment to government officials who administered the fund. By the spring of 1968, government plans to use teachers' pension funds to finance major hydroelectric dam projects on the Columbia and Peace rivers had become public knowledge. Moreover, teachers discovered that savings from the constraints on school expenses were being diverted to support a government commitment of twenty-five million dollars for the construction of a "superport" shipping facility at Port Roberts (Buzza 1984, 109; Conway 1971, 112-114; Kilian 1985, 37).

The government moves were unpopular among participants in the school system. Trustees, however, did not pursue their opposition vigorously because of a disagreement among the president of the BCSTA, who felt that Bill 86 would not significantly restrict school board powers, and the past-president and vice-president of the trustees' organization, who saw the bill as a curtailment of trustees' autonomy. Teachers, whose simmering discontent was fuelled by the government actions, were left relatively isolated to counter the measures. However, while the elected BCTF leadership had begun to move the organization into a position of mobilization for strong collective responsiveness, the specific nature of that response remained indeterminate. The BCTF membership, accustomed to receiving information and guidance from appointed federation staff who favoured the quiet consultative approach, was divided on what course of action to follow. There appeared to be no clear direction as to what constituted an appropriate response to

government, and who would direct it.

Teachers, for the most part, were united in their outrage at the government actions. The teachers were indignant that the government would tamper with educational funding. The BCTF charged that students were being penalized "for attending schools in a province that considers electricity and superports more important than people" by a government committed "to the archaic concept that education is an expense rather than an investment" (BCTF 1968b). Teachers felt that they had been victimized unfairly in light of their recent vocal demands to reduce class sizes and publicize school conditions in the province. Government officials had made it clear, for example, that the 1967 annual general meeting resolution to increase BCTF fees for a public relations campaign could be interpreted as a somewhat selfish move by teachers trying to enhance conditions for their own benefit (Levirs 1967). Reflecting on government's message, BCTF members were uncertain whether stronger opposition to government policies would cause the government to change its direction or further antagonize state officials.

Signals that teachers were about to embark on a more militant course came quickly in 1968. The BCTF, breaking with its long-standing tradition to meet in Vancouver, held its 1968 annual general meeting in Penticton. The new locale, combined with teacher frustration over government policies, lent an air of anticipation to the event. Speaking to delegates, federation president Bob Buzza declared that teachers and government were involved in "a new game with new rules." The meetings opened with a successfully orchestrated move by a group of teachers from the lower mainland to amend the agenda in order to give high priority to school finance and construction items. Delegates, with little or no memory of the turbulent sessions where labour affiliation and rural teaching conditions were debated in the 1930s and 1940s, and accustomed to the relatively staid conduct of official federation business, were jolted by the appearance of a coordinated strategy

from within the general membership. In the course of intense debate, the AGM rules were suspended as various teachers outlined proposals for a vigorous public relations campaign. Members agreed to institute a levy of three dollars per member to establish what the media called a "war chest" (despite the defeat of another resolution to increase fees by twenty-five dollars for a strike or contingency fund), which would provide a fund to finance the public relations campaign. The new campaign, which was to be more hard-hitting and focused on a broader range of issues than the class size campaign instituted at the 1967 AGM, was intended in particular to inform BCTF members and the public of the consequences for the education system of the recent government legislation. In addition, the program was directed to elicit support from any group which might be concerned about education and to establish a role of BCTF partnership in decisions about school construction and utilization. Given the teachers' declaration of their opposition to specific government educational policies, the public relations program would be timed to coincide with the next provincial election campaign expected to be held sometime before the end of 1970 (Buzza 1968, Buzza 1984, Buzza 1986).

At the meetings, education minister Leslie Peterson made it clear that the government would not condone any overtly political action by groups like the BCTF, although he did not comment directly on specific BCTF actions. In response, BCTF president Buzza prepared a statement on the teachers' position, which was then endorsed unanimously by both the federation's executive committee and delegates to the annual assembly. The statement emphasized the position of the BCTF as a non-partisan organization dedicated to the enhancement of educational welfare. In Buzza's words, the proposal was intended to indicate:

That regardless of the government in power teachers had not only the right but the obligation to speak out on matters of educational concern, and that [they] would continue to do so without fear of reprisal - that was part of [their] democratic right - and that [they] would continue to do so in an apolitical fashion in the sense that regardless of the government in power [their] position would be well enough founded that

[they] would take the position publicly even though it would have political impact (Buzza 1987, 6).

Despite the clear expression of non-partisanship by the BCTF and the education minister's refusal to criticize BCTF actions directly, a framework for educational polarization and conflict had been established (Buzza 1968, 338-339; Buzza 1984, 109; Robertson 1986, 8-9). Teachers, in making a distinction between politics in a narrow partisan sense and the broader field of political action, were able potentially to break away from limited notions of professionalism which previously had confined them to classroom business.

At first glance, the rising tensions between B.C. teachers and government appeared to represent a particular instance of parochial matters. The conflict was not explicitly about the wider reorganization of education and the reconstitution of teacher professionalism described in the previous section. However, while many of the specific events had a peculiar British Columbia flavour, teacher-state relations in the province followed a much more general pattern whereby state rationalization of educational services clashed with teachers' ambitions for professional partnership in a social democratic education system (Grace 1987, 213-214). The conflicting interests which underlay the prevailing educational consensus on which teachers had staked their hopes for professional advancement of their occupation were now becoming increasingly visible.

POLITICAL STRATEGIES FOR A TEACHERS' VISION OF EDUCATION

Teachers attempted to consolidate a distinct occupational vision of education amidst the rhetoric of educational change and concern over the compatibility of militancy with professionalism. The general atmosphere of change and conflict, in contrast with the longstanding period of relative quiet on the educational front, carried for teachers the promise that they

could have an unprecedented impact on educational decision-making. However, teachers' proclivity to concentrate on the more visible aspects of educational change and conflict diverted their attention from, and left them complicit in, the wider rationalization of education.

B.C. teachers were divided over their assessment of the consequences of the BCTF's decision at the 1968 AGM to enter the political arena. Several long-standing active members of the federation, particularly the federation's appointed staff, feared the consequences of the politicization of the education system. BCTF general secretary C.D. Ovans, who had struggled for teachers' rights and rural teacher representation in the federation in the 1930s and 1940s, now warned that teachers were opening themselves to criticisms which they had often been shielded from by their traditional low profile. Ovans (1968a) suggested that perhaps teachers were moving too quickly, without a complete evaluation of their actions and of the new levels of scrutiny which these would bring both to BCTF affairs and the practice of teaching. In a similar vein, J.A. Spragge (1969, 171), who resigned as BCTF assistant director of professional development at the end of 1968, lamented that, "I see so many who prefer the easy course of noisy protest to the hard alternatives of quiet persuasion, reasonable accommodation and patient reconstruction." The younger generation of teachers, particularly those who began to consider the prospects of engaging in teaching as a twenty or thirty year career, disagreed with those sentiments. They sought some immediate improvement in the conditions of teaching and wished to dispel the conception that teachers were docile and susceptible to be bullied at will by government or other groups. They were encouraged by the widespread public support the BCTF received from media sources, labour organizations and community groups for both the federation's specific educational concerns and the wider principles of democratic representation and freedom of speech (Buzza 1984, 109).

The prospects for bringing together the main factions in teaching appeared to improve with the release in September, 1968, of the report of the BCTF's commission on education which had been established the previous year under the chairmanship of D.B. MacKenzie. As its title, Involvement: The Key to Better Schools, suggested, the report provided an opportunity to consolidate a teacher-centered vision of education which emphasized the principle of developing a strong community base in the organization of schooling and school programs (BCTF 1968a). The tone and substance of the report were very much in accord with other recent statements on education, notably Ontario's Hall-Dennis report, which argued that both the conceptions of and ability to deliver educational services needed to be expanded. The reports promoted school programs which were to be child-centered, guided by close interaction among the learner, the teacher, and community interests. Schools were conceptualized as learning environments directed towards personal growth and continuous progress (BCTF 1968a 9, 16, 53-59).

The BCTF commission's report presented teaching as a humanizing enterprise as opposed to what the authors depicted as a growing scientific-technical orthodoxy. The report favoured a collegial model of school management which was concerned with "securing the active, willing co-operation of employees functioning less as subordinates and more as colleagues" over a technical model which rigidly specified teachers' duties within the education system (BCTF 1968a, 111). Teaching as part of a collegial process involved BCTF partnership in the areas of curriculum, teacher training and certification, and disciplinary power over the teaching force (BCTF 1968a, 60-61, 97). The development of teaching within such a model required university-based professional knowledge, concern for the needs of each student, and flexible capabilities to deliver a broad range of curricular experiences (BCTF 1968a, 17-19, 88-91).

The report constituted an attempt to reconcile competing demands

associated with the problems of coordinating a large, diverse education system and the needs of individual learners, schools and communities. In the area of educational administration the report emphasized that about twenty large school districts should be created in the province in order to provide a pool of staff and resources which would enhance learning conditions throughout regional clusters of schools (BCTF 1968a, 104-109). Acknowledging the apparent contradiction between rigid regulations and the freedom of classroom teachers to follow their own philosophies of education, the authors recommended that educational objectives should be formulated at the school level (BCTF 1968a, 136-137).

The report's strong liberal rhetoric highlighted principles of autonomous choice in the core teaching-learning relationships, counterposed with the tacit expectation that invisible social forces would moderate the educational experience. The report, in explicitly avoiding any definitive statements on educational and curricular objectives, neatly sidestepped the divisive problem of competing educational philosophies. Schooling was to be all things to all people, without any sustained analysis of wider constraints upon educational practices. Teachers, provided with no concrete referents to guide their political actions, were left to seek willing partnership in matters that were ultimately determined beyond their control.

The report had an ideological as well as an idealist character. Echoing the educational progressivism of BCTF leaders like Harry Charlesworth in the 1920s and 1930s, the 1968 federation commission decried the limitations of schooling for business and industry but praised the ideals of social progress which in fact provided the foundations for scientific-technical school management. An explicit faith in the virtues of diverse educational offerings provided no scope for a critique of what kinds of school services were provided for what ends. Teachers were not opposed to, and actively supported, educational rationality, as long as it was rationality with a

human face.

The commissioners as well as BCTF officials emphasized that the report provided guidelines for discussion rather than a plan for implementation. Nonetheless, the report stood as a clear summary of the BCTF's official position on central educational questions as well as its general philosophy of education. For many teachers committed to the power of education as a tool for social reform, the report provided a freshness of vision which stood in stark contrast to the recent authoritarian dictates of the provincial government (see also Kilian 1985 on this point).

The report, combined with the general politicization of school matters, strengthened the BCTF's resolve to seek a stronger voice in the determination of educational policy and conditions. Tom Hutchison, BCTF president in 1968-69, emphasized teachers' desires "to be 'no longer tenants in the house of education but co-architects of the structure'" (Hutchison 1984, 111). Professional autonomy, or "real professional status," the goal which teachers now sought, required the removal of four obstacles: prescribed curricula, prescribed textbooks, external examinations, and "aversive supervision practices;" teacher autonomy was to be enhanced by means of professional education for "rational decision-making," adequate professional resources, and flexible patterns of school organization (Ovans 1968b).

The BCTF's emphasis on autonomy as the basis for teacher professionalism marked a distinct reversal of earlier postures of subordinacy to school board and government officials. Teachers felt confident that, with the recent demonstration of government disrespect for democratic and educational principles in the alteration of education finance arrangements, the teaching profession was poised to serve as the best guarantor of the public interest in education.

Teaching was beginning to display many of the visible characteristics of other male-dominated, urban-based, highly paid, and supposedly socially

benevolent recognized professions such as law and medicine. By 1966, seventy-eight percent of B.C. teachers taught in urban centers, 63.8 percent of male teachers had university degrees (with men constituting forty-four percent of the province's 15,719 teachers compared to thirty-nine percent of the teaching force in 1950), and teachers' salaries averaged over 118 percent of the average industrial employee earnings in the province (Muir 1968, 322-342; Statistics Canada 1978). The increasing status of teaching combined with the investment of time and effort involved in gaining a university education and entry into teaching had produced a situation where teaching could be adopted as a career rather than a mere stepping-stone into other occupations or statuses.

The appearance of the "young career teacher," predominantly male and well educated, signified a shift in the balance of power in the BCTF as a predominantly female organization dominated by long-standing male staff officials. The teaching force was split between those teachers who wanted and were prepared to act to attain the assurance of a secure, rewarding future in teaching and others who were forced by circumstances to accept the given nature of the work or who saw their primary responsibility as one of dedicated service in the classroom. Newer elected BCTF officials, who themselves tended to be "young male career teachers," actively promoted the revision of salary grids in accordance with the maximization of prospects for career earnings (Kirby 1970a). The federation's position was that upgrading of salaries and status for senior teachers was conducive to overcoming barriers to the development of teaching as a mature profession. The state might relinquish control over the major educational decision-making functions once teachers were fully qualified. The preponderance of female teachers, especially in rural areas, where women constituted sixty-one percent of the teaching force, was an affront to men who sought "real professional status." Many women teachers had limited formal training, while only twenty-nine

percent of the province's female teachers held university degrees (Muir 1968, 322-327).

The BCTF leadership's perpetuation of a strategy to promote the occupation from the top down reinforced general structural barriers to the advancement of women in the education system. Teachers' own actions underlined more immediate forms of discrimination faced by women in teaching such as common notions that women were not interested in or were incapable of becoming career teachers. In 1967, for example, women held five of 250 principalships and one of 190 vice-principalships in lower mainland schools and women presided over only four of the eighty-nine local teachers' associations in the province. Moreover, most of the one hundred or so schools in the province which had women principals were one and two classroom schools in isolated rural centres (McDonough 1967, 383-385).

Although over half of the province's teachers were women, federation officials rarely broached the potential for mobilization of teachers around issues that might be of particular concern to women. The top-down structure which regulated federation affairs, although resented by newer executive members of the federation who sought greater autonomy and membership participation, worked especially to the disadvantage of women who were in subordinate teaching positions. Having little organizational base, limited professional credibility and often limited time as a result of teaching-related duties and domestic responsibilities, women in teaching were not able to present themselves as an effective political force, even when they recognized the particular problems which they faced as women in teaching. Moreover, because teaching in the 1960s was experiencing an overall improvement in educational credentials and salaries, there was little apparent basis around which to crystallize any coordinated opposition to the BCTF's general search for "mature professionalism."

Unfortunately, the BCTF's strategy had little to offer teachers in the

way of an analysis of why women fared so poorly and why teachers lacked the autonomy which they now sought. As signified in the document Involvement: The Key to Better Schools, B.C. teachers tended to be engaged by a liberal spirit of the times, marked by a faith in the possibility of progress and the alleviation of social problems through cooperation, humanistic values and legitimate, "rational decision-making." BCTF general secretary C.D. Ovans emphasized the importance of teaching as an ideal-driven profession:

The change I am looking for requires not radical action but a radical change in thinking. Those of us within teachers' organizations who are potentially agents of change must create an image of a new school system based on respect for human nature and human functioning, capitalizing on the human power to achieve what we will, provided only that we keep our purpose clearly in mind at all times and are prepared to modify our actions in the light of positive and negative feedback (Ovans 1972a, 76).

Few teachers would disagree with the overall sentiment of teachers' role in social progress, although a growing segment of the teaching force saw that radical action was required to make the necessary changes. Such action, however, tended to be oriented to reform and the removal of particular political obstacles such as reactionary governments, thinkers and policies rather than to any more fundamental structural change.

THE POLITICIZATION OF THE BCTF

The restraining impact of provincial education finance regulations in the late 1960s alerted B.C. teachers to the need to enlighten the public and assert themselves as defenders of adequate educational services. The teachers, guided by humanistic ideals, saw themselves as reproducing individuals for social advancement while the state appeared to be concerned with the business of producing cost-effective industrial units. Teachers' adoption of a stance as guardians of moral/subjective educational tasks, through humanistic concern for the learner, gave them a clear focal point for

their struggle for professionalism. However, teachers soon learned that they could not simply pit one educational philosophy against another as state initiatives reinforced the reality that teachers were dependent employees as well as educators.

School trustees, concerned about being squeezed out of the education decision-making process by increased central government control, asserted their ability to function as employers of teachers as they carried the government's message of fiscal restraint into contract negotiations with teachers. School boards' managerial initiatives conflicted with teachers' demands for increased salaries and greater input into determination of educational conditions, generating several disputes within the collective bargaining sessions of 1968. Owner-electors seemed to be of a like mind, defeating thirteen out of thirty-two referenda for the approval of school district spending over ten percent above provincially-determined base budgets in the same year, thereby delaying construction of about forty new schools (Beinder 1968; Conway 1971, 113).

For teachers, these issues posed practical and philosophical questions associated with the choice of an appropriate course of action. Various local teachers' associations employed different measures, including work-to-rule in Castlegar, booking off sick in New Westminster, and a protest in front of school board offices in Vancouver. In February, 1969, teachers discussed other tactics including use of in-dispute designations, publicity campaigns, and strike action at a special BCTF seminar. BCTF officials, conscious of a potentially bitter division between militant and non-militant factions in the teaching force, tended to leave the choice of actions to local associations while hesitating to make any strong public pronouncements on local issues (Hutchison 1968; Hutchison 1984, 111).

The BCTF did, however, intensify its criticisms of the government's educational finance policy as the effects of the legislation became clearer.

Teachers argued that the two main principles which the government presented as its rationale for the legislation - equality of educational opportunity through funding formula which equalized school tax assessments and averaged basic school expenditures, and democratic participation in educational decision-making through referenda on school expenditures - were being undermined by the new finance formula. BCTF officials criticized the averaging formula used to determine the basic grant to school boards as grossly unfair and devoid of any relationship to actual educational practice. Because the formula did not acknowledge variation in community needs, levels of services offered, and costs of programs to school boards, teachers claimed that it would increase educational inequalities among districts. The education finance structure restricted the ability of school boards to proceed with innovative educational programs and provide school facilities which required high initial outlays of capital. In this respect teachers directed their strongest criticisms against the referendum provisions in the school finance legislation. The BCTF argued that referenda on school finance unfairly singled out school costs from other state expenditures and created the impression that school costs were excessive. Moreover, the BCTF saw the decision-making process as undemocratic. Local autonomy was threatened because the provincial cabinet set the basic grant levels, and since only property owners could vote in the referenda to approve expenditures over the 110 percent limit, many parents, teachers and other participants in the school system were excluded from the process (Hutchison 1969b, 300-301; Killeen 1970b, 314).

Despite these criticisms of the principles of the finance formula, teachers were most alarmed by the real effects of the legislation. In 1969, seven out of nine referenda were defeated and an additional thirty-one school districts had budgetted over their allowable limits. While at the time of voting or making budgetary allocations the effects of the decisions were

often not apparent, the prospect faced by several school boards in 1969 and 1970 to cut particular educational services in order to comply with funding restrictions had an immediate impact. A study by a BCTF commission on learning conditions in two districts affected by referenda defeats - Powell River, a strong union town where teachers engaged in a one-day strike and public protest in May, 1969, and Kitimat, which BCTF president Tom Hutchison claimed had gone "in one year from an educational lighthouse district to an educational slum" - revealed that education funding practices increased educational inequality, eroded advancements in innovative educational programming, transferred school costs from taxpayers in general to parents of school children, reduced public confidence in the education system, and diminished teacher morale. According to one former BCTF president,

The conditions in B.C. education in the late '60s were absolutely abominable. The class sizes were by far the largest in the country. Kids were on split shifts all over the province. Kids going to school at five o'clock in the afternoon. Schools double-shifted everywhere. Classrooms that were horrendously overcrowded, with classes in the forties and fifties (Clarke 1986, 9).

Teachers ultimately were forced to take a defensive position to ensure that education cuts affected neither their own welfare nor what they defined as essential educational services (Aitchison 1970b; Hutchison 1969b, 300; Hutchison 1984, 111; Ovans 1970a; Vancouver Sun 1969a).

Teachers' uncertainty over plans to combat deteriorating learning conditions continued at the BCTF's 1969 annual general meeting. Delegates passed a resolution which committed BCTF moral and financial support (when deemed necessary by the federation executive) to local teachers' associations which campaigned to oppose negative consequences of the finance formula. Delegates also adopted as a federation priority a vigorous approach to back the improvement of teachers' pensions. Pension contributions, according to BCTF analysis, were calculated on an inadequate basis. The BCTF argued, moreover, that the fund was poorly administered by the provincial government,

since retired teachers received substandard pension incomes despite the existence of large reserves in the pension fund. Many teachers, though, feared that a militant stance by the BCTF on these issues would create the impression that the federation was a union rather than a professional organization. This concern was expressed in the defeat of a resolution to include teacher aides in the membership of the BCTF. In opposing the resolution, several teachers emphasized that support for teacher aides might undermine teachers' claims to professional status and infringe upon teachers' expertise in the classroom (Hutchison 1984, 111; Vancouver Sun 1969b). Most significantly, despite the militant tone of much of their rhetoric, B.C. teachers had yet to demonstrate that they could act decisively to assert their claims. One media observer criticized the routine, passive affairs of the annual general meeting and posed the question, "Why don't educators practice what they preach and organize education conventions so there is dialogue as well as monologue and action as well as talk?" (Brown 1969).

The calling of a provincial election for late summer, 1969, provided the teachers with their opportunity to act. The BCTF, drawing upon the special membership levy instituted at the 1968 annual general meeting, mounted what it called its "apple" campaign. The campaign strove to raise educational issues to a place of prominence in the election and inform the electorate of the effects of government educational policy. Teachers stressed the non-partisan nature of their campaign, and set out to gain a public statement on educational matters from all candidates for office. The BCTF encouraged candidates who supported its objectives for reduced class sizes, a fairer educational finance formula, and general improvement in the school system to identify their position by placing in their campaign literature and posters a federation-sponsored symbol of an apple with a bite missing.

The campaign, though intended primarily to generate publicity for educational issues, also proved instrumental in the development of an

effective base for the mobilization of teachers. Earlier publicity campaigns conducted by British Columbia teachers, reflecting the strong central authority of BCTF staff members which served as a deterrent to extensive membership action, tended to be focussed around the efforts of particular BCTF leaders, groups or local teachers' associations. The apple campaign, by contrast, provided advocates for a more committed membership with an opportunity to engage the teaching force as a whole. The campaign's success was dependent upon the coordinated activities of BCTF officials and the membership at large on both provincial and local fronts. The various facets of the campaign, including contact with candidates, organizing public meetings, preparing and distributing literature, and operating information booths at the University of British Columbia and the Pacific National Exhibition, required the labour of sizeable numbers of teachers (see BCTF n.d. and Killeen 1984 for details). In the performance of these tasks, teachers gained a measure of public visibility from which they had traditionally been shielded by the classroom door.

The apple campaign was welcomed in its early stages from several sources, including the provincial media, candidates from all political parties, and even premier Bennett. However, as it became clear that teachers were actually able to deliver on their various planned activities, the BCTF encountered growing opposition. Many Social Credit candidates and supporters ignored BCTF claims of non-partisanship and construed the apple campaign as a direct attack upon the government and Socred party policies, even though some of the party's candidates had originally endorsed the federation's campaign. The trade union movement, preoccupied with the effects of 1968 labour legislation which curtailed strikes in the public service and provided cabinet discretionary powers to mediate industrial disputes, had no inclination to go out of its way to aid the teachers' supposedly narrow cause to promote education. Just before election day, the Vancouver Sun published

an editorial which condemned the apple campaign as an "unmitigated disaster," constituting tactics of "intimidation and coercion" of candidates, a waste of teachers' money, and a threat to the BCTF's credibility (Killeen 1984, 112-113; Vancouver Sun 1969c; Vancouver Sun 1969d; Vancouver Sun 1969e).

These criticisms provided a clear omen of the election results. The opposition New Democratic Party was unable to benefit from the selection of a new leader just four months prior to the election. The Social Credit government had in its favour an association with general economic prosperity in the province. The Socreds, under W.A.C. Bennett, were re-elected, increasing their majority of the fifty-five seats in the legislature from the thirty-three it had won in the 1966 election to thirty-eight in 1969. Bennett and other party officials had dismissed any potential political threat posed by the teachers' campaign against provincial education policies. With a renewed mandate, however, the government was prepared to proceed with its economic and political agenda with a clear memory of what it perceived as the teachers' anti-government stance.

RETRENCHMENT AND STRUGGLE

Teachers' mobilization in the 1969 election campaign represented the growing prominence of a new conception of teacher professionalism. Docile, apolitical leadership was clearly not sufficient amidst a climate of state retrenchment to produce the kind of humanitarian education system desired by most teachers. As teachers became defenders of the moral/subjective purposes of schooling, they remained uncertain about their roles as workers. However, driven especially by an active core of BCTF members who were not afraid to engage in militant action as a legitimate way for teachers to counter state policies of educational restraint, teachers took less heed of the traditional cautions advanced by senior BCTF officials about the dangers of job action

and other forms of blatant labour activity. Struggle over the federation's direction produced a reorganized BCTF structure which had the paradoxical effect of rationalizing the teachers' organization to provide more efficient use of the teachers' resources and personnel while allowing the general membership democratic input into decisions which previously had been left to the discretion of senior federation staff personnel.

Moves to restructure BCTF organization echoed similar initiatives within teachers' associations elsewhere in North America. The two major American teachers' unions, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, moved in the late 1960s to streamline their operations to account for increased membership, growing teacher militancy, and demands associated with the complex structure of education. Canadian teachers' organizations such as the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation undertook similar initiatives, hiring professional industrial relations consultants and reorganizing executive and staff functions in order to maximize teachers' collective bargaining powers with respect to wage items and the ability to determine working conditions (Downie 1978).

In B.C., teachers' adoption of revised notions of "professionalism" and collective sophistication was prompted in large part by state policy and the organization of public sector employees. In 1969, the province's civil servants, who had struggled intermittently for official recognition and bargaining rights since the mid 1950s, formed the B.C. Government Employees' Union and began immediately to pressure the government to grant their organization full union status. Effective unionization and unification of the government workers could potentially overshadow the teachers' federation - at the end of 1970, the civil service employed 26,790 full-time workers, compared to the 22,678 teachers in the province's public schools in the 1970-71 school year (Swainson 1983, 130; PSR 1978, 132). As the civil servants began to press their demands for bargaining rights, teachers

recognized that they had to defend more vigorously their competing claims for both public education and the importance of teacher welfare within the education system.

The re-election of a Social Credit government in 1969 reinforced the problems teachers were having with a school fiscal structure defined by restraint. During contract negotiations in 1969, school boards took the position that they could not afford to finance teacher salary increases and new programs desired by teachers. The bargaining situation deteriorated as the legislated deadline for negotiations approached. On the day prior to the November 15 deadline, contract agreements had been reached in only two of the province's eighty-three school districts. Teachers were dissatisfied with both the lack of progress in negotiations and the practice employed by several school boards of appointing paid negotiators to carry out the instructions of the BCSTA. Moreover, in November, following its return to office, the government removed local authority to approve school construction projects. Recent experiences in mobilizing for the election prompted many teachers to agitate for a collective demonstration of strength.

The centre for teacher mobilization was the lower mainland region of the province which had one of the largest concentrations of teachers in the nation. Young career teachers who advocated immediate action to rectify teachers' traditional lack of political clout had begun to occupy important positions in local associations, notably the Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association and the Burnaby Teachers' Association. The depth of the lower mainland teachers' resolve to take action to counter the impasse in negotiations was revealed at a November 12 rally in Vancouver attended by 4500 teachers.

The visible show of force was unsettling to provincial BCTF leaders. Federation staff were opposed in principle to explosive demonstrations by teachers and feared damage to the image they had tried to cultivate of

teachers as a respectable professional group. The federation executive, while actively seeking greater membership participation in moving the organization in a more political direction, also urged the lower mainland teachers to be moderate, aware that teachers in other parts of the province were not yet prepared for such intense mobilization. At the rally, general secretary C.D. Ovans, speaking for the BCTF executive, instructed local associations to wait for arbitration or at most to hold protest demonstrations to speed up negotiations. Ovans cautioned locals to avoid tactics of "questionable morality," such as booking off sick, and uncertain legality, such as strike action. Not all teachers accepted this advice. Some members, including those who had participated in the procedural coup which had moved political action to the forefront at the 1968 AGM, expressed anger over federation officials' lack of progressive leadership and efforts to stifle debate (Bruce 1969, Killeen 1969a). Teachers from one elementary school, for example, complained that, "Thousands left the meeting wondering why we had been summoned. If the teachers of this province were frustrated by negotiation procedures, this frustration was compounded by the indecisiveness of the rally. Were we told to rally so that our leaders could tell us to 'cool it'?" (Peace Arch Elementary School 1969). Gary Onstad, the president of the Burnaby Teachers' Association, who was gaining a reputation as one of the federation's most forthright militants, declared in a letter to BCTF president Jim Killeen that,

Surely a fraud was perpetrated on the Lower Mainland teachers who appeared at the Agrodome.

If Mr. Ovans was speaking for the Executive Committee then I would suggest that the Executive is out of touch with its membership. When I look back on the difficulties we had in getting our resolutions on the floor, I would suggest that the Executive displayed a fear that some teacher might say the 'wrong' thing - a fear of its own membership (Onstad 1969).

In response, Killeen (1969b), who had his own strong disagreements with federation general secretary C.D. Ovans over BCTF strategy, indicated that in

this instance membership was allowed to voice its concerns. He argued that the executive had adopted unanimously the position that the November rally was to be used primarily as a show of strength on behalf of teachers to pressure the boards into negotiation.

The dispute over tactics highlighted the dilemma faced by the BCTF in its attempts to conceptualize and pursue a new vision of teaching. Teachers were divided over whether whether militant resistance was compatible with their conception of their professional roles as providers of moral and educational leadership. Despite periodic outbursts of intense political action, the federation's old approach to quiet consultation had not disappeared. BCTF officials continued to consult on a regular, informal basis with provincial cabinet ministers, trustees, and other participants in the education system even in the midst of public disagreements among the various parties. However, teachers also learned from their experiences in the 1969 provincial election and referenda defeats that their consultation and persuasion had to be extended to a wider public on an ongoing basis. Following the election, for example, over half of the members of the provincial legislative assembly visited schools in their districts at the invitation of teachers under a program organized by the BCTF and local teachers' associations to facilitate communication and understanding of educational issues. Several local teachers' associations also recognized that, rather than passively observe referenda on school finance, they could influence the results by creating an atmosphere of support for school operations (Evans 1970, Killeen 1970a, Killeen 1971a).

Nonetheless, several teachers continued to argue that these approaches were inadequate if they were to be pursued without a tough, militant teachers' organization. BCTF officials recognized that, unlike in the early 1960s, teachers could be rallied on a province-wide basis to assert their interests. However, the federation now contained a potentially organized

group of teachers who were willing to take a far more aggressive stance than the BCTF's official position indicated. Long-time federation staff appeared unwilling to relinquish their authority to direct the organization to younger teachers who attempted to mobilize the federation from within the membership. The BCTF's general secretary summarized his view of the "militants'" position and what he saw were its consequences for the future of the federation:

It seems to me that the teaching profession has arrived at a new crossroad. One road leads, backward I think, to a hard-nosed unionism with the teacher posture one of 'come what may we'll look after ourselves'; while the other road leads onward toward a new professionalism through which parents and teachers make common cause in the interest of children.

. . . the hard-nosed militant approach might well in the short run win for us some battles. In the long run, however, we would lose the war (Ovans 1970b).

The BCTF staff's official resolve to adopt a moderate stance received many severe challenges. The tight central control which BCTF staff had maintained over the federation and its activities since the 1940s had become an impediment to teachers' ability to take effective action to counter state and school board measures which teachers deemed harmful to their interests. Many teachers who wanted to take an active role in federation affairs found that they were shut out of official channels, while most members had little opportunity to become involved in BCTF activities. The BCTF executive and members of other federation committees began quietly to discuss plans to reorganize the federation's structure to allow for greater autonomy and authority for active members relative to the BCTF staff through increasing the powers of the representative assembly and other bodies composed of members from throughout the general teaching force.

Ironically, however, as the move to decentralize the federation's structure gained impetus, teachers found that they needed greater central direction in order to maximize their occupational power. Referenda defeats in 1970 contributed to budget shortfalls which damaged or seriously threatened teacher welfare and general learning conditions in several

districts. In Nanaimo, for example, a referendum defeat forced the school board to cut \$583,000 from its budget, resulting in the loss of twenty-six teaching and administrative positions, thirty-three teacher aides, twenty-three janitors, and major reductions to other services; the board in a smaller district in the central interior region of the province was faced with a more serious decision to reduce a \$700,000 budget by \$110,000 (Cairnie 1970; Cairnie 1971; Killeen 1970b, 315).

The BCTF began to reassess its approach to negotiations and occupational organization in the light of the recent problems in the bargaining process. One of the actions arising from the lower mainland teachers' rally in November, 1969, was the establishment of an ad hoc committee to investigate teachers' bargaining rights. The committee's report, released in March, 1970, revealed teachers' ambivalent orientations to collective action. The report's authors dismissed the notion that strike action was intrinsically unprofessional and therefore not appropriate for teachers, but they argued that the legal position of B.C. teachers did not make strike action a viable option for them. The report acknowledged the provincial government's failure to provide an adequate tax base for education and noted the increasing tendency of federal and provincial governments to intervene in the collective bargaining process directly and through restrictive legislation. However, the report did not outline a decisive stand towards the resolution of these difficulties. Instead, the authors proposed a refinement of existing legislation, with emphasis on such modifications as an expanded time frame for the conduct of the negotiations-conciliation-arbitration process in order to facilitate the orderly attainment of agreements. The report stressed the autonomy of local teachers' associations in both bargaining and the determination of a district plan of action in support of negotiations, but recommended that the BCTF executive committee play a coordinating role to approve all local proposals prior to negotiation and to approve agreements

prior to ratification (BCTF 1970).

The proposals for a cohesive bargaining strategy were part of the wider initiative within the BCTF introduced by the executive and especially federation president Jim Killeen to evaluate and plan organizational aims and activities. In 1970 and 1971, the BCTF implemented an internal management system of programmed planning in order to optimize the utilization of federation resources. These initiatives were accompanied by parallel efforts to restructure the organization of several local teachers' associations. Killeen summarized the organizational structure of the federation at the 1971 annual general meeting:

The Annual General Meeting sets goals and policies and evaluates progress toward them. The Representative Assembly approves program plans and budget allocations. The Executive Committee manages the execution of these plans. The staff and the appropriate task force develop, carry out and report on certain programs. Thus, the rights and privileges of all members are safeguarded. The program decisions are not made in haste, or without adequate information, at an AGM. The appropriate expertise can be brought to bear to maximize program effectiveness, and BCTF revenues (membership fees) can be allocated rationally (Killeen 1971, 290).

The measures were an acknowledgement of the growing size and sophistication of the British Columbia teaching force, but they also reflected federation officials' concerns that they were wasting time and resources on the management of periodic internal crises when there were more pressing external problems to deal with. BCTF executive members felt that they were being restrained by pressures from above - by the general secretary and other long-time BCTF staff members - and from below by disarray within the general membership. Reorganization of the federation's structure of governance would allow for greater democracy in the sense that elected federation officials could act with greater authority and autonomy in relationship to the federation's paid, appointed staff (MacFarlane 1986, 31-33). At the same time, the new structure would facilitate coordinated representation from - and channels of influence upon - the general

membership.

The organizational restructuring of the federation was accomplished through the struggle by active practicing teachers for greater representation in BCTF policies. However, there emerged a distinct possibility that the central institutional infrastructure might in fact restrict member participation. Federation leaders approached the dilemma with caution. Aware of the dual reality of state fiscal crisis and the politics of educational decision-making, BCTF executive members were convinced that a rational division of labour in the federation structure was necessary to turn existing bargaining and educational finance frameworks to the advantage of teachers. The reorganization of the federation structures included a strategic bargaining plan for negotiations in 1970. Federation officials recognized that federation personnel and resources should be organized around legislated bargaining deadlines which governed the bargaining process in order to pressure boards to negotiate salary, pensions and working conditions favourable to teachers. The federation strategy was to create a sense of occupational strength, built around a favourable public image of teaching, in order to convince boards to negotiate in good faith. A coordinated action plan was necessary, according to BCTF officials, to prevent school boards from using state fiscal constraint as a rationale to weaken teacher salary and pension provisions and remove negotiated workload and working conditions agreements in areas such as class size and transfer procedures (Kirby 1970a, Kirby 1970b, Kirby 1970c). Teachers were confident that they could shift the "balance of power" in their favour within existing educational regulations, even though other state employees and branches of government were competing for limited resources:

We [the BCTF] have always said in respect to salary bargaining that there was not a pie to slice. Perhaps we did not look clearly enough or the pie was so big that it did not matter.

In any case it is obvious that this year there is a pie to slice and how much of it goes to teachers will be a burning issue (Kirby 1970c, 7).

The mobilization and coordination of B.C. teachers was not isolated to the area of teacher welfare, as the issue of teachers' pensions illustrated. Teachers resented the government's paternalistic treatment of the BCTF's case for an improved pension plan. In September, 1969, a federation brief presented to provincial secretary Wesley D. Black, the minister responsible for administering the plan, argued for an ultimate pension of seventy percent of final salary (based on two percent per year of service over a maximum of thirty-five years of service). Teachers saw the present plan, based on 1.25 percent per year of service plus voluntary contributions with restrictive averaging provisions and ceiling levels, as grossly inadequate in view of inflationary costs of living. In December, at a meeting to discuss the plan, Black confronted the BCTF delegation with the charge that the BCTF had converted the pensions matter into a political issue by circulating copies of its brief to provincial MLAs. In the absence of further provincial action on the pensions matter, teachers at the spring, 1970, AGM agreed to take what they considered drastic action. Delegates passed a resolution to authorize the BCTF executive committee to call for job action or other sanctions if the government did not amend the plan at the next legislative session. The BCTF also adopted a related resolution which empowered the executive to conduct a referendum among teachers to determine the type of action that would be taken. In the referendum, held several months later, an overwhelming eighty-eight percent of teachers voted in favour of strike action (Killeen 1984, 114; Smith 1970, 322).

The strike vote, while a dramatic contrast with the position adopted by a majority of teacher representatives fourteen years earlier to extract themselves from labour and working class action, was not unprecedented. The province's teachers had voted in 1943 to support strike action over their concern to improve rural teaching conditions. Nonetheless, the 1943 strike

threat was not carried out, due, in part to the strong control maintained by federation staff over the teaching force and the lack of any effective mobilization among the majority of the province's teachers. In 1970, the referendum results were much stronger, and teachers were better organized to actually follow through on the strike threat. This did not mean that a majority of teachers had quickly developed a labour consciousness and overcome their hesitations to engage in industrial forms of action, although some teachers clearly had. Instead, the use of the pensions issue to mobilize the BCTF membership was a combination of fortuitous circumstances and clever leadership. Teachers were already frustrated over education finance, their lack of control over school policy, and the effects of fiscal cutbacks on school operations. However, teachers were also concerned to show that they were capable of exercising moral leadership rather than responding in militant fashion to protect their own economic welfare. The pensions issue served as a focal point for teachers' professional commitment to altruistic concern for others - in this case, pensioned teachers living on limited means as a representation of other groups in similar circumstances. Teachers could show that they were not merely workers, but workers who were devoted to improving general educational and social welfare.

THE ESCALATION OF EDUCATIONAL STRUGGLE

The early 1970s demonstrated more clearly than most periods the shifting terrain of regulation and resistance in teacher-state relations. As teachers mobilized at two levels - to gain favourable negotiated settlements, and lobby for legislation which would improve pensions and remove restrictive education policies - the state indicated it was prepared to make policy changes. At first glance, events appeared to support the contention of traditional interest group studies that the outcomes of teacher-state

relations depended largely upon the degree of enlightenment within governments and the level of political acumen attained by other competing groups (e.g., Hennessy 1975). Closer examination, however, would reveal that the structure and consequences of teacher-state relations were highly dependent upon the state's ability to regulate teachers as both employees and "professionals" with distinct moral/subjective obligations.

By 1970, B.C. teachers had made some gains in their bargaining strategy and efforts to influence public opinion and government policy. In a reversal of the string of defeats in 1968 and 1969, several local referenda were approved by ratepayers in late 1970. In bargaining, negotiations proceeded smoothly in contrast with previous years. Generally amicable relations prevailed between the BCTF and the BCSTA and their local affiliates as the parties approached negotiations with faith in the fairness of the process and proposals. Only two districts went to arbitration, and teachers received salary agreements in excess of the rate of inflation and comparable to or better than agreements reached in other sectors of the workforce (Aitchison 1970a; Killeen 1971b, 290). Moreover, government appeared willing to listen and sometimes respond to teachers' concerns. Early in 1971, for example, the government addressed many of the BCTF's concerns by introducing legislation to improve pension provisions for teachers currently engaged in teaching, and school construction freezes were periodically lifted with an infusion of new capital funding. Government officials also placed a number of hurdles which proved irritating to teachers but which were withdrawn following the protestations of BCTF representatives. Such measures included an unexpected bill in April, 1970, to reduce teachers' sick leave provisions and legislation a year later to remove the rights of teachers and other school board employees to serve as school trustees. The old pattern of quiet consultation appeared to remain an effective tool for teachers' relations with the government.

On more crucial matters, however, government increased its regulatory authority over teachers through both personal and technical means. Social Credit backbencher Bob Wenman, disaffected with the increasingly cloistered governing style of premier Bennett and his closest advisors, observed that the Socreds acted on occasion in retribution for teachers' active opposition to government policy in the 1969 election campaign (Yri 1979, 17). The B.C. government's response to the federal government's proclamation of a state of emergency and invocation of the War Measures Act following the kidnapping of two senior officials in Quebec by the Front de Liberation du Quebec in October, 1970, provided a particularly strong illustration of the way in which the provincial cabinet could combine personal and legal action against teachers. On October 22, the B.C. provincial cabinet issued an order-in-council to the effect that any public school teacher who advocated FLQ policies or the violent overthrow of democratically elected government was subject to dismissal. The order, and the fact that no other group in Canada was singled out for such treatment, revealed teachers' vulnerability to state regulation ostensibly in the name of protection of public order and morality. No teacher was dismissed under the order-in-council, but the provisions remained in effect for several months despite legal challenges mounted against the order by the BCTF in conjunction with the B.C. Civil Liberties Association (Killeen 1971b, 290-291; Killeen 1984, 114; Repo 1974, 204).

The government took further action against teachers when the BCTF pursued the pensions issue to counter the apparently heartless provincial government. While the government had moved to provide many of the pensions changes desired by teachers, teachers claimed that the levels of benefits paid to retired teachers currently living on pensions remained woefully inadequate. Declaring these conditions intolerable and the lack of provincial action to address these concerns abhorrent, the BCTF executive raised the spectre of strike action in the spring of 1971. The government

retaliated against the strike threat to reinforce its claims that teachers had no right to politicize educational matters. In early March, 1970, the government introduced Bill 47 which, among other things, would revoke provisions for automatic membership in the BCTF and (in a clause which was later deleted) remove the right of school board employees to serve on school boards. Government officials were aware of the internal divisions, broadly characterized as militants versus moderates, among the BCTF membership. The removal of automatic membership could force this split to become open, allowing members dissatisfied with the BCTF's orientation to opt out of the federation without penalty and forcing those loyal to the federation to reapply for membership and initiate a drive to sign up other members.

Bill 47 also contained stronger measures to enable direct provincial control over education and regulatory power over teachers, 'including a provision to remove the option which school boards had to seek approval from municipal councils for budgetary expenditures in excess of 110 percent of base budgets, and an outline of administrative reorganization of the department of education. The most visible aspects of the reorganization involved elimination of the position of superintendent of education. In effect, the former duties of the superintendent, along with new functions, were transferred to the minister of education. Among the new responsibilities held by the minister were the ability to reduce grants to school districts which conducted programs determined by the minister to be inadequate, the ability to grant temporary certificates and letters of permission to teachers who were not otherwise fully qualified according to certification guidelines, the authorization of school textbooks and courses of study, and the ability to set specific obligations for district superintendents to fulfill (Aitchison 1971; Clarke 1971; Killeen 1984, 114; Vancouver Province 1971; Vancouver Sun 1971).

The legislation had the potential effect of fragmenting the teaching.

force while minimizing teachers' ability to resist a fundamental shift towards central state control over the school system. Teachers condemned the legislative measures as a dangerous entrenchment of the trend to educational centralization in the province, but their immediate concern lay with ensuring the cohesion of the BCTF. The issue provided teachers with an opportunity to test the strength of the BCTF's recent mobilization and teachers' ability to gain support through combining their interests as educational professionals and employees.

Strategically, the BCTF leadership concentrated on two issues. First, their opposition to the removal of automatic membership centered around the "professional" concerns that the federation would lose the ability to discipline members and represent teachers on other professional matters. Second, the continued emphasis on the pensions issue focussed attention on teachers' altruism - as noted earlier, their primary interest was not in their own well-being but the welfare of retired teachers whose circumstances reflected conditions experienced by senior citizens in general. The BCTF made adequate support for former teachers currently on pension a central priority in its pensions campaign. Government legislation in early 1971 had improved pension provisions for long-service teachers who were still in the teaching force but offered only minimal benefits to teachers who had already retired. Pointing to this serious oversight, the BCTF renewed its strike threat. Through its stands in defence of membership rights and retired teachers, the BCTF was able to generate a wide range of public support, to maintain the loyalty of teachers otherwise opposed to militant action, and to gain the backing of organized labour, including the B.C. Federation of Labour which condemned the government's attack on trade union rights. The teachers' federation seemed partially vindicated as a feared exodus of members from the BCTF did not materialize; by the fall of 1971, only sixty-nine teachers out of a provincial teaching force of over 22,000 had chosen not to retain BCTF

membership (BCTF 1987h, 114; MacFarlan 1986, 18-19).

Reassured of its cause and the support of its membership, the BCTF executive called a one-day strike on March 19, 1971 over the pensions issue. While eighty-eight percent had supported strike action in the membership referendum, over ninety-six percent of the BCTF membership participated in the unprecedented province-wide strike by B.C. public school teachers (Killeen 1984, 114). The strong demonstration of membership solidarity in the one-day walkout signified to observers as well as to BCTF leaders and members that teachers could act as a unified force under the appropriate circumstances. Many teachers discovered that an action associated with trade unionism - the strike - could be used in conjunction with demands generally acknowledged as "professional" in nature, or in the public interest.

However, the strike also tended to have many sobering consequences. The BCTF did not have a clear agenda for action to follow the strike. That, combined with teachers' hesitation to engage in joint actions with other occupational bodies, left many unanswered questions about future directions for the BCTF. At the 1971 annual general meeting in April, a resolution to pursue trade union certification and seek affiliation with the B.C. Federation of Labour was referred to the executive (BCTF 1971, 54). Many teachers feared that the BCTF would become more union-oriented. Trade union supporters within and outside of the BCTF felt, however, that teachers had much yet to learn about labour politics. When some teachers had set up picket lines on March 19, apparently without informing unionized non-teaching school employees, for example, the BCTF received a strongly worded letter from the Vancouver Civic Employees' Union:

Due to confused information from Teachers and Principals the day before, and receiving a directive from C.U.P.E. to honour any picket lines, it was very difficult to give what support you received, especially after the past years when you people have ignored picket lines and went across claiming that you had a contract to live up to. How about our contract? However, as you people are an Association, and not a Union, one could not expect you to know much about Union principles (Hutchinson 1971).

Teachers displayed their lack of experience in strike situations, their zeal to protest the government's recent policies, and their distant relations with organized labour in a mixture of headiness and uncertainty which had surrounded recent events.

The BCTF revealed at the 1971 AGM its uncertainty over future orientations by electing Adam Robertson, widely acknowledged to be a "moderate" candidate, as federation president and Jim MacFarlan, a prominent advocate of a more militant direction for the teachers' federation, as vice-president. Robertson, aware of tensions within the federation and of the reluctance of several teachers to engage in further militant action, sought moderation and compromise in the BCTF's relations with the provincial government. To that end, he set as a priority the establishment of joint meetings and consultation to seek some common ground among the BCTF, the BCSTA and the provincial government. These efforts, though, were undermined by a combination of dissent within a BCTF executive divided among militants and moderates, and mistrust from several trustees and the minister of education (Robertson 1984, 1986).

The BCTF's conciliatory efforts in the wake of the pensions strike were undermined by government for several reasons. At a personal level, according to some of his close associates, premier Bennett was hurt more by teachers' accusations that his government was unfair to senior citizens than by any other political attack to which he had been subject in his career (Robertson 1986). An educational truce was unlikely after teachers provoked the government by raising the pensions issue and contradicting Bennett's self-styled populist image. In a wider sense, government regarded the onset of militant action by teachers as dangerous since it might trigger an explosive chain reaction within the rapidly growing and increasingly disaffected public sector workforce in the province (MacFarlan 1986, 16). Organized government employees, now calling themselves the B.C. Government Employees' Union, for

example, had increased in number from 8,568 to 17,700 between 1962 and 1972, and the union was threatening to emerge as a significant political and economic force in the province (Industrial Relations Centre 1975, U-16). Government employees, as well as other large unionized public sector workforces like the hospital employees and the nurses, accounted for a sizeable proportion of government-funded payrolls as well as of the total provincial workforce. Because a coordinated front among the large public sector unions could potentially combat the government's economic and political plans and set precedents for private sector bargaining, the government was concerned to arrest any emergent trends in that direction. Thus, a government strategy of isolation of and targetted attacks upon teachers might serve to weaken the teachers' organization and convince other unions to avoid similar organized opposition to government policies.

To intensify its restraint program and offset the possibility of coordinated labour resistance, the provincial government adopted an increasingly interventionist strategy in industrial relations and budgetting, especially in the education sector. Shortly after collective bargaining between teachers and school boards opened in autumn, 1971, education minister Donald Brothers announced that school boards could expect the ceiling on school board spending to drop from 110 percent of the basic grant to 108 percent. Initially, the announcement tempered only marginally the likelihood that teachers would make progress in each of the three main BCTF objectives - to gain rates of increase equivalent to increases achieved by other major groups of employees in the province, to provide for salary grids which would enhance lifetime earnings of career teachers, and to attain contractual agreement on working and learning conditions. In general, following satisfactory negotiations the previous year, amicable relations seemed to prevail in bargaining between teachers and trustees. Then, on October 26, the minister of education made a further announcement, indicating that the

government grant to school boards would not cover teacher salary increases in excess of 6.5 percent. The readiness of the minister to intervene in the bargaining process proved sufficient to convince several school trustees to abandon their local authority to determine salary offers to teachers in favour of adherence to the minister's 6.5 guidelines. The announcement slowed down the bargaining process, and negotiations in forty-nine of the eighty-three school districts in the province went to arbitration. Although teachers in districts which went to arbitration received on average arbitrated settlements of 7.6 percent, BCTF officials were left to question the viability of the existing collective bargaining and settlement process and to ponder the next government move (Kirby 1971; Robertson 1984, 116).

That move came with unexpected force in January, 1972, with the introduction by the government of Bill 3, an act to amend the Public Schools Act. The bill established a precedent for direct state intervention into the bargaining process for teachers' collective agreements, thereby consolidating the province's ability to regulate educational finance and programs with little outside interference. The premier argued in his budget speech that educational expenditures in the province had risen excessively over the previous decade, mostly because of inflationary teachers' salary increases. With Bill 3, the government outlined a direct plan of attack on teachers. The legislation formalized the reduction of the finance formula guidelines to 108 percent, introduced new provisions by which school boards could dismiss teachers who held permanent certificates, and severely curtailed teachers' collective bargaining rights. While the collective bargaining process itself was not altered, the legislation authorized the minister of education to set maximum allowable rates of increase for teacher salaries. Negotiated or arbitrated settlements which exceeded this limit became subject to approval by referenda of local ratepayers in the same manner as for the finance formula (Robertson 1984, 116; Zlotnik 1972a).

The legislation, as government leaders were well aware, struck directly at several of the BCTF's most pertinent concerns. Government knew that its official stance of fiscal responsibility in education and other state activities had broad public appeal. The minister of education and other government members released information about teachers' salary levels and education expenditures from which clear inferences could be made by observers that teachers were overpaid and underworked. While BCTF officials took pains to demonstrate that many of the data were false or misleading, the federation was forced to invest time and resources to address the issue and present a counter-appeal that was not always convincing to a public which had seen evidence of mounting school costs and overly comfortable school teachers (Giordano 1972, Hardy 1972, Zlotnik 1972a). Despite the BCTF's vociferous opposition to the encroachment of provincial directives upon local autonomy, the government was also aware, based upon varied responses by school trustees to previous government legislation, that the BCSTA favoured some of the provincial initiatives. The referendum proposal which had caused teachers much aggravation since 1968 was now applied directly to the settlement of teachers' salaries. And government officials also knew that there was no consensus among teachers over strategies for collective action.

Unlike the class size and pensions issues, where teachers' responses were mobilized around broad concern for educational conditions and professional altruism, Bill 3 was a direct industrial relations issue which the BCTF was uncomfortable or unprepared to combat effectively. The federation's first course of action, led by president Adam Robertson's spirit of conciliation, was consultation with and an appeal to government officials to remove the legislation. Failing that, the federation's representative assembly met on February 4 to determine a plan of opposition to Bill 3. The assembly agreed to recommend for approval at the next annual general meeting a resolution to implement a levy of one day's pay on BCTF members in order to

raise funds which would be directed to a publicity and public relations campaign oriented to the revocation of Bill 3. Executive members also agreed to conduct meetings with local teachers' associations and to coordinate an information campaign within the BCTF in order to explain the present situation and rally support for effective action against the legislation (BCTF 1972a; BCTF 1972e; Robertson 1984, 116).

The official BCTF position took on a decidedly hardened tone as terms like "battle," "warfare," and "political opposition" entered into statements by federation leaders and staff. Suddenly, teachers found that they were part of a wider trade union movement, since Bill 3 constituted an attack on the principle of free collective bargaining between employers and employees. The BCTF formed an ad hoc group, the Collective Bargaining Defence Committee, which included representation from the B.C. Federation of Labour, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and other concerned groups to fight Bill 3 and advocate collective bargaining rights and quality education. In early March, the committee held a coordinated series of public rallies in centers throughout the province. The BCTF, acting jointly with other public sector unions such as CUPE, the B.C. Government Employees' Union and the Hospital Employees' Union, also drafted a statement which outlined collective bargaining rights for public service workers; the statement emphasized that public service workers had the right to free collective bargaining over terms and conditions of work and the right to withdraw services in the event of a breakdown in negotiations (Evans 1972, Ovans 1972b, Ovans 1972c, Ovans 1972f).

In its determination to overturn the legislation, the BCTF had a deceptively straightforward task. In the words of one federation staff officer:

At this stage of the new game we must be prepared to demonstrate our political power in an acceptable but effective way. Our demonstration of power must be acceptable to our members, to the general public and to the government. The use of such power will be effective

if the reason for its use is clearly understood and highly justifiable. At the same time its exercise must have a noticeable and significant effect on the balance of political power.

At the present time our members are beginning to understand that the old game is gone; we must have new rules. We must devise new game plans with new skills and new assignments (Kirby 1972, 2).

Unfortunately, there was no simple formula for these plans. The federation was divided with respect to the proper course of action to pursue. MacFarlan and other politically aware members of the federation executive sought a direct approach, while more conservative teachers felt that teachers should not engage in narrow partisan or other political activities:

We seem to have a consensus with respect to the need for a show of force but no consensus on what actions will be effective nor what actions will be acceptable. We do agree that public argumentation by itself is useless. It has been tried and found to be unsuccessful (Kirby 1972, 2).

Federation leaders became convinced that the only course of action to follow was a return to the political arena with the aim of defeating a government which had repeatedly shown its anti-teacher and anti-education bias. Teachers were called upon by federation officials to organize for the next provincial election a "protest vote" in their ridings directed not in support of any particular political party but against the government. Unlike the apple campaign in 1969, where general publicity over educational issues from a teacher perspective was the aim, the BCTF was now asking its members to become more directly involved as teachers in the electoral process. BCTF leaders who traditionally had been reticent to speak the names of political parties in public now declared their blatant opposition to the Social Credit government (Aitchison 1972, Kirby 1972, Ovans 1972f).

This decision, combined with the proposal to impose the levy on members, ensured that the 1972 annual general meeting would be characterized by lively sessions. Several teachers came to the meetings with the fear that the BCTF, having lost the security of compulsory membership, could not adequately stage any sort of political confrontation with a government which had effectively demonstrated its willingness to employ a diverse arsenal of

weapons against the teachers. They felt that a return to the focus on quality education rather than politicization of the issues was the correct stance to take, leaving political activity as a matter of individual discretion. An alternative view emphasized that teachers could not capitulate to a government that was intent upon destroying fundamental trade union rights and centralizing control over education for unknown future horrors. The executive, frustrated with the government's failure to respond in a civil manner to more conciliatory approaches by teachers, favoured taking the political action route.

Following heated debate, the resolution to implement the levy was adopted by a large majority (supported by 495 of 589 delegates) and the federation began to discuss plans to develop a political action and publicity campaign. The federation estimated that the levy would generate a fund of over a million dollars. The delegates did, however, place limits upon the nature of federation activity. A resolution to collect a strike fund was defeated, another resolution to affiliate with labour was deferred for later action, and a proposal to develop a program on the status of women teachers was set aside in favour of what the delegates saw as the more pressing matter of fighting the government. In the spirit of presenting a unified front and avoiding a split between militant and moderate forces in the federation, Adam Robertson and Jim MacFarlan agreed that they would not oppose one another for the BCTF presidency; both were re-elected to office as president and vice-president, respectively (BCTF 1972g; MacFarlan 1986, 25-26; Repo 1974, 208-209; Robertson 1984, 116-117).

The federation's next step was to implement a plan to organize and conduct the campaign. The campaign was based upon local initiatives by teachers' associations to organize support for candidates who were likely to defeat Social Credit candidates in their constituencies in concert with a provincial advertising campaign. Uncertainty over when an election call

might come, the administration of the political action fund and widespread public skepticism about teacher militancy generated some initial confusion over how to mount the campaign. BCTF officials were also concerned about the prospect of resignations from federation membership by teachers who opposed the levy and the principle of political action. Fearing a potential crisis, BCTF executive members and sympathetic staff personnel diverted virtually all of the federation's operations to the political action campaign. The executive and staff developed a strategic action plan oriented to the aim of defeating the government and arranged a radio and newspaper advertising campaign which emphasized the damage the government's policies had done to teaching and learning situations (Mullen 1972; Ovans 1972d; Ovans 1972e; Roberts, Fenton, McConnell Ltd. 1972; Vancouver Sun 1972b; Zlotnik 1972b).

Teachers' plans were confounded by the state's assertion of its authority to define what constituted legitimate BCTF activity. In June, the government informed the BCTF that the federation had potentially violated the terms of the provincial Societies Act under which the federation was chartered. The BCTF would be subject to the loss of its charter, in part because a levy for the purpose of contribution to a political party was prohibited under amendments which the Social Credit government had earlier made to the act. The BCTF president immediately sent a telegram to all local teachers' associations indicating that, "Despite some newspaper and radio stories about the BCTF and Societies Act, we are still in business. And intend to stay in business" (Robertson 1972c). However, another serious disruption of the federation's activities followed a week later with the presentation of a lawsuit against the BCTF by two teachers, supporters of the Social Credit party, who had discovered a technicality which placed the levy in potential violation of the BCTF's constitution. On June 30th, the B.C. Supreme Court granted a temporary injunction which prohibited the collection and distribution of levy funds until the legal action was resolved (Robertson

1986, Vancouver Province 1972, Vancouver Sun 1972a).

The timing of these actions was significant. The end of June marked the close of the school year and the beginning of teachers' summer vacation period. The legal uncertainties, paired with the absence of an election call, suggested that teachers would lose interest in the campaign and be unable to mobilize to conduct a cohesive protest (Allester 1972).

However, BCTF officials were heartened by the members' support for the campaign up to that point. Over ninety-one percent of the membership had paid the one-day levy, raising over \$800,000 which was now frozen, and only a handful of teachers had terminated their federation membership (BCTF 1972b, BCTF 1972c, BCTF 1972f, BCTF 1973b). These factors indicated that teachers might remain strongly determined to continue their opposition to the government.

Alert to this possibility, a broad-based coalition of teachers, including most of the BCTF executive and local teachers' association presidents, organized the Teachers' Political Action Committee, a voluntary organization which was to be funded by individual contributions from teachers and other groups, in order to carry on the task of mobilizing opposition to the government's education policies. The committee stressed its independence from the BCTF, but it was headed by active federation members, co-chaired by executive members Gary Onstad and Bill Broadley, with Al Blakey and John Uzelac, presidents of the Vancouver elementary and secondary teachers' associations, respectively, coordinating the TPAC office, and BCTF vice-president Jim MacFarlan and other federation executive members involved in central roles. The committee raised over \$80,000 and received extensive voluntary support from teachers, labour organizations and others who worked to keep alive the aims of the BCTF's original campaign (BCTF 1972h; Political Action Committee 1972; Robertson 1986, 12).

The provincial government was also under attack from organized labour,

which mounted a series of strong protests against unemployment, inflation, wage restraint, and restrictive changes in labour legislation. The BCGEU was becoming increasingly restive over the absence of bargaining rights. On July 25, 1972, premier Bennett, surrounded by internal strife in his cabinet over hesitation to call an election before chaos spread, announced that the election would be held on August 30th. The mobilization of labour and the accelerating support for the Teachers' Political Action Campaign provided an organized basis for a drive against the government. While the teachers' campaign did not specify support for any particular party, it was no secret that the policies of the New Democratic Party, which had strong links and affinities with labour, were most favoured by teachers. An estimated 35,000 teachers were involved in TPAC activities. Funds were distributed to thirty-five candidates, including a handful of Liberals and Progressive Conservative leader Scott Wallace (who returned the funding, claiming he did not desire the support of any particular group), although most of the support went to NDP candidates; one NDP candidate, Eileen Dailly, who had supported the 1969 apple campaign, had received \$50,000 from the BCTF prior to the injunction which froze the federation funds. The election campaign, as had become customary in the province, was phrased generally in terms of free enterprise versus socialism and special interests, although the NDP, under new leader Dave Barrett, focussed more specifically on a theme of developing human services. The election results, much to the surprise of many observers and the delight of most of the province's teachers, indicated a resounding defeat of the Social Credit government and several of its most prominent cabinet members. The New Democratic Party gained forty percent of the popular vote and thirty-eight of the fifty-five seats in the legislature. The new government contained among its newly elected members several teachers and social workers (including Barrett) who favoured more progressive social programs (Mitchell 1983, 410-416; Repo 1974; Yri 1979, 51-53).

A SEMBLANCE OF NORMALCY

Through the turmoil which surrounded British Columbia's education system between 1967 and 1972, teachers remained faithful to the notion that an end to educational restraint was primarily a matter of changing the personnel or, less likely, the educational philosophy which guided school decision-making. The defeat of the Social Credit government promised a return to normalcy, where "educational" priorities of service to pupils would prevail. Politics for most teachers remained a distasteful but necessary practice which detracted from the routines of teaching. The school and the political sphere remained distinct entities for most teachers, and teachers returned optimistically to the classroom refuge in September, 1972 with the hope that their main grievances could now be attended to.

The key issues of contention were highly visible to teachers and anyone else who had followed educational affairs in the province - school programs had suffered from rising educational costs and budget restraint, classrooms were overcrowded and teachers overworked, government had restricted both the procedures through which teachers could engage in collective bargaining and the levels of wage increase which they could gain through bargaining, and teachers' autonomy had been limited in terms of their ability to determine BCTF membership and, during the FLQ crisis, what they could teach in the classroom. All of these factors appeared as specific obstacles which could be removed by a friendly government.

Teachers saw themselves as professionals who were better trained and situated than government officials, lay persons and administrators to know how to apply their legitimate expertise in pedagogy and other school practices. As in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in North America, the British Columbia teaching force, led especially by young, radical urban

teachers, saw workplace autonomy as an objective worth defending even if it meant the abandonment of a search for full partnership in educational policy formation (Grace 1987, 211-212). The rising tide of teacher militancy was, as traditional studies suggest, a response to state encroachment onto the terrain of teachers' professional concerns (Burke 1971, Coates 1972, Downie 1978, Hennessy 1975). However, teacher-state conflict was not simply a matter of changing educational priorities clashing with teachers' evolutionary professional development but, as critical writers emphasize, a consequence of closer integration of schooling and teaching within a state driven by fiscal crisis to rationalize services (Hunter 1981, Martell 1974a, Repo 1974). Nonetheless, I argue that there was a further dimension beyond economic factors which underlay teacher-state conflict. Teachers, drawing upon their moral/subjective capacities as primary agents of social reproduction, posed themselves as the true protectors of individual development for social progress. Despite the government initiatives to regulate school finance and underline teachers' employment dependency upon the state, the precise determination of teaching processes and the fragmentation of teaching tasks as proposed, for example, in the Ford Foundation study cited earlier in the chapter, seemed removed from the British Columbia context. Teachers were still masters of the classroom, and they had shown that they could mobilize politically, when necessary, to counter measures which were contrary to their interests. Those interests, as revealed through the BCTF-sponsored commission on education, emphasized equality of opportunity, individual choice, individualized development, commitment to the community, and collegial decision-making with the teacher-pupil dyad at the center of the educational process. Government policies were moving away from these goals, but the movement did not seem to be irrevocable.

What teachers did not recognize explicitly was that state policies,

especially formulated as fiscal restraint, represented a wider rationalization of social reproduction. In schooling, even if the curriculum and its delivery system had not changed significantly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the provincial state was poised, through fiscal and administrative centralization, to exert its authority to modify programs and priorities in accordance with its relationships with capital and the federal government. Teachers' resistances to state policy were primarily accommodative in nature, constituting an adjustment to existing procedures and sometimes even facilitating the advancement of school rationalization. Teachers actively promoted educational planning as a means to discard the remnants of an earlier paternalism by trustees and government officials, such as the influencing of public policy through personal vendettas. Teachers' search for a rational yet collegial system of educational decision-making tended to be based on a strong faith in the ameliorative powers of education, for which teachers were guardians of the public trust. A more far-reaching vision of this trust, as something rooted in competing ideologies and social circumstances, remained confined to a few teachers, like Al Blakey, Jim MacFarlan, Gary Onstad, and others, who emphasized that teachers were employees and active agents who could promote fundamental changes in social organization. State policy, administrative practices and educational planning were deemed by most teachers as benevolent and desirable so long as they did not interfere with equal opportunities for the education of each child. The hope, as the 1972-73 school year began, was that obstacles to these opportunities would now be removed.

CHAPTER EIGHT - THE RATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION, 1972-1983

This chapter examines the extension of state managerial initiatives in education during the 1970s and early 1980s. The period was characterized by periodic teacher-state conflict as state officials attempted to advance the technical regulation of teaching and teachers struggled to find a course somewhere between militant and moderate strategies of occupational resistance. I argue that fiscal crisis and conflicting political and economic pressures upon the state contributed to a rational organization of state services in accordance with technical business principles of efficiency and accountability, managed by senior state officials. Schooling, by virtue of its relationship to other state activities and its importance to social reproduction in general, was a central component of the state restructuring process. On the one hand, schools were being asked to provide an increasingly greater range of services while, on the other, competing corporate and state interests were seeking a diversion of resources away from education. Educational transformation could not be expressed through a simple dichotomy between pessimistic notions that teachers were becoming proletarianized in the process of habituating the masses (Braverman 1974, 440) and rosy accounts of teachers' professional advancement amidst general educational enlightenment (see, e.g., Lawson and Woock 1987). Instead, teachers staked claims of professionalism around the introduction of new curricula and programs even while state officials were moving to intensify and proletarianize teaching. The rationalization of education sharpened the contrast between school's technical functions and its less precise moral and human developmental side with the consequence that internal strife within the teaching force minimized teachers' effectiveness in contesting state

regulation.

There was a convergence of interest among teachers, state officials and other educational actors insofar as education system rationalization was oriented to the production of a solid and cohesive foundation for educational programs and operations. No one opposed the idea of "quality education." However, different groups or interests had particular conceptions of how such "quality" was defined and produced. Employers and managers in the corporate sector, for example, tended to equate educational quality with the capacity to produce a technically competent and disciplined work force in a manner free of distracting or unnecessary "frills" (see Livingstone 1983). Teachers, by contrast, tended to associate quality with the adequate provision of a broad array of services and experiences for all students. School trustees and government officials took a more intermediate position, emphasizing from their respective decision-making positions that resource availability and cost containment acted as constraints upon those educational services which could be offered. Despite these differences, debates and struggles concerned not so much questions of whether the state should engage in the management of education, industrial relations and other practices, but rather how state management should be organized.

The move by educational managers to increase technical regulation over teachers was complicated by two interrelated factors - the changing structure of work and a general crisis of legitimacy. The importance of schools as providers of credentials and aptitudes required for work ensured that school programs and outcomes would remain closely monitored, and often contested, by possessors and consumers of labour power. Schooling in any form was widely accepted insofar as higher educational attainment was equated with greater opportunities for occupational and social success. However, employers and employees also attempted to ensure that education provided training appropriate for specific jobs or economic sectors. Schooling provided

opportunities for education in a broad sense, as a heightening of awareness about the world, which opened potential challenges to the established order. The women's movement, racial and cultural minorities, and working class organizations began to clamour for equal opportunities as well as redress for past injustices or even more fundamental changes in social and economic structures. At the same time, school served disciplinary or social control functions, ensuring that knowledge and skill acquisition did not disturb enduring social arrangements such as class and gender inequalities. Teachers and other reproductive workers were caught in the center of a profound reassessment of social life in which conservative groups called into question previous freedoms associated with mounting fears about the dangers of liberalism and social disarray. Under the conservative reaction, teachers, social workers, liberal parents, and others fell prey to accusations that children were being led astray, undisciplined, provided with too many trivial fringes, and lacking in moral guidance and fundamental competencies in reading, writing and arithmetic (Carnoy and Levin 1985, Shor 1986).

The fear of moral breakdown tended to divert attention away from the changing workplace, where labour power was differentially integrated or reintegrated into or displaced from the labour force through transformations in the technical organization of production. Whereas employment in primary and goods producing sectors of the economy declined from 45.7 percent of total employment in Canada in 1961 to 37.8 percent in 1972, employment in service industries rose from 54.3 percent to 62.2 percent. The growth of the service sector was accompanied by an increase in the proportion of women in the national workforce. Between 1966 and 1971, employment of females increased by 23.9 percent while employment of males increased by only 8.2 percent (Industrial Relations Centre 1975, MP-18). These trends were also reflected in the rise of part-time work. In 1971, 6.2 percent of men in the work force were employed part-time compared to 3.7 percent in 1961, while the

proportion of women in part-time work increased from 18.9 percent in 1961 to 24.9 percent in 1971 (Industrial Relations Center 1975, MP-25). As the job structure changed, workers and employers looked to the education system for assistance in matching opportunities and meeting labour force requirements - workers sought training to assure them an adequate job, while employers sought the production of employees competent to carry out desired work tasks.

The reproduction of labour power was subject to rationalization in a dual sense. First, labour force requirements based on particular skills and capabilities could not be left to unrestrained individual choice or chance. Second, rational management could ensure greater goal orientation and efficient utilization of resources to provide economies of scale in large enterprises concerned with labour power reproduction. Investment in non-profit state enterprises like schools and post-secondary educational institutions, which had grown to consume a massive share of state expenditures as they were called upon to deliver a broad and often not highly visible array of services, was now subject to careful monitoring and business-like operations. State officials and school administrators relied more heavily upon industrial forms of management oriented to efficient arrangement of tasks in the production of specified outcomes. The schools were expected to deliver a major commodity - the trained worker bearing appropriate credentials for current labour force needs. As the predominant cost factor in education, teachers' salaries became subject to restrictive pressures; as the central agents in the education system, teachers were required to carry out restructured education programs within a modified education structure. Nonetheless, teachers performed these tasks in a relatively autonomous manner, committed to general ideals of individual educational opportunity and enlightenment. The main problem, from an educational managerial perspective, was how to maintain this value orientation while containing educational costs and reorganizing school

structures.

As teachers saw their discretionary powers diminishing, they reacted in a way which most teachers and observers interpreted as a decisive choice between professionalism (seeking autonomous development as a distinct high status occupational body) and unionism (seeking closer liaison with organized labour and greater protection of collective bargaining rights; see Ozga and Lawn 1981, 2-36 on these points). Teachers' active responses to educational transformations triggered periodic conflict within the teachers' organization and between teachers and the state. The question of making a decisive choice one way or another and the real restrictions on teachers' powers, however, tended to force teachers into a defensive posture which prohibited them from developing a strong analysis of their situation. While the state moved to advance the education system's internal cohesion and integration with industry and other social services, teachers experienced and acted upon collective bargaining, educational finance, classroom practices, and tensions within the teaching force as disparate matters. To a large extent, as the British Columbia case illustrates, the accomplishment of educational rationalization by state managers was advanced and then briefly delayed as teachers attempted to redefine their professional and labour activities in accordance with their objective positions in and beyond the school system.

CLASS, GENDER AND TEACHERS' SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL DIRECTION IN THE 1970s

Teachers throughout North America engaged in a general reassessment of their vocation in the 1970s. Exposed to the effects of government legislation in areas of social, fiscal and labour policy, uncertain over changes to school systems, and in search of increased job security, input into the determination of working conditions, and better wages, teachers debated the adoption of labour ties, militant tactics and the entry into the

political arena. In the 1950s and 1960s, teachers had gained for their occupation unprecedented levels of professional autonomy. Improvements in bargaining rights, teacher representation on state educational boards and committees, and organizational membership rights freed teachers from the extreme personal authority previously held by trustees and other school system officials. Nonetheless, rigid state control over educational policy, finance and administrative procedures signified a considerable gap between teachers' professional aspirations and the realities of teaching. These contradictions, which intensified as governments responded to fiscal crisis in the early 1970s, were experienced in different ways throughout the teaching force. The variation was associated with teachers' class and gender relations although teachers did not always identify them in such terms.

It was easy for many teachers to see themselves as something other than subordinate employees when their occupation had been oriented to developing wages and conditions of work which set them apart from other labourers. As some of these gains were threatened by state regulation in the 1970s, teachers faced a choice between maintaining a moderate stance aimed at cultivating professional dignity and a more militant position in which teachers aligned themselves with other workers. In general, teachers were no longer satisfied to accept passively whatever measures governments implemented to restructure education systems.

Teachers, recognizing the dangers of ignoring their status as employees, focussed increasing attention on the extension of their bargaining rights, seeking greater input into decisions which concerned both their welfare and the direction of the public education system. In some cases, such as Ontario, where in 1972 teachers organized provincial rallies against anti-teacher legislation while high school teachers in Windsor and Timmins engaged in the first-ever teachers' strikes in the province's public school system, teachers limited their actions to concern for legal protections. In

other cases, notably in Quebec, where schools had been centrally involved in the province's rapid cultural and economic development since the late 1950s, teachers went further, joining other union organizations in 1972 in a Common Front against restrictive state action against public sector workers. Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec, was imprisoned for his role in public sector general strikes, while the CEQ approved an action plan which condemned schools' implication in reproducing capitalist structures and laid bare teachers' roles as participants in class struggle (Charbonneau 1974, Martell 1974a).

However, teachers were also inclined to see themselves as something other than mere employees. Teacher professionalism had been intended to elevate teachers' status, providing them with an escape or separation from the working class and working class activities. Defining themselves in these terms, many teachers were hesitant to engage in any kind of forceful or partisan activities which did not match their professional aspirations. The notion of teaching as a calling, advanced earlier in the century by professional leaders and school reformers, had a profound impact on how many teachers conceptualized their work. This view was expressed clearly by three Surrey teachers in 1970 after the AGM had voted for strike action on the pensions issue:

The B.C.T.F. is painting a very poor image of itself. As educated people and particularly as educators we should not lower ourselves to threatening and militant tactics as have been suggested. . . . The teaching profession is rapidly losing any degree of dignity or integrity it may have had. . . . walkouts and warnings of "drastic action" are not in the interests of education or the profession. Such threats are in the interests of union power not education. For the sake of those federation members who still believe that teachers are primarily educators and that teachers have chosen a profession, not a 'job', please don't make us a band of militant workers which the aforementioned actions would undoubtedly do. Please don't even threaten; I enjoy teaching. I can't imagine myself picketing and hope in this free society I shall never have to in order to teach in public school (Stewart, Shortreid and Varley 1970).

The moral/subjective dimension of teaching overrode the importance of

teaching as labour. As reproductive workers who dealt primarily with children, teachers were burdened with the common expectation that they had to engage in exemplary behaviour to provide adequate role models which would satisfy the demands of supervisors and the community. Such behaviour, according to the view which characterized teaching as a calling, did not include the espousal of political viewpoints or the adoption of political action. The classroom, and teachers who guided classroom activity, were to be detached from the crudities of a world of strife and turmoil. Moderates, or proponents of this view, distinguished themselves from militants who wanted to engage teachers in political activity which, according to the moderate positions, would thereby threaten the boundary between school and the worldly conditions which school was supposed to ameliorate.

In the BCTF, the militants had successfully manoeuvred teachers into direct political action, fuelled by the frustration of most of the province's teachers with restrictive government policies. With a friendly government in power in 1972, however, teachers less committed to sustained political agitation began to press for a return to moderate policies and cooperative relations with the government. When government policies diverged with teachers' interests, though, tensions within the BCTF between advocates of the two approaches began to mount throughout the 1970s.

In addition to the widely acknowledged struggles between "militants" and "moderates" in the BCTF, federation members began increasingly to address problems associated with the status of women in teaching. As observed in previous chapters, these problems were not new and were part of such federation discussions as the concerns of the Rural Teachers' Association in the 1930s and 1940s and the drive for equal pay legislation in the 1940s and 1950s. However, in the late 1960s many women in teaching had begun to assess in more systematic fashion the perpetuation of sexism and gender inequality in the schools and the teaching profession. Just as teachers struggled with

awareness of their class positions, teachers had to determine whether gender distinctions were a reflection simply of differences in the treatment and positions of men and women in the school system or implicated more fully in a system of domination and subordination which transcended the school context.

The struggle to promote the status of women accompanied a gradual shift towards equal numbers of males and females in the British Columbia teaching force. In 1972, the proportion of male teachers in the province was 46.5 percent, up from 41.2 percent in 1953. Nonetheless, segmentation and wage differentials continued within the teaching force. In 1972, women constituted seventy-one percent of elementary teachers and only thirty-two percent of secondary school teachers, proportions which had remained relatively constant since the early 1950s. Women were especially concentrated in the primary grades. In 1973, over ninety-six percent of primary school teachers were women. BCTF statistics revealed that men occupied only eighty-seven of 2,370 positions in primary grades. The gap between salaries paid to men and women teachers widened in the late 1960s and early 1970s, following a slight reduction in the early 1960s. In 1963, for example, the median salary of female elementary school teachers was 89.3 percent of that for male elementary teachers while in 1972 the proportion had declined to 82.5 percent; for secondary teachers, the decline was narrower - women received 87.6 percent of the median salary levels of their male counterparts in 1963 and 86.2 percent in 1972 - but the trend was similar. Also in the early 1970s, women occupied few administrative positions in schools. In 1972, over ninety-two percent of the province's school principals were men. Women who held administrative positions tended to be concentrated in smaller schools or worked in situations where administrative work was combined with teaching duties. Figures from 1971 revealed that only twenty-two out of 767 principals (or three percent) who spent more than half time in supervisory functions were women (Bernick n.d.; Cull 1971; Khosla,

King and Read 1979, 50-53; Women in Education 1973).

Under these conditions, many teachers were beginning to ask why, with the supposed removal of barriers to equal pay and opportunity for women in teaching, this segmentation and inequality remained. Wider feminist critiques of social practices and structures emphasized how women were being denied opportunities while women and the female experience were treated as subordinate to men and masculinity in all social institutions, notably the household, school and workplace. In the school, the critique focused on inadequate role models for girls in the curriculum and the lack of women in decision-making positions. An article in The B.C. Teacher in 1967 pointed out the lack of opportunities for women in leadership and supervisory positions in both the B.C. provincial school system and the teachers' organizations (McDonough 1967). The release of the federal Royal Commission on the Status of Women report in 1969 provided greater impetus for women to pursue changes to alter their subordination within the school system.

In B.C., a small group of women teachers led by Linda Shuto of Burnaby adopted the name "Women in Teaching" and began in the early 1970s to press the BCTF to allow women a greater voice in the determination of federation activities. To promote its aims to organize women in the federation and create awareness of gender issues in teaching, the group placed an information booth at the 1971 annual general meeting. Later that year, the group presented a report to the federation executive and representative assembly outlining the need for the federation to take action on problems associated with women in teaching. While the report emphasized specific concerns such as the lack of administrative opportunities for women and problems of sexism in school textbooks and counselling practices, a minority position within the group stressed that the federation should also examine wider questions oriented to the structure of inequality facing women in teaching and in schools in general. Despite a lack of consensus among either

federation officials and members of the Women in Teaching committee over the appropriate scope of issues and strategies to pursue, the federation's representative assembly approved in October, 1971, financing for a task force on the status of women. At the 1972 annual general meeting, though, amidst the turmoil of preparing a response to government attacks on education, delegates relegated the status of women issue to a low priority position, employing the rationale that "there were so many other urgent matters warranting priority concern." While in the post-election calm of 1973 the federation hired a staff person in the area of status of women, delegates at the 1973 annual general meeting defeated a resolution to promote the establishment of an affirmative action program to redress women's under-representation in school administrative positions (Bernick n.d., 13; BCTF 1972h, 3; BCTF 1973b, 24; Khosla, King and Read 1979, 46-49).

With limited organizational support, the status of women program operated as little more than a lobby group raising specific concerns about women in education and warning teachers about the dangers of sexism in schools. In the mid 1970s, the BCTF displayed no generalized commitment either to acknowledge or address gender-related issues in teaching and schooling. The political organization of women in teaching was frequently dismissed as a matter defined by many teachers as trivial or divisive. At the same time, advocates for women's concerns in education were frequently handicapped by a lack of clear vision over objectives and strategies, leading to a reformist zeal that did not produce much insight and analysis of the sources of problems faced by women in the school system. At the 1975 annual general meeting, for example, a widely supported resolution which supported the equal opportunity of boys and girls to participate in all school-sponsored programs, courses, and activities generated widespread media attention which tended to ridicule the proposal and overshadow its serious comment on the nature of sexism in schools. Newspaper coverage concentrated

on the question of whether boys and girls would be allowed to shower together! (see, for example, Poulsen 1975). The federation did little to clear up any misconceptions or implement effective programs to eradicate sexism. Moreover, few teachers seemed willing or able to take a public educational role which would show how sexism was implicated in relations among school, home, media, and other institutions. In much the same manner as the federation had promoted wages and conditions for top-level teachers in the 1960s, many male as well as female teachers advanced the position that inequality was primarily a matter of individual circumstance and effort, implying that poorly qualified or undedicated women teachers were a detriment to professional advancement.

Despite the high profile of a few teachers dedicated to more militant action and the eradication of sexism in the early 1970s, teachers seemed concerned more about consolidating their professional image and salary benefits under conditions of stable education relations than about controversial matters which could bring about new divisions in a teaching force weary of political strife. An ethic of professional respectability within which the BCTF had tended to separate classroom practices from wider economic and political matters served effectively to mystify teachers about the nature of the school system. Even in their political actions, teachers remained ideologically proletarianized, in Derber's (1983) terms, in that they challenged only the specific means, but not the ends, of state educational planning and reorganization.

Teachers maintained a naive hope that individuals, not structures of power and opportunity, were the source of educational problems. In British Columbia, the election of the NDP government in 1972 provided optimism for supporters of the teachers' position that a new convergence would emerge in favour of broader public commitment to the development of a more comprehensive, individually-oriented education system. The NDP party's

platform, pledging greater support for labour rights and social services, was sympathetic to the aims held by most teachers. Teachers looked optimistically to government to solve their problems with a minimum of effort, thereby enabling teachers to attend to professional concerns in the classroom.

THE LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL REFORM: THE BCTF AND NDP GOVERNMENT, 1972-1975

One of the ironies of having a new government sympathetic to education was the problem of how best to take advantage of the situation. Teachers and trustees both realized they were in a position to gain legislation favourable to their interests. Their energies, however, were oriented more towards the removal of provisions implemented by the previous government and defined by them as negative than to the creation of new initiatives. As the new administration was put into place, it soon became apparent that a social democratic rhetoric more than concrete actions distinguished the NDP from the Social Credit government. The NDP government, in practice, engaged in a form of state building which later facilitated more massive efforts to rationalize state services under the rubric of economic restraint.

Following the 1972 provincial election, initial signs for an end to educational confrontation in British Columbia were positive. BCTF president Adam Robertson re-emphasized his long-standing commitment to cooperative educational relations. Eileen Dailly, a supporter of the BCTF's election statements on education, a known advocate for improved educational services, and an early recipient of election aid from the teachers' political action campaign, was appointed minister of education. Dailly's first public pronouncement as minister revealed the government's intention to amend the Public Schools Act in order to provide for increased local autonomy in school finance. The government would remove the need for referenda to approve

expenditures in excess of the provincial grants and restore free collective bargaining between teachers and school boards. In September, 1972, teachers, trustees and government officials conducted a meeting, characterized by what participants considered a congenial atmosphere, to discuss measures to redress problems in class size and plan for the restoration of school support services lost through previous cutbacks. The next month, on October 25, government passed Bill 7, legislation which, as promised, removed the 108 percent funding limit and the referenda provisions and restored teachers' collective bargaining rights (BCTF 1972d, BCTF 1972e, Robertson 1972a, Robertson 1972b).

The new spirit of conciliation, the rapid introduction of legislation to address teachers' concerns, and the euphoria that remained from the successful mobilization of teachers and other supporters of the public education system in the provincial election campaign had a seductive effect for many educational advocates. It became easy to forget the bitter disputes and accusations of previous months, relegating these to memory as aberrations from a normally placid educational climate. Teachers were satisfied that their efforts had contributed to a change in government and many were prepared to settle back into school confident that a friendly government would redress past grievances.

There was a harsher reality to this scenario, though. In many ways, teachers fell prey to a false sense of security. While the contribution of teachers' efforts to the election of the NDP cannot be ignored, education was not in fact a central issue in the election campaign. Many teachers were prone to overestimate simultaneously their political effectiveness and the NDP's commitment and ability to satisfy teachers' demands.

An early warning that the government intended to maintain regulatory control over schooling in a fashion not totally supportive of BCTF demands appeared in Bill 7, the October, 1972, amendments to the Public Schools Act.

The stipulation that a majority vote of two-thirds of school board members was required in order to approve school board expenditures over 110 percent of the basic government grant replaced the clause which called for a referendum of ratepayers or cabinet approval. In other words, the referendum measure which had caused teachers so much consternation due to their claims that it was undemocratic was replaced by a mechanism which left the ability to overturn school budgets to far fewer ratepayers - a small body of elected school board members. Teachers felt betrayed that the new government seemed more concerned with details of educational administration and pressing financial concerns than about educational reform. BCTF vice-president Jim MacFarlan expressed teachers' mounting disillusionment with the government's failure to advance progressive educational policies, commenting in December, 1972, that since the election, "things have gone from poor to a hell of a lot worse" (BCTF 1972d, Graham 1972).

The BCTF's 1973 annual general meeting was characterized by muted struggles to determine appropriate federation responses to government policy. The outgoing president, Adam Robertson, encouraged teachers to "lay down their swords" in favour of a quiet but determined approach to gain teacher participation in educational decision-making. Because the general mood of teachers seemed to support that approach, radical members adopted a conciliatory stance in their objective of asserting more militant tactics for the federation. Gary Onstad withdrew a Burnaby Teachers' Association resolution that the BCTF affiliate with the B.C. Federation of Labour in an apparent move to appease hostility towards a position of overt, intractable militancy. In its place, delegates approved a milder resolution to enable the BCTF to exchange observers with the Canadian Labour Congress, the BCFL and local labour councils while the question of labour affiliation was studied in more detail. Further resolutions adopted by the delegates called for the BCTF to maintain liaisons with other groups of employees to promote

education, and to require a referendum of all members before any decision on labour affiliation was made. AGM delegates also approved a new policy seeking teachers' right to strike, although strike action was to be limited to exceptional circumstances; the resolution, passed by a two to one margin, sought to guarantee teachers their "fundamental right" to "withdraw services in cases where school boards or the Provincial Government unilaterally alter conditions of employment or fail to correct intolerable conditions of employment." The reference to conditions of employment was important, as the BCTF made the right to bargain over working and learning conditions a major priority at the 1973 AGM. However, reinforcing the cautious consideration of labour affiliation and strike options, teachers also revealed their uncertain orientations in the election to the BCTF presidency of Jim MacFarlan, a strong advocate of the "militant" position that educational matters were political matters, while another militant, Gary Onstad, lost his re-election bid for a federation vice-presidency to "moderate" candidates who felt teachers should restrict their concerns to "professional" matters. Moderates were also elected to the other executive positions (BCTF 1973a, BCTF 1973c, Mullen 1973, Robertson 1973).

As a result of the decisions made at the 1973 AGM, the BCTF hinted at a distinct turn towards recognition of teachers' position as employees concerned with bargaining, labour ties and industrial dispute mechanisms. Nonetheless, the teachers' acceptance of these items was tentative, remaining in place as protection to be relied on only in the last instance. The introduction of working conditions as an issue seemed to appease both teachers who were primarily concerned about classroom professionalism and teachers who desired stronger labour orientations.

While the BCTF wrestled with the question of internal direction and tactics, teachers and trustees began to suspect each other's motives and abilities to solicit government sympathy. The BCTF and BCSTA feared that

government would cater to one group to the detriment of the other.* The primary area of concern in this regard was the matter of teachers' bargaining rights and salaries. The BCSTA was determined to pursue the creation of larger bargaining units and limit the scope of bargaining for teacher contracts. The trustees, urging fiscal responsibility and seeking the reduction of conflict in educational relations, felt that negotiations in each district over a wide range of salary and non-salary items were detrimental to educational harmony. Teachers' federation officials, by contrast, saw that the present system had tended to provide for teachers relatively satisfactory salary settlements but unsatisfactory working conditions, particularly in the form of excessive class sizes. Consequently, the BCTF saw in its interests the maintenance of the present bargaining structure combined with initiatives to gain provincial legislation to improve teacher workloads (Hardy 1973, Kirby 1973).

By reviving the issue of class size which had served the federation so well in the 1960s as a mechanism to unite teachers and elicit public support, BCTF officials recognized a focal point to redirect federation activities and, hopefully, consolidate the membership. In the wake of the 1972 election, a federation study on the possible organization of a public relations campaign revealed that the membership was divided over the need for such a campaign, the content of the campaign and the direction that the federation would pursue in such a campaign. As dissatisfaction with the new government mounted in 1973, the class size issue could perhaps serve as a vehicle to interest teachers in public relations activity. The issue of class size held a multifaceted appeal to BCTF officials. Classroom teachers would have a stake in an issue which focused on tangible features of day to day work in the school. Teachers could demonstrate their concern for the welfare of the child by making an appeal to reduce class sizes in favour of more individualized attention, buttressed by a series of studies from

throughout North America which supported the teachers' contentions. The problem could be quantified so that a difference between actual and desired situations could be readily perceived by the public. The issue, then, could be defined as one of quality education in which everyone had an interest.

The government provided an incentive for policy input from teachers and other interested groups through the formation of a consultative board, the Bremer Commission. Headed by John Bremer, noted for his radical views on school reform through his work in Philadelphia's "school without walls" and in eastern Canada, the commission was probably the clearest indication that the new government was verbally committed to change without any specific direction in mind for education policy. As revealed in the aftermath of documents such as Ontario's 1968 Hall-Dennis Report, the BCTF's 1969 education commission report, and the 1972 Worth report in Alberta, the rhetoric of educational change and potential to remove obstacles which stood in the way of progress was highly seductive but difficult to apply. In B.C., the NDP government's education minister Eileen Dailly later recounted that Bremer's appointment was intended to serve as a vehicle to manage the flood of requests and suggestions which greeted the new government in response to the NDP's stated social democratic policy of direct dialogue with the community (Dailly 1982).

In practice, the commission generated high expectations from a variety of groups which had diverse and often conflicting objectives, with the effect that certain antagonisms were magnified. The government conveyed its willingness to listen with no clear idea as to whom would be listened and to what end. The school trustees, for example, feared that government policy would be dictated directly by teachers. A BCTF proposal in 1974 for a Teaching Profession Act outlining rights and responsibilities of a self-regulating teaching profession prompted fears by trustees that school board authority would be lost (Clarke 1974).

Similarly, teachers became frustrated that, despite the government's expressed sympathy with their aims and the introduction of some measures to satisfy their demands, little substantive progress was made on other key concerns. In the summer of 1973, for instance, the BCTF presented in a brief to the government a plea for the immediate repeal of the 1971 legislation which had removed automatic membership in the federation. In the same brief, the teachers expressed frustration with their lack of control over working conditions. The BCTF argued that while the present collective bargaining framework was generally adequate, government and school boards needed to recognize both an increased scope of bargaining and the legal right of teachers to withdraw services in the event of a breakdown in negotiations:

In recent years there has been a great deal of pressure from the public and from trustees to make teachers accountable for the quality of learning in the public school system. We say that if we have no say over the conditions under which we render our services, we cannot be held accountable for the quality of results those services produce. Nevertheless, the standard of service of teachers and the quality of the school learning environment are of great professional concern to us. We are convinced that more effective learning will result when all the parties involved in education have an active part in the decision-making process (BCTF 1973d, vii).

Government responsiveness to the demands of groups like teachers was also limited by relations within the ministry of education and between the ministry and other government departments. A philosophical commitment to educational reform and expansion was not in itself sufficient to channel state resources to schooling. Dailly (1982) noted, for example, that her aim to have the province pay a greater share of public school costs fell far short of her seventy-five percent objective, reaching just below fifty percent by 1975 when the NDP government was defeated in a provincial election. John Bremer's appointment also proved troublesome. Bremer's progressive and somewhat idealistic views on education clashed with the more pragmatic orientation held by others in government and the education bureaucracy. Facing internal dissent in the ministry of education, Dailly

agreed to release Bremer prior to the expiration of his three year contract. The whole affair proved highly controversial and embarrassing to government, revealing contention within the government, breaking the confidence of teachers and others who held faith in Bremer's ability to make effective change in the education system, and subjecting the government to a lawsuit and criticism from Bremer (Church 1986, Dailly 1982, MacFarlan 1984).

Government's inability to implement more progressive educational changes reflected strong contradictions in its positions on education and other social services. The government appeared willing to adopt a more liberal orientation than the previous administration. Dailly set to work quickly and unexpectedly to abolish the strap as a disciplinary instrument in schools, and the NDP moved to increase funding to public schools, incorporate kindergarten in the public school system, and introduce major improvements in teachers' pension scheme. In a position paper tabled in the legislature in 1974, drawn in part from Bremer's consultative services, the government emphasized two central educational aims which had long been crucial BCTF objectives - equalization of educational opportunity and responsiveness to individual and community needs (Dailly 1974). The NDP also took steps to highlight diverse educational requirements. The passage of the Universities Act in 1974 provided a distinct structure of governance for post-secondary education which had grown significantly in the 1960s and 1970s. Universities and a recently developed community college system previously had shared with elementary and secondary schooling personnel and resources within a single education department. The unified structure often required attention and loyalties to the demands of two different systems of finance and control which had become frustrating to participants and officials in both the public school system and the post-secondary institutions.

Despite its efforts to seek community input and reconcile alternative claims, however, the government imposed an infrastructure which contributed

to furthering the network of state activity and rational planning. The government employed administrative and technical experts to reshape the entire provincial government bureaucracy, tightening departmental structures and rationalizing the organization of government. The elevation into office of the NDP provided both the aura of change and an opportunity to streamline government services under the expertise of professional bureaucrats whose input had been previously stifled under the paternalistic guidance of W.A.C. Bennett. One notable example of new government initiatives was the establishment of Community Health Boards and Community Resource Centres in 1973. Aimed at securing increased community participation and decentralizing the areas of health and social services, the boards had the effect of concentrating power and information in bureaucratic organizations highly regulated by particular strata of professionals and administrators (Clague et al. 1984, Resnick 1977). Tension between proponents for greater public participation and technocrats seeking to consolidate their institutional authority were often resolved by practical problems of cost constraint.

In education, similar contradictory tensions were revealed through such initiatives as provisions for local curriculum planning and the centralization of school funding. Measures which at one level were instituted to promote a more participatory and "humane" education and social services system often ignored the realities of decision-making structures and resources which limited the effectiveness of the new measures. Consequently, the initiatives produced an organizational framework which made these services vulnerable to the dictates of more autocratic forms of governance that would follow in the late 1970s.

A major example of the contradictory nature of the NDP's educational leadership unfolded in 1974 during a strike by teachers from the rapidly growing Vancouver suburb of Surrey. Teachers, beset with overcrowded classrooms, were frustrated by the absence in the government's February,

1974, speech from the throne of any clear commitment to alleviate the class size problem. Immediately following the speech, Surrey teachers met and successfully orchestrated a strike vote. The next day, the teachers withdrew their services and a thousand teachers, including BCTF president Jim MacFarlan, travelled to Victoria to march on the provincial legislature grounds. Education minister Eileen Dailly (1982, 5) dismissed the teachers as a "rude bunch" who should have been directing their frustrations towards the local school board which had not been willing to transfer its school grant funds to alleviate the teachers' concerns. Nonetheless, as the rally was about to end, Dailly summoned MacFarlan to explain to her and premier Barrett what the teachers were demanding. The ensuing meeting was very brief but generated a decision which had a significant impact on the education system. The account of the meeting stands in some segments of the BCTF as a popular lesson on teachers' potential collective powers. In MacFarlan's words,

I said, "Well [the teachers] want more money for education." [Barrett] said, "It's in the budget." I said, "No it's not." He said, "Yes it is." And I said, "No it isn't" and Eileen said, "I think they want a specific figure." He said, "What do you want?" and I said, "We want [what is in] this leaflet..." which I happened to have in my pocket - the NDP election leaflet from '72 which said "a planned annual reduction in class size." So he said, "But you buggers wrote the leaflet." And I said, "Yeah, we wrote the leaflet and we paid for it because you guys didn't put it in your program and we went to you and button-holed you at a meeting in Richmond and said 'you're not getting teachers' support in this election unless you have an election leaflet on education' and we paid for 150,000 leaflets and you distributed them. But you're hooked on it and you owe us a reduction in class size." He said, "What do you want?" So I said, "Well, we want..." - and I just pulled it out of the air - "we want a reduction of 3 per class next year." So he said, "How many teachers will that take?" And I told him. He said, "Can you supply that many?" - I said, "Probably not." So he said, "O.K., how about if we make it one?" So I said, "How about if we make it two per class next year?" So he said, "How about we make it one and a half?" So I said, "O.K., what about the year after?" He said, "What do you mean the year after?" I said, "Well, you said a planned annual reduction. How about it if we make one and a half, two and a half, two and a half?" He said, "How about we make it one and half, one, one?" So I said, "How about we make it one and a half, one and a half, one and a half?" He said, "It's a deal. Will you call your dogs off the tulips?" So I said, "Yes." He said, "Eileen, get up in the house on Tuesday and announce there's going to be a planned-for annual reduction in class size of one and half per each class for each of the next three

years" (MacFarlan 1986, 28-29).

Class sizes were in fact reduced in 1974-75 and 1975-76, but not to the agreed upon levels. The decision, once made, required administrative changes in order to facilitate fiscal allocation and effective action throughout the school system. The fiscal impact of the decision was significant, and reinforced partisan criticisms which continued into the 1980s that the NDP was fiscally irresponsible. The overall pupil-teacher ratio in British Columbia public schools declined from 23.6 in 1971 to 19.1 in 1975, with an increase in the total number of teachers in the school system from 22,678 to 27,870 (PSR 1972, PSR 1985). It is important to recognize, though, that the actual changes were not out of line with previous trends in educational growth. During the NDP administration, as a consequence of stalled growth in pupil enrollment and fiscal constraint, the annual rate of increase in the size of the teaching force was five percent, which was less than the average annual rate of eight percent for the period from 1966 to 1971, contrary to what might have been expected as a consequence of the emphasis on restraint in the late 1960s and the increase in teachers' responsibilities in the 1970s (calculated from PSR 1978, 132).

The government's decision to reduce pupil-teacher ratios demonstrated to some teachers the advantages of political mobilization and the effectiveness of strategically employed collective action. At the same time, though, the incident suggested that both teachers and government were acting on immediate or pragmatic considerations rather than on any stronger authority. With an apparently similar educational philosophy, teachers and government were left to debate little more than funding - the teachers sought greater infusion of money directed towards specifically identified problems while the government limited disbursement of educational funds as it attended to a wider range of competing expenditures in health care, welfare and economic development. Teachers desired more than general commitment to education, and began to

become increasingly vocal in their criticisms of the provincial government.

By mid-1974, BCTF leaders advanced the general sentiment that teachers had been betrayed by the NDP. Despite the agreement provoked by Surrey teachers on class size reductions, other teachers feared that government would revoke the announced guidelines or fail to enforce the standards in each school district. At the BCTF's 1974 annual general meeting, delegates narrowly passed a hotly debated resolution which gave the federation power to discipline - through ability to reprimand, suspend or expel from BCTF membership - any teacher who violated, or failed to report on violations of, federation standards on class size and other working conditions. The measure, if practiced, would have the effect of disqualifying teachers whose BCTF membership was revoked from a teaching position in the province. The move generated strong opposition both within the federation and in the provincial media amid fears that the BCTF leadership was becoming too dictatorial in its apparent effort to usurp education decision-making authority from trustees and the provincial government (Vancouver Sun 1974a). An editorial in the Vancouver Province (1974, 4) went so far as to state that,

The teachers, carried away by the rhetoric of the activists who've gained control of the BCTF, have blinded themselves to the fundamental contradiction in their thought-control technique and the idea of a liberating school system.

Public hostility concentrated on the contrast between the militant image of the BCTF leadership, represented by Jim MacFarlan, who was re-elected as federation president, and teachers in other provinces (with the notable exception of Quebec) who were settling into quiet routines associated with activities normally expected of teachers, like curriculum matters and professional development. The BCTF was also strongly involved in these "professional" activities, but the media-fed image of a radicalized federation leadership had more immediate popular appeal.

BCTF leaders, in contrast to those who interpreted the federation's move to gain disciplinary power over its members as a dangerous precedent, saw the resolution as compatible with other teachers' professional development activities. The measure was intended primarily to ensure that the federation's goals for public education, also endorsed at the 1974 AGM, were pursued. These goals sounded far from tyrannical: "the broad aim of the public school system should be to foster the growth and development of every individual, to the end that he/she will become and be a self-reliant, self-disciplined, participating member with a sense of social responsibility within a democratic society" (BCTF 1974, 56). The more militant members of the BCTF were not convinced that the government had a program to ensure that these objectives would be sought.

The teachers' concerns were compounded by government actions in other areas, including labour policies. Many teachers were outraged, in particular, with government back-to-work legislation to end a labour dispute involving Vancouver area fire-fighters. The government's promise to maintain free collective bargaining for all public sector workers had been broken. Against this backdrop, Jim MacFarlan told teachers at the BCTF's 1974 summer conference that, "The hopes which [teachers] saw in the election of this government . . . have not been met" (Vancouver Sun 1974b, 10).

Teachers saw in the government's failure to implement effective change in the school system a threat to their own input into educational decision-making. Relations between the BCTF and the government continued to deteriorate throughout 1974 and 1975 amidst a rapid succession of events. In January, 1975, the government fired Stanley Knight, a progressive educator who served as director of research and development in the ministry of education. Knight's removal recalled similar circumstances surrounding the dismissal of his predecessor, John Bremer. As in the Bremer case, teachers criticized the government for its demonstrated opposition to educational

advancement. BCTF president MacFarlan led a call for the resignation of Dailly as education minister. Knight's firing was cited as an example of the minister's lack of commitment to educational change. BCTF officials also criticized Dailly for her decision to suspend the planned reduction in the pupil-teacher ratio. An unsuccessful proposal to transfer provincial education funding from property assessment to general revenues created uncertainty over educational finance. The two provincial advisory committees on elementary and secondary curriculum, as well as several curriculum revision committees, ceased operations in mid-1975 as the government began to develop a new curriculum. As well, the government failed to act on the proposed Teaching Profession Act which teachers had drafted with the expectation that they would gain statutory protection for the definition of their duties and control over the occupation (BCTF 1987h, 116; Broadley 1984, 122). Consequently, matters such as class size, scope of bargaining, and funding of various education programs remained dependent upon financial and political structures which had not been articulated clearly to teachers, trustees and other education system participants.

At the 1975 AGM, the public face of the BCTF appeared to take on a more moderate tone as Bill Broadley, a member of the Liberal party and advocate of more conciliatory relations among participants in the education system, was elected as federation president. Broadley's margin of victory was by ten votes over Don Walmsley, who favoured a more militant direction for the teachers than did Broadley. Nonetheless, Broadley, who had been active in the 1972 TPAC, contended that teachers would continue to argue forcefully for teacher rights and an improved education system. The divided but agitated state of the BCTF membership was revealed with the election of an executive dominated by members of the militant faction but also including moderate members (Vancouver Sun 1975).

Teachers were not the only group disaffected with NDP policies and

actions. Organized labour also expressed a sense of betrayal that government had violated the expectations and mutual trust that seemed to accompany the 1972 election victory. These frustrations were converted into outrage in 1975 when government legislated an end to several strikes, particularly in the lumber and pulp and paper industries. Public sector workers became agitated following the federal government's announcement of an anti-inflation program in October, 1975. The three year program was intended to restrict public sector expenditures by empowering the state, under the rationale of fiscal emergency, to monitor and enforce wage increases according to federally-set guidelines. Provincial compliance with the program was unsettling to public sector workers. In British Columbia, where the provincial civil service had grown from about 31,000 employees in 1971 to over 39,000 in 1975, the controls posed a particular dilemma for the NDP government which was highly reliant upon labour for electoral support. The government was under fire for being fiscally irresponsible and could not afford to provoke wider political disenchantment by ignoring the controls program. NDP commitment to a broad range of expanded state services provided a stark contrast to the tight fiscal control and balanced budgets emphasized by the previous Bennett administration, as provincial government expenditures increased from 13.4 percent of B.C.'s gross provincial product in 1972 to 18.0 percent in 1975 (Ruff 1983, 178-179; Swainson 1983, 130-131). The Social Credit party had recently re-emerged with a new vigour, gaining supporters and candidates from a failed coalition of long-dormant Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties in the province. Under the leadership of W.A.C. Bennett's son, Bill, the Socreds played upon the spectre of state socialism in the province. The NDP capitulated to fears about rampant state growth, using participation in the wage and price controls program and its recent back to work legislation as a symbol of its ability to govern. Nonetheless, doubt lingered about the government's intentions. Teachers, for

example, remained uncertain about their status in the controls program, although Barrett indicated that they would be included within the scope of the guidelines and suggested that non-salary components of education budgets would be exempt. Apparently feeling more confident than many of his traditional supporters about recent NDP decisions, Barrett called a provincial election for December, 1975. While the NDP retained its share of the popular vote from 1972, the Social Credit support increased markedly, returning the latter party to office with a majority government (Broadley 1984, 122; Clarke 1975; Young 1983).

Ironically, the NDP was judged a failure more in comparison with expectations than real actions. This relationship suggested a naive faith in the processes of political and social reform, unaccompanied by any sustained analysis on the part of those who held those expectations of the realities of state power in a capitalist framework. Jim MacFarlan was more conscious than most teachers of this problem:

[The BCTF] allowed the new government to appear to be more progressive on educational matters than it really was. By failing to press for major educational reforms - reforms that could have democratized the education system, altered the hierarchical nature of decision-making, helped to eliminate racism and sexism in schools, and brought greater community involvement - we lost an opportunity that may not be present again for a long time (MacFarlan 1984, 119).

Nonetheless, as, for example, the BCTF's failure to give full support to an effective status of women program illustrated, most teachers had not developed class or gender consciousness to any significant degree. Ideological struggles within the federation and disagreements with the government remained directed at specific issues, personalities and problems, and little time or effort were left to devote to the education and mobilization which would be required in order to advance teachers beyond a narrow reformist orientation. The revitalized Social Credit administration provided teachers with a severe test of their ability to develop any higher levels of resistance.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The federal government's introduction of the wage and price controls program in 1975 signified a growing national and international concern for central economic planning within a system of private profit. In Canada in the mid 1970s, economic crisis was marked by inflation rates of over eleven percent and unemployment rates of around six percent, their highest levels since the early 1960s (Industrial Relations Centre 1975). As workers demanded higher wages to counter the effects of inflation and sought state protection against unemployment, capital looked to the state to maintain profitability and assure a strong investment climate. Governments turned to control programs to manage inflation, and relied increasingly upon personal income taxes to finance state spending, thereby allowing incentives for corporate growth. Between 1960 and 1975, direct personal taxes rose from 26.1 to 38.5 percent of all government revenues in Canada, while direct corporate taxes declined from 14.8 to 10.7 percent; over the same time period, direct taxes as a proportion of personal income increased from 9.4 to 18.5 percent while direct taxes as a proportion of corporate profits fell from 41.0 to 37.1 percent (D. Wolfe 1977, 276-278).

The economic changes in the mid 1970s had important implications for education systems. As wage earners and property owners were faced with higher tax payments, they began to challenge government funding of expensive programs which appeared to have little relevance for their own lives. Education, with its many apparent "frills" associated with the broadening of the curriculum in the late 1960s and the 1970s, was a popular target of the sponsors of taxpayer revolts such as California's Proposition 13 which in 1978 reduced property taxes, resulting in spending cutbacks in education, welfare, and other locally-funded government services (Carnoy and Levin 1985,

73). At the same time, the tangible benefits of education were diminishing. While education continued to be positively correlated with the likelihood of getting a decent job, there were disturbing trends in unemployment rates - unemployment was increasing overall in the 1970s, but the rate of increase was much faster for persons with higher education levels. Between 1965 and 1972, for example, the unemployment rate in Canada for labour force participants with primary education increased from 9.4 percent to 10.2 percent, while for persons with secondary education the increase was from 5.1 to 6.5 percent and the rate doubled, from 1.9 to 3.8 percent, for persons with university education (Industrial Relations Centre 1975, MP-30). Also in the mid 1970s, the OECD released its evaluation of the Canadian education system, concluding that a lack of educational planning was "intolerable" from the perspective of other industrialized nations, due to the absence in the system of any "explicitly-stated, overall national conception of the country's interests" (OECD 1976, 20-21). Under these conditions, both the organization and financing of education were subject to attack.

The assault on education systems throughout North America was commonly expressed in the form of a "back to the basics" movement. Schools in Canada and the United States were criticized from the right and in such "mainstream" vehicles as Newsweek magazine for failing to produce literate and numerically competent students. Liberal notions of child-centeredness and development of a broad range of school options were denounced by the critics as too costly and counterproductive for the needs of an industrially advanced society. Using the spectre of inadequate student performance (measured with the aid of specified and isolated bits of cognitive "knowledge" against a baseline that was never properly defined), critics of the school system associated this failure with a wide range of social ills, including moral decay, family breakdown, and lagging economic productivity (Kozol 1985, Shor 1986).

State efforts to standardize educational practices constituted an

attack on such remnants of educational progressivism as free choice of school subjects and flexible evaluation processes. Proponents of educational standardization sought criteria for measurement which would replace uncertain or indefinite aspects of teaching/learning processes with more definite and cost-effective practices based upon principles of corporate management. The political and economic climate facilitated the introduction or extension of rational planning into the curriculum and school organization in general. Educational managers employed new technical regulatory measures to gain strict control over the flow of information, fiscal arrangements, and school practices in accordance with pre-specified system goals developed within the top levels of the state machinery, often in conjunction with capital.

The Social Credit government in British Columbia in 1975 appeared ready to establish rational guidelines for a clear economic policy as part of its revitalized mandate. In the words of Ruff (1983, 196), "As new drivers at the wheel of government, the New Democrats may be said to have put the system into another gear. In 1975 Social Credit stepped on the accelerator." The NDP expanded the civil service, developed within the state a professional managerial system, and began to emphasize the importance of rational planning in state enterprises. The Social Credit party to a large extent based its successful election campaign on the need to bring business principles into government and allow the free enterprise system to flourish. A majority government allowed Bennett the opportunity to act on these orientations.

Educational expenditures and the organization of the school system were among the areas targetted in the government's emergent plans. The new minister of education was Pat McGeer, a member of the faculty of medicine at UBC and a recruit from the Liberal party who possessed a distinct vision for the rational organization of the education system. McGeer's agenda for the direction of the education system emphasized "fiscal responsibility" and "academic improvement" (McGeer 1982, 6).

The government also employed as a rationale for economic planning the federal anti-inflation program. In the new government's first budget, presented in March, 1976, the minister of finance emphasized the need for measures to restore confidence in an economy battered by lowered productivity, depressed commodity export markets, labour strife, and in particular, NDP mismanagement of provincial finance (Wolfe 1976). Ten months later, the government reiterated and strengthened its theme of "restraint and improved productivity" in a new budget which called for cooperation and a sharing of the burden among management, labour, capital, and government. Labour, in particular, was singled out to observe wage increases below national guidelines:

Labour must recognize that times have changed. . . . [Workers] must come to expect less, demand less, and produce more. We must compete with people who are working hard in other countries or inflation, social unrest, and unemployment will continue (E. Wolfe 1977, 8).

In this, the B.C. government echoed Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's statement that workers' and citizens' expectations needed to be "readjusted" in order to face current realities.

The province's participation in the federal anti-inflation program was formalized with legislation in 1976 to establish an Anti-Inflation Board which was empowered over a three-year period (1975-1978) to reduce salary components of collective agreements which exceeded government-imposed wage guidelines. The structure of collective bargaining remained intact with allowable wage levels determined outside of that process. However, various jurisdictions including B.C. revealed their wider commitment to restrict union powers by reverting increasingly in the mid-1970s to back-to-work legislation and other specific or temporary measures which had the effect of curtailing the bargaining process (Clement 1984, 97; Roberts and Bullen 1984, 132-133).

Early in 1976, when the British Columbia government announced its plans

to pass legislation to comply with the anti-inflation program, school boards were informed that teachers' salary awards settled in autumn, 1975, would have to be rolled back to meet the new guidelines. Teachers contended in a brief to government that the awards were legal and binding and that the determination of teachers' salaries was a matter for teachers and school boards to agree upon without government interference. The government response was that total school board budgets, which averaged increases of nineteen percent, were to comply with the 8.5 percent anti-inflation board guidelines. Funding for maintenance of existing programs or additional levels of service could only be provided by local tax increases.

During the first half of 1976, educational affairs in B.C. were dominated by a war of words between the minister of education and the BCTF concerning varying claims about the effects of the funding restrictions on class size and other educational services. Then, in June, 1976, the legislature passed legislation which made teachers subject to the wage guidelines retroactive to January 1, 1976 (Broadley 1984).

As teachers searched for a response to this measure, the government also developed initiatives to manage the content and process of schooling. One of the first acts of the new government was to replace civil servants appointed by the NDP government and rename government "departments" as "ministries" in order to signify the new orientation. Walter Hardwick, a former school teacher, was appointed to serve as deputy minister of education. The ministry also hired Jim Carter, who had served on the BCTF commission on education in the late 1960s, as a policy consultant. The new officials acted quickly to consolidate control over the ministry. The operations of all existing ministerial advisory committees, including six curriculum advisory committees which had extensive representation from teachers and other educators and which had been suspended by the previous government in 1975, were dismantled. The committees were replaced at the end of 1976 with a

Deputy Minister's Advisory Committee which conducted in a formal manner regular meetings among major participating groups and officials in the education system. The committee served to coordinate and concentrate within the ministry of education the channeling of information which had previously been decentralized throughout the education system.

The government further organized two major programs under the rubric of "educational standards" - a central learning assessment program and plans to tighten curriculum organization. The Planned Learning Assessment Program (PLAP) was designed to administer annually, beginning in spring, 1976, province-wide standardized tests to measure "basic" educational skills of students in grades four and twelve. Following the first administration of the tests, the government claimed that pupils' basic reading and writing skills were inadequate. With this rationale, the education minister announced in November, 1976, that the government planned to introduce in the upcoming school year a "core curriculum" program (CORE) to strengthen the teaching and learning of fundamental skills and knowledge in British Columbia schools. The core curriculum, defined essentially as the cognitive components associated with the 3Rs, was to be given priority over curriculum areas designated by the ministry of education as subjects that "should" and "may" be learned (Harris 1977, McGeer 1976).

As Bruneau (1977) indicates in an article in The B.C. Teacher, the kinds of proposals outlined in the PLAP and core curriculum programs were not new, dating back at least to 1904 in British Columbia, and echoing the 1960 Chant report recommendations on curriculum structure. Most recently, the NDP government in the 1970s had initiated plans to proceed with standardized procedures for learning assessment and curriculum organization. The NDP program, however, was expected to be introduced with the assistance of teachers and other educators, whereas critics saw the Social Credit program as an unwelcome intrusion from an unfriendly government concerned with

tightening the reins over schooling and other public programs. Nonetheless, in an atmosphere charged by uncertainty over the direction of schooling, the core curriculum and PLAP initiatives were accompanied by a generalized acceptance on the part of parents, trustees, politicians, and even teachers that a need existed for certain guarantees to assure at least minimal levels of consistency among education programs. As Bill Broadley, BCTF president from 1975 to 1977, observed, political debate over the issue tended to overshadow its actual impact:

The core was in place in September when I returned to teaching. It had no more impact than any other curriculum guide. In fact, teachers had already responded to the need to remove any soft spots in the curriculum. The core curriculum was a political response to a political need. The political response worked (Broadley 1984, 123).

The contentious issues were not so much the fact of introducing standards as the questions of how far those minimum standards should extend and what criteria would be used to define them. The major problems with PLAP and the core curriculum, especially from the teachers' viewpoint, were that government was defining the standards arbitrarily, employing narrow conceptions of measurement which emphasized cognitive knowledge to the detriment of affective processes and social skills which were central to a more holistic vision of schooling.

Regardless of how teachers interpreted the situation, technical regulation, expressed through initiatives like anti-inflation controls, standardized assessment programs, and the centralization of ministerial information placed the state in a position to advance the proletarianization of teaching. Educational managers were increasingly able to constrain teachers' wages and analyze and determine what could be taught, under what conditions. As Grace (1987, 212-214) argues with reference to Britain, teachers' relative autonomy in the school and classroom was at risk, with state intervention into school operations further legitimated by widespread fears about teacher radicalism. Paradoxically, a situation which might have

generated a working class response on the part of teachers (i.e., labour militancy to protect wages and working conditions) served to constrain teachers' support for militant resistance.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF STRUGGLE WITHIN THE BCTF

The politics of the BCTF in the 1970s revealed how perceived barriers between teachers' moral/subjective roles as educators and their productive capacities as workers subject to employer constraint could weaken teachers' collective strength. Teachers were ideologically proletarianized in the sense that they lacked adequate information about and control over broad educational aims and policies. Teachers, often seduced by illusions of workplace autonomy, were unable to develop any unified course of action even as the state was extending technical regulation over their labour process. The strongest militants in the BCTF saw the changes as a disturbing extension of class domination over teachers and pupils. Other teachers were far more optimistic, anticipating that the introduction of technical standards and skill orientations offered teachers a chance to demonstrate and expand their expertise as professionals. Most teachers, however, tended to adopt a laissez-faire approach to educational change, marked by a cynicism which suggested that nothing much would really change in schools regardless of what the government or the BCTF accomplished.

Teachers' search for a clear organizational direction was complicated by the strained relations between the BCTF and government officials. Since the BCTF's involvement against the Social Credit party and its policies in the 1969 and 1972 elections and the government's anti-teacher legislation in 1970 and 1971, the two groups had come to be wary of one another as political enemies. Under these conditions the federation's traditional channels of political activity - dialogue and consultation with government - were

limited. The BCTF and the Social Credit government restricted their analysis of educational matters by viewing each other in a stereotypical way. The government, for example, characterized teachers as concerned with only their own welfare or at most fiscal solutions to educational problems while teachers saw the government, and particularly the minister of education, as avowedly anti-teacher. Consequently, teacher-government relations tended to proceed on the basis of perceived intentions rather than on actual information or analysis. Teachers were concerned on the one hand with the possible Machiavellian consequences of a continuing series of moves by the government to centralize educational services and decision-making, while on the other hand they discounted the significance of the measures as a necessary managerial process to remove inadequacies and inefficiency in the education system. BCTF officials also considered a third possibility, that government did not know what it was doing. As one federation official observed,

There now seems to be in the background a plan to organize the educational hierarchy into one monolithic system peaking at the Ministry level. . . . One might speculate that:

(a) either there is some complex scheme which is being put into practice step by step and which will all come together one day to the surprise and maybe dismay of all concerned, or

(b) the Minister and his officials are in a compete [sic] state of confusion and the pronouncements and moves reflect a house in chaos (Kirby 1978).

In the midst of their own confusion, many teachers, including several BCTF executive members, were assured by a statement from the deputy minister of education that the government was, in fact, merely trying to put the educational "house" in order (BCTF 1978a, BCTF 1978g).

The teachers, nonetheless, did not hesitate to criticize the government vocally for its actions. Teachers were fearful that local taxpayers would resist increased education expenditures without a complete understanding of educational issues. At the 1976 annual general meeting of the BCTF, for example, delegates unanimously passed a resolution to condemn the provincial

government's budgetary proposals for education on account of the harmful consequences for taxpayers, students and teachers. A second resolution declared the federation's determination to oppose actively, through mass rallies and cooperation with parents and trustees, government budgetary cutbacks to education and efforts to lay off teachers. Delegates also voted to increase membership fees in order to raise about one million dollars for what the federation called a Quality Education Fund (BCTF^a 1976b, 23-24, 26-30).

It was clear, though, that the BCTF suffered from deep divisions in its ranks and within the executive which effectively limited the organization's ability to act decisively and successfully on important matters. There was no clear indication of what course of action, if any, teachers were willing or able to pursue with respect to the government's recent initiatives. A 1976 resolution from teachers in the Prince Rupert district, which called for an investigation of possible affiliation by the BCTF with major trade union organizations, emphasized that "the threatened rollbacks of legally arbitrated salaries exemplifies the similarity of the position of teachers to that of working people" (Peterson 1976). At the annual general meeting, the resolution carried only after it was weakened by an amendment which stated that the BCTF would limit its labour-related activities to providing local teachers' associations information concerning labour affiliation. No action was taken on a further, somewhat ambiguous resolution sponsored by teachers who expressed their desire for harmony and moderation in a call for the complete withdrawal of the federation from the political arena except in matters directly concerned with the quality of instruction or the economic welfare of BCTF members (BCTF 1976b, 61, 100).

The divisions within the BCTF were exemplified by teachers' haphazard involvement in protesting wage and price controls legislation and the core curriculum. Late in 1975, when the federal anti-inflation program was first

announced, the BCTF was one of several provincial teachers' organizations criticized by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec for not taking a stronger stand against the program. At the 1976 annual general meeting of the BCTF, when the federation adopted several resolutions to protest government action, it appeared that teachers once again were committed to political action. That image was dispelled in October, when the Canadian Labour Congress called for a national day of protest against wage controls. Officially the BCTF did not participate, and the BCTF president called the protest an ineffective measure. However, the local teachers' association in North Vancouver Island district voted to join the CLC action and several teachers decided to participate on an individual basis; in total, about fifteen percent of B.C. teachers did participate in the protest, which had the support of about half of the members of the federation executive committee. The BCTF's response to the core curriculum plans was also characterized by confusion and a lack of wholehearted determination to oppose the policy. The more militant executive members opposed the core curriculum in principle as a centralist intrusion on classroom practices. Other teachers, including BCTF president Bill Broadley, were concerned mainly about some of the details in the plan adopted by the Social Credit government. A federation advertising campaign to publicize consequences of the policy created ambiguity as to whether the federation opposed the core curriculum or, as the BCTF president suggested, merely wanted to inform the public about particular problems in the plan. Similarly, a call by the federation's representative assembly in 1977 to boycott teacher participation in the learning assessment program met with confusion. As with the core curriculum plan, militants saw the PLAP initiative as a dangerous extension of state power into classroom affairs, while moderates felt that a boycott would shut the BCTF out of any role in determining future directions for the program. Faced with ambiguous directions from the federation's leadership, most

classroom teachers continued to administer and mark the exams against the federation's official advice (Broadley 1984, Johnson 1975, Krangle 1976, Krangle 1977).

The federation's inability to establish a definite orientation was also revealed through its members' indecision over questions of affiliation with other occupational organizations. Between 1975 and 1978 in particular, the BCTF flirted with but then declined membership in two provincial organizations - an alignment of state sector trade union groups known as the Public Sector Employees' Coordinating Council, and a loose association of various professional employee groups, the Professional and Managerial Employees' Council. BCTF staff and officials were active in the formation of both groups, contributing in each case to statements of organizational goals or intent.

The first organization was formed by government employees and other public sector unions in order to defend the rights of public sector employees and develop a coordinated plan of action in opposition to the federal and provincial wage control programs. Despite strong support for the organization among some sections of the BCTF leadership and membership, including endorsement by the BCTF labour liaison and executive committees, and a guarantee that the federation would have a central role through representation on the council and its steering committee, BCTF members voted against membership in the Public Sector Employees' Coordinating Council in a referendum in April, 1977, by a margin of 8,421 to 5,446 (Andstein 1976, Broadley 1977a, PSEC 1976, Reilly 1977, Vancouver Sun 1977).

A similar pattern emerged with respect to the Professional and Managerial Employees' Council, although the organization itself was less focussed and had a more uncertain mandate to proceed than did the public sector employees' council. Among the groups represented in the Professional and Managerial Employees' Council were professional government employees, law

and health care professionals, college and university faculty, and professionals from the forestry and engineering sectors, as well as informal participation by BCTF staff. Representatives from these groups began to meet in mid 1975 with the intention to create a loose umbrella group to pool information and establish common services for participating organizations. Late in 1978, however, the BCTF executive committee indicated that the BCTF would not apply for membership (Cairnie 1976, Cairnie 1978).

The federation appeared unwilling to commit itself (or, as some members claimed, to subordinate itself) to support for any larger association, preferring instead to maintain what members saw as autonomy as an organization.

The possibilities for organizational autonomy, however, appeared minimal as serious disputes within the BCTF hindered the possibility of developing any unified direction. Tension in the federation over which course of action to follow, expressed in the 1970s in the regular election of executives split among "militant" and "moderate" representatives, often became translated into dissention on policy matters and sometimes personal attacks among federation leaders. The Vancouver Province (1976), in an editorial in April, 1976, asked, "Who leads the teachers?" Delegates to the 1976 AGM booed newly re-elected president Bill Broadley when he remarked prior to the election of other executive members that, "In the coming term I would like to have people to work with whose integrity I can respect" (Krueger 1976, 84).

The division in the BCTF intensified in 1977. In January, the federation's Professional Development Advisory Committee released a working paper on "Essential Educational Experiences" (commonly referred to as the "Triple E Report"). The report was intended to provide professional guidelines on which to base curriculum development and the teaching-learning process. It offered a critical alternative to "back-to-the-basics" orientations which had condemned and sought restructuring of contemporary

school practices. The report's authors argued that adequate curriculum revision needed to begin with a conception of the rights of children. This approach highlighted equality of educational opportunity and critical thinking skills as opposed to narrow service for the labour requirements of industry:

People do need to work. It is, however, the way most jobs are organized in society that makes them exploitative and alienating, rather than socially useful. Given this contradiction, a question does arise as to whether schools ought to work mainly to meet the needs of young people as set out in an earlier section in this paper on the rights of children. To opt for this latter choice requires a radical change in the way children are treated in schools.

This requirement is not to say that there are not many teachers already who really have the welfare of their children at heart; who are working to educate students to their own dignity as persons. The point is that teachers cannot be held responsible, in general, for how children are treated in schools because they are in the main unable to control learning/working conditions in classrooms (BCTF 1977a, 15).

The Triple E Report signified that not all teachers saw themselves as willing accomplices in the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The report's penetration into how the state employed teachers as agents to reproduce class and gender domination was influenced by, although more moderate in tone than, critical analyses of schooling produced by writers like Bowles and Gintis (1976) and other teachers' organizations, notably in Quebec (CEQ 1974).

Nonetheless, BCTF and public reaction to the report demonstrated how deeply teachers saw themselves or were perceived by others as something quite distinct from workers and political actors. The report brought into the open conflicting views of the education system, fuelling simmering tensions within the federation and provoking a strong uproar in the press and at BCTF meetings. The Vancouver Province called the report "utopian" (McLintock 1977). Right wing columnist Doug Collins (1977), writing in the Vancouver Sun, dismissed the document as "an extraordinary, simple-minded, radically left-wing" paper that had "little to do with education." Collins also revealed that the president of the BCTF was opposed to most of the report's

contents. The BCTF executive committee meeting following publication of the column proved to be a stormy session. Members disagreed over procedures required for the possible adoption of the report, and traded accusations over recent claims and counterclaims by the major factions in the federation. At one point, the first vice-president of the federation walked out of the meeting over a disagreement on these matters with the president. Following the meeting, the BCTF president presented a public appeal in the Vancouver Sun for unity and active membership participation in federation activities (Aitchison 1977, Broadley 1977b).

Divisiveness, not unity, prevailed. "Moderates" and "progressives" attacked each other for alleged mobilization of sympathetic members in order to dominate federation leadership elections, committee appointments and policy decisions. A group of school principals called upon other principals, vice-principals and teachers for moderation in federation activities. The group attempted to cultivate support for "moderate" delegates to the annual general meeting and candidates for BCTF executive positions in order to overcome the organizing efforts of federation "radicals." At the 1977 annual general meeting, Pat Brady, a recognized moderate, won election as president, accompanied by a majority executive from the moderate camp. In response to these developments, a coalition of teachers, calling itself "The Teachers' Viewpoint," came together through the efforts of teachers such as Don Walmsley (the federation's previous first vice-president), Jim MacFarlan (a past president), and Linda Shuto (a central organizer of Women in Teaching) to counteract the federation's conservative forces and develop a more active role for teachers in the B.C. education system. The deep internal divisions continued to pervade federation activities for several months. At an October, 1977, representative assembly meeting, delegates argued over the status of appointments to federal committees. The opposing factions charged one another with removing political opponents and replacing them with

sympathetic members rather than basing committee membership on interest and ability to serve. The status of women program came under sustained attack from representative assembly members for being too forceful in its efforts to raise awareness of sexual discrimination. In spite of the continual obstacles which the status of women supporters faced in their efforts to alleviate sexism and gender discrimination in the school system, the critics felt that the program stood as a highly contentious single issue which was being allowed to overshadow other federation priorities. In May, 1978, funding for the status of women program was reduced, and in 1979 the executive committee restricted the program's mandate from an ability to initiate programs to deal with sexism in schools to one of integrating an awareness of sexism with other existing federation programs (BCTF 1977b, BCTF 1978e, BCTF 1978f, Hardy 1977, The Teachers' Viewpoint 1977).

Most teachers were disdainful of the internal politicization of federation activities and, in fact, the apparent polarization within the federation leadership was in part facilitated and magnified by the lack of participation in federation matters by the vast majority of the province's teachers. The politics of teacher organization seemed to be far removed from the realities of classroom life. Few teachers, for example, publicly disagreed with the substance of the Triple E Report. The report's tone, however, appeared for many teachers to convey a political rhetoric which did not reflect where they saw themselves or what they wanted others to associate with teaching. Consequently, the re-election of a moderate president along with a compatible executive to BCTF office in 1978 signified in part the desire by the mass of the teaching force to present a "respectable" face to the public. The notion that a choice had to be made one way or the other was brought to the fore on the cover of the May-June, 1978, issue of The B.C. Teacher which visually depicted the theme of "Teachers - Workers or Professionals?" with a hardhat and lunchbox on one side of the page and

academic cap and briefcase on the other.

At the same time, however, many members had begun to accept that the two positions were not irreconcilable and that, instead, disagreement tended to solidify over matters of tactics rather than of principles. As the high levels of support for strike action over the pensions issue in 1971 and political involvement a year later indicated, teachers were not adverse to engaging in overtly militant or political activities under conditions which they considered extreme or intolerable, as long as the action was mobilized under the guise of concern for education in general. Similarly, teachers were united in their support for a well-financed, democratic education system oriented to the individual development of the child under the professional guidance of teachers working in conjunction with enlightened trustees, administrators, government officials, and community members. The question remained how far and how hard to promote this vision of education under circumstances which did not appear to be extraordinary.

The progressives or "militants" in the federation, seeking an active, expanded role for teachers in the educational decision-making process, began to recognize - through the explosive reaction to the Triple E Report, and the hostile criticism of the status of women program, for example - that most teachers were not prepared to engage regularly in what they saw as political action. Notions of professional responsibility and teacher propriety were too deeply entrenched to expect that teachers would become dedicated political activists in class and gender struggles. Any stronger action on the part of teachers required a sustained educational and organizational effort. Teachers had to be mobilized in the school staffroom and in local teachers' association activities as well as through the drafting of federation position papers and on the floor of the annual general meeting. As the more militant teachers began to rechannel their energies in these directions, the provincial government's subsequent actions erased some of the

questions about teachers' ambiguous orientations.

DISCIPLINING THE TEACHERS

The government continued its initiatives to centralize control over education in the province, often bypassing established consultative procedures or dealing with educational participants in a fragmentary way. The measures represented a consolidation of a technical or corporate approach to educational governance in the province, orienting schools to a productive structure based on managerial discipline, free competition, and rational programming as opposed to less precisely-defined educational concerns such as collegiality and person-centered processes.

The government delineated the school system's managerial hierarchy by increasing central ministry control over principals and other school supervisors and moving towards designation of the school administrators as managers rather than as educators. An amendment to the Public Schools Act in 1976 enabled government and school boards to "assign" instead of "appoint" administrators and transfer administrative personnel without prior consultation, as had been past practice. A further amendment in 1978 changed the administrative assignments from positions without term to a contractually agreed upon term (BCTF 1987h, 116). The legislative changes contributed to the severance of traditional collegial relations between teachers and school administrators by making vice-principals and other supervisors directly responsive to state functions of surveillance over teachers and management of school business.

The government demonstrated its commitment to making schools more "business-like," subject to marketplace competition and technical regulation in providing support for independent schools and reducing its share of public school funding. The Independent Schools Support Act, introduced and passed

in 1977, ended over a century of public support for a single school system in the province. The government portrayed the legislation as a mild response to the legitimate but sustained concerns of the Federation of Independent Schools Association that independent, fee-charging schools represented minority interests which had a right to public support. The BCTF, however, reiterated its longstanding opposition to funding for independent schools, claiming that support for such schools would fragment the education system and provide little assurance of educational standards and quality through the absence of public control over independent schools. Teachers especially feared that the channelling of money to independent schools would erode already inadequate financial support for the public school system. The government argued, to the contrary, that funds would come from general revenues rather than existing education budgets and that the total amount of funding for independent schools was not substantial, encompassing grants of a minimum of nine percent and a maximum of thirty percent of average operating costs in public schools, depending on the degree of adherence to provincial standards. In 1977-78, for example, grants to independent schools ranged between \$150 and \$500 for each of about 17,000 qualified pupils in the province, compared to over \$1900 per pupil for about 500,000 public school students (Broadley 1984; Gilmore 1978; Griffin 1975; McGeer 1982; PSR 1978, 29, 134, 149).

Regardless of the specific terms of the debate, a major implication of the move to fund independent schools was its provision of greater flexibility to government for the management of the school system. The extension of funding to independent schools, however insignificant in actual dollars, ensured a base of support for alternative, privatized school system. As Pat McGeer, the education minister who introduced the legislation, observed, the measure was implemented as a "disciplining force," a device to ensure "accountability" within the public school system (McGeer 1982, 4). With

formal recognition of the independent schools, which tended to serve a select population and operate under rigidly specified curricula and teacher selection criteria, government was now in a position to impose regulations upon or divert funding from the public schools whenever it appeared politically or managerially expedient.

The government had come to regard the education system as a monolithic force, entrenched in routinized practices that served the interests of particular groups, including the BCTF, the BCSTA and civil servants. Support for independent schools served notice that the government was prepared if necessary to break what it saw as a school monopoly by inside interests. The government demonstrated its ability to bypass these groups, which it regarded as unrepresentative lobbies, in favour of powerful but less prominent individuals or lobbies like the Federation of Independent Schools Association. In a pattern which was to be employed frequently in the late 1970s and the 1980s, the government on several occasions dismissed the BCTF as a narrow vested interest group obsessed with uncreative demands for more money for schools and teachers. Ministry officials, alternatively, solicited the views of parents, community groups or individual teachers in the name of greater public input into the determination of education policy. Teachers, who had long favoured the principle of public participation, supported the government's endeavours to involve parents in school affairs on the condition that parental involvement was not at the expense of the teachers' organization.

The area of educational finance illustrated how teachers' and government's definitions of accountability and public participation differed. After 1975, the provincial share of educational expenditures declined while greater reliance for education revenues was placed upon local property taxation. Almost simultaneously, beginning in 1976, school enrollments began to decline for the first time since the early 1940s (PSR 1978, 132). These

factors contributed to political pressures for the reduction of school services, including the possibility of teacher layoffs. Across the province, local taxpayers, seeing higher school costs for fewer pupils, objected to increased property assessments. Government could sidestep the local taxpayer revolt by arguing it was practicing fiscal responsibility itself while remaining true to the principles of local autonomy and democratic representation. At the same time, through its ability to determine the basic educational grant according to the school finance formula, the province regulated educational expenditures and maintained disciplinary power over the school system by increasing or decreasing budgetary expenditures on education. Teachers and school boards were squeezed either way, by criticism from the public, funding restraint by government, or both.

As the province moved to assert its control over the school system, teachers began to fear possible layoffs in the face of declining enrollments. Signs of political moderation within the BCTF spread as teachers pondered apprehensively their possible educational futures. Teachers argued politely, often in language borrowed from educational progressivism, that the labour-intensive nature of their work made any reduction of the teaching force an undesirable prospect. While government seemed to portray schools as businesses involved in the processing of bodies, teachers saw themselves as professionals who could reproduce complex, flexible human subjects. In recent decades, the BCTF observed, teaching had changed from a "transmission" process involving large numbers of pupils to a "transforming" process where more time was to be devoted to a smaller number of pupils:

The teacher becomes the facilitator, the manipulator and the arranger of the bits and pieces that constitute the learning environment. The teacher dons the mantle of counsellor, becomes an authority in the complex arena of human relations. The teacher becomes the agent to promote the full flowering of the human potentiality of each student (BCTF 1976a, 4).

However, not until 1980 did teachers undertake any sustained effort to raise

this vision as an effective alternative to government policies. As in the 1950s, teachers in the late 1970s were lured by the false hope that a display of their quiet professional commitment to quality education would be sufficient to win public support for their cause. One newspaper reporter commented following the 1978 annual general meeting that, "The days of political militancy among teachers are over - at least, for the time being" (Krangle 1978). At the spring, 1978, meeting of the representative assembly, delegates could rally no more than vague pledges of support for local associations to file grievances in the event that teachers were laid off as a consequence of declining enrollments (BCTF 1978b).

The BCTF illustrated its concern to act as a professional lobby group rather than a militant political force with "Project Fairtax," a public relations campaign staged in fall, 1978, to address problems in school finance. Teachers directed their appeal to ratepayers, especially to officials of municipal councils who tended to represent the strongest opposition to school taxes. The BCTF outlined four proposals to maintain what it saw as adequate funding for school programs, presented in such a way as to alleviate taxpayers' concerns about excessive school taxation: a decreased uniform provincial education tax; an increase in the provincial homeowner grant; a reduction in minimum levels of school tax to one dollar from fifty dollars; and a transfer of post-secondary education costs from local jurisdictions to the province. The campaign was intended to demonstrate that the new tax system was required because of disparities in current education funding arrangements. The federation graphically illustrated trends in school finance which indicated that total school spending had declined relative to other government services and economic functions. The BCTF observed that while total government spending had increased from 36.8 to 43.6 percent of gross national product between 1970 and 1975, education spending had declined from 7.0 to 6.4 percent of GNP.

Moreover, the projected provincial share of school operating budgets had fallen from forty-three percent in 1975 to thirty-nine percent in 1979. The BCTF underplayed its direct criticism of government or any other group, but oriented its campaign instead to draw public attention to these trends. Posed in such terms, the federation claimed Project Fairtax a success, especially after a presentation of BCTF proposals to delegates at the Union of British Columbia Municipalities annual meeting received widespread acceptance from delegates. By October of 1978, the BCTF was also assured a commitment from government that the homeowner grant would be increased and the Colleges and Universities Act, which provided for full provincial funding of post-secondary institutions, would be proclaimed (Brady 1984, BCTF 1978c, BCTF 1978d).

Despite this apparent public relations victory, teachers had little success in influencing government policy. Government continued to alter the structure of educational administrative practices in the province, often without the advance knowledge of teachers. The clearest sign of government rationalization in education was the establishment in 1978 of the Joint Educational Management Projects (JEM), a collection of projects "designed to improve the administrative support structure of 'delivery system' for the educational 'product' in either the school or post secondary sectors of the Ministry" (Millen 1978). The projects were intended to ensure the rational coordination of education information and services within the ministry in a manner consistent with a rationalization process involving all government departments. Although promoted initially as a tentative, small-scale program, JEM rapidly posed problems for several educational groups. In 1978, BCTF president Pat Brady outlined the confusion in a letter to the deputy minister of education:

JEM appears to be proceeding with matters even though authority is pending (not granted). Some people and organizations get informed while others do not, including branches of the Ministry. Communications and consultative systems already in effect appear to be by-passed. Our

representatives on the Statistics Committee are concerned about the role of JEM vis-a-vis themselves. Does JEM provide support services to the Statistics Committee or does JEM tell them what to do? . . . To say that matters are confused is to be charitable (Brady 1978).

The problems outlined by Brady were exacerbated by the creation of a new set of participants in the administration of education, including systems analysts and consultants who saw in the provision of government contracts an opportunity to gain stable opportunities for employment and occupational advancement. New mediating forces were able to displace and redefine the roles of traditional education system participants. Education was to be governed by experts whose narrower conceptions of performance standards often conflicted with the perceptions and realities of teachers in the classroom. At the same time, though, the government was clear in its intentions to centralize educational services on its own terms. Government selectively released to particular groups information about education structures and finances. In 1979, for example, mayors of municipalities received from the government preliminary school district budget information several days prior to receipt of the same material by school district officials, creating the possibility that school board budgets would be subject to increased scrutiny by persons outside the school system. In the same year, the ministry of education introduced a credit allocation plan which provided a grant from the province to enable school districts to purchase new or replacement textbooks and learning resources. As opposed to block grants which provided funding for a wide range of services likely to be determined at the local level, the credit plan specified particular items which would be eligible for established levels of funding. The ministry indicated that the plan would facilitate local flexibility and would be implemented only after consultation with participants in the Deputy Minister's Advisory Committee. Despite these claims, the government placed credit limits below levels cited by teachers as adequate, severely limited local options, and, blaming time constraints,

proceeded unilaterally to implement the plan (Brady 1979, Buzza 1979, Hardwick 1978, Huggins 1979, Watson 1979).

The credit allocation plan, government regulation of the flow of information, and the rational administrative structure signified a clear movement by government towards asserting business-based structures of control over educational finance and organization. Decisions concerning curriculum and the allocation of school resources which had previously involved the discretion of local boards, administrators and often teachers were now much more highly circumscribed under provincial control through precise specification of units of input and output. Even if teachers did not notice any considerable changes in their classroom experience as a consequence of any of the government initiatives, the trend towards consolidated state power in educational management was too strong to ignore.

THE ESCALATION OF EDUCATIONAL CONFLICT

Technical regulation, expressed as state specification of school finance, operations and assessment procedures, undermined teachers' claims that they were professionals who could best determine what was in the interests of the learner as well as their rights as workers who could freely bargain for wages and working conditions. Successful teacher resistance required a consciousness on the part of the teaching force that educational services were in jeopardy and a strategy to combine teachers' interests as workers and as professional educators. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a core of active BCTF members accomplished these tasks by redefining militancy around the establishment of working conditions which enhanced the welfare of both the learner and the teacher. As the government, in response, maintained a stance that it would not relinquish its authority to regulate schooling and teaching, a new phase of teacher-state conflict emerged which marked a more

sustained educational transformation in the 1980s.

The public face of both the B.C. government and the BCTF changed in 1978. The Social Credit government retained office with a reduced majority following a provincial election in the spring. The reorganized provincial cabinet included a new education minister, Brian Smith, whose credentials and statements offered teachers the promise that the cabinet would be sympathetic to the kinds of education policies they desired. Consistent with its recent proclivity for a moderate course of action, the BCTF maintained a low profile in the election campaign, emphasizing individual choice, a general critique of the government's education policy, and an attempt to elicit statements on education policies from party leaders. During the course of the campaign, however, a change of leadership in the BCTF accompanied a public commitment by the federation to a more aggressive stance. The efforts of progressive teachers to mobilize support for their position through such vehicles as the Teachers' Viewpoint network, combined with growing teacher resentment towards a government that was perceived as hostile towards teachers, contributed to a sweep by the "militant" teachers of federation executive positions at the 1979 annual general meeting. Led by Al Blakey as president and Larry Kuehn and Al Cornes as vice-presidents, the new executive offered a decisive rejection of the federation's previous direction. According to Kuehn,

Polite letters to the minister (of education), round-table discussions with the deputy minister, and mild press releases which end up on the back pages of the newspaper provide little counter-pressure to a minister who loudly and frequently redirects on to education and teachers public discontent with the economic prospects for young people (cited in Krangle 1979).

In exchange for these previous tactics, the new executive stressed that teachers needed to fight for better educational services, attempting to gain in the process greater control over teaching and increased decision-making on educational practices.

The federation leadership knew, though, that it had to proceed somewhat

cautiously. Most teachers were not prepared to initiate activities that conceivably could lose them public support and they felt insecure in the political arena. The extent of this sentiment was revealed in the Flanders Report, commissioned by the BCTF in 1979 and released in 1980. The report, based on a survey of over one thousand teachers, cited a strong gap between the majority of members, who viewed the federation as "too political" and controlled by a core of two thousand to six thousand "activists," and the federation's active members who depicted non-active members as unappreciative and uninformed about federation activities. Despite the election of the progressive leadership at the 1979 annual general meeting, federation priorities - increased public support for education and greater local autonomy in order to meet adequately the needs of children - remained unchanged from the previous year. Like the emerging BCTF leadership in the early 1960s, the new federation leadership proceeded on the basis that members had to be educated and guided to take a stronger role in educational affairs outside of the classroom. The federation structure, staff and policies had to be reshaped and readied for a confident move by teachers to assert greater authority in educational decision-making (BCTF 1979; Kuehn 1986, 16-17).

An emphasis on the learner - that teachers needed to be advocates for the rights of the child - provided a rallying point for the BCTF. The issue was sufficiently general that no teachers could deny the importance of the child (the primary recipient of educational services) while various specific policy aims could be devised within the broad rubric. In part, too, such a focus was increasingly necessitated by government actions. The presence of the new education minister, Brian Smith, promised a conciliatory approach to educational relations founded upon widespread cooperation among teachers, trustees, parents, and government. The BCTF could not afford to lose the support of either teachers or parents by adopting a stance which might

characterize teachers as unconcerned for the child. Consequently, the federation asserted through such measures as the establishment of a Children's Rights Committee public concern for the broad rights and needs of children. Local teachers' associations, supported by the BCTF, also made concerted efforts to foster contacts between teachers and the community through public meetings, open school visitations, and publicity about the wide array of programs offered in schools.

It appeared that the decade of the 1980s would be ushered in by jockeying among teachers, trustees and government for public support around the issue of concern for the child. Whatever the motivations, though - and for many teachers the child's interest was clearly a major priority - the child-centered orientation was inseparable from and often subordinated to deeper agendas.

The BCTF revealed in mild fashion at the 1980 annual general meeting its aim to gain a broader decision-making role for teachers. In particular, delegates agreed to elevate to a major federation priority the demand for an extended scope of bargaining for teachers. The federation executive depicted the school legislation which restricted teachers' ability to bargain only for "salaries and bonuses" as a major impediment to the provision of adequate teaching/learning conditions which were outlined in statements about child rights. The federation termed its goal a "co-operative professional autonomy" for teachers, associated with such objectives, as the development of a support system for individual teachers in crisis, increased teacher input into curricular decision-making, improved educational services for such areas as mainstreaming of students with special needs, a clear statement of school administrators' roles, and greater public support for public education. At the same AGM, though, a small majority of delegates rejected a resolution to seek the inclusion of teachers under the provincial labour code, which would have clarified teachers' ability to determine working conditions and secured

for them the right to strike (Blakey 1984, BCTF 1980b, Krangle 1980).

Teachers appeared to be both encouraged and seduced by the prospect of improved relations with the government. In stark contrast to the antagonisms which characterized relations between the BCTF and the previous education minister, Pat McGeer, teachers saw the appointment of Brian Smith, who appeared willing to listen to teachers' concerns, as a sign that the government was cognizant that teachers' education demands could not be ignored. The BCTF took this attitude as a propitious sign that a move towards greater input into education-making was imminent. At the same time, though, most teachers seemed to feel that they could accomplish this objective without gaining trade union rights.

In the bargaining session of 1980, the BCTF specified two working conditions items they intended to negotiate - the contractual specification of assigned classroom hours, and supervision-free lunch periods. After over half of the province's teachers' associations incorporated these items into their list of demands, the government indicated that it would facilitate discussions on working conditions with teachers and trustees (BCTF 1980a, BCTF 1981a).

The government, however, had its own agenda. The rhetoric of conciliation concealed the blunt understanding that teachers were welcome to participate in educational decision-making as long as they did so on the government's terms. Those terms, as it turned out, were not nearly as generous as many teachers had wanted to believe. In 1980 and 1981, government failed to act on any substantive BCTF concerns. At the same time, troubling signs were emerging in other areas, including a continuation of the provincial government's tendency to shift the burden of school spending onto local taxpayers. Provincial government analysis of specific units of operation and finance was intensified in the early 1980s with the implementation of a Zero-Based Budgeting system borrowed from the United

States. As the name suggested, annual budget allocations proceeded from a standard baseline (nominally zero but in practice much higher), with each budget item subject to assessment prior to funding eligibility. Under the system, each expenditure had to be reviewed and justified annually rather than retained from year to year as a matter of precedent. Ruff (1983, 191) describes the four main aspects of the budgeting system as entailing "the determination of appropriate units within a ministry for which a budget is to be drawn up; the preparation of what are termed budget or 'decision' packages for each unit; the review and ranking of packages; and their incorporation into an approved overall expenditure budget." With implementation of this process, earlier features of education funding, like the credit allocation plan, served as precursors to a much more extensive rationalization of state operations in the province.

The government reinforced its operational changes with tighter fiscal control over non-wage benefits for public sector employees, as illustrated in the intensification of teacher-government conflict around the issue of pensions, reminiscent of the late 1960s. Legislation introduced in 1980 to change provisions for public sector pensions was favourable to teachers in many respects, including an increase of 2.2 percent in the government's contribution to the basic benefit fund and improved eligibility requirements. Of more concern to teachers and other public sector employees, however, were measures to limit pensions which previously had been indexed fully to levels that now could be determined by the funding available in a government-set Inflation Adjustment Account. Public sector unions, with the memory of the late 1970s wage controls program still fresh, immediately began to mobilize opposition to the plan. Labour took issue not only with the fiscal implications of the de-indexing provision but also the principle of arbitrary government action to centralize control over employees' pension funds. The British Columbia Government Employees' Union adopted a strong militant

posture, organizing a "day of protest" strike, while the BCFL and various public sector unions employed an advertising campaign to support full indexing (Blakey 1984, 128; BCTF 1985a, 102).

Teachers' actions with respect to the pensions issue were at first tentative. A combination of the BCTF's traditional approach of lobbying government members for change, its reluctance to coalesce with labour bodies, and uncertainty among teachers over the implications of the removal of full pension indexing contributed to a scattered and ineffective campaign by teachers. The BCTF executive, despite its proclivities towards militant action, moved cautiously under the fear that any action which did not have broad membership support would alienate many teachers and lose public respect for the teachers' organization. On the advice of the federation's representative assembly, teachers throughout the province - with the exception of the Prince Rupert District Teachers' Association, where teachers in the highly unionized district tended to identify more closely with labour - refrained from participation in the day of protest but contributed funds for the union advertising campaign. However, teachers' opposition to the legislation intensified, due in part to a softening of the government's position with respect to the BCGEU following successfully coordinated strike action by the government employees. The issue, federation executive members recognized, provided a basis for mobilizing BCTF members to press for a wide range of teacher concerns. In late 1980, BCTF action escalated after teachers in the Vancouver area held a well-attended public meeting in November. The tone of the meeting was militant. Teacher agitation grew and in December, teachers in the lower mainland and Victoria areas held massive walkouts. At the year's end, though, the BCTF executive urged a six-week "cooling-out" period. While early in 1981 the representative assembly began to consider strike action, the executive feared that support for such a move was not generalized across the province. In the course of BCTF

indecisiveness, the pensions issue dissolved as the government revealed that it had changed its pension investments in order to yield higher funding levels than had originally been assumed (Blakey 1984, 128-129; Kettner 1981; Pynn 1981).

Despite lack of any substantive progress on the pensions issue, BCTF leaders were able to gain momentum for their scope of bargaining campaign. With large segments of the BCTF stirred into action, the 1981 annual general meeting adopted as the federation's top priority for 1981-82 the goal to gain full collective bargaining rights for teachers. The federation sought legislative guarantees that would enable local associations to bargain for all terms and conditions of employment, and to elect arbitration or strike action in the event that the negotiation and conciliation process did not succeed. At the same meetings, the new executive, led by president Larry Kuehn, promised a continuation of the aggressive stance that teachers had begun to take in seeking an expanded role for teachers in the province's education system (BCTF 1981h).

The pensions issue illustrated the problems of mounting a coordinated campaign among a large, amorphous organization. Members had to be kept informed and motivated to pursue the federation's stance but not in such a way that they felt they were being misled, subverted or coerced by federation leaders. Federation leaders had to act in such a way that they could remain true to their stated commitment to local autonomy while they provided at the same time strong central leadership.

The resolutions passed at the 1981 annual general meeting left action to the discretion of the local teachers' associations under the umbrella of the federation. BCTF strategy was for the central federation staff to provide general guidelines, resources and publicity to facilitate local plans of action. All federation resources, including the various BCTF committees, were oriented to the basic strategy. Federation staff and officials prepared

news releases, advertisements and regular bargaining bulletins to keep members informed of federation plans, and BCTF personnel were available to maintain contact with and monitor local situations. Locals were encouraged to develop broad, labour intensive programs to mobilize as many teachers as possible and inform parents and other community members about matters concerning teaching and learning conditions. Anticipating potential adverse reactions from trustees and broader public criticism over this strategy, the BCTF emphasized the bargaining issue as a quality of education matter rather than an attempt to direct teachers towards militant unionism (BCTF 1981b, BCTF 1981c, BCTF 1981f).

A dispute in Terrace was instrumental in both reinforcing BCTF resolve to pursue increased control over working conditions and reviving a militant image of teachers. At issue initially was the arbitrary demotion by the school board of two principals to classroom teaching positions. The school board's decision was not tolerated by teachers in the district who had become increasingly frustrated by the trustees' insensitivity and inflexibility in managing school affairs. The board's position was signified by its secretary-treasurer: "In the exercise of its powers under the Public Schools Act, the board is not required, or exposed, to justify its decision-making processes to any individual or organization" (cited in Yorke 1981c, 4). The local teachers' association responded with an escalating job action plan, beginning with a one day study session. On May 17, 1981, teachers embarked on an eight day work-to-rule campaign, with an indication that rotating strikes would begin on May 25 unless the board's position changed. However, the provincial government intervened to avert the strike action. An agreement which went beyond terms specified in the Public Schools Act was produced with the mediation of the deputy minister of education; the parties agreed to a personnel practices contract and a binding mechanism to resolve the principals' rights dispute. Despite this apparent settlement, though,

the board failed to adhere to the agreed upon principles of due process, and Terrace district teachers engaged in a strike from June 12 to 19. The teachers' actions, combined with mounting public hostility towards the school board and the absence of further government action, resulted in a contractual agreement which was satisfactory to teachers (Blakey 1984, 129; BCTF 1985, 105; Sundby 1981; Yorke 1981c).

The Terrace situation was significant in many respects, particularly for its demonstration to teachers of their statutory lack of authority and the success of carefully planned job action. The BCTF's associate legal counsel observed that:

I don't think it's unfair to say that the transfer/demotion provisions in the School Act are typical of most that govern the working lives of teachers. The provisions generally grant a unilateral power of decision to the board, with little or no recourse provided to the people affected by those decisions. The statutory framework for making decisions that affect teachers is, quiet simply, an authoritarian one (Yorke 1981c, 3).

With a favourable outcome in Terrace, the BCTF leadership was convinced that teachers could gain increased input into decisions concerning their working conditions. Teachers diligently sought full educational partnership, reflected as they saw it in full collective bargaining rights. At the federation's first joint bargaining session in August, 1981, five hundred teachers were told by their president that,

Our strategy is simple and clear. We assume we have full rights - the same as other employees and other teachers and we create a new system.

We put items on the table which reflect the full terms and conditions of employment. We expect the boards to bargain with us and not just to make offers of future input or separate agreements. And we use whatever pressure is necessary to make the boards bargain if they refuse to. And we are ready to make this strategy work. . . .

There will be staff and executive support, legal assistance, grants to finance actions, and if necessary, as it was in Terrace, there will be strike pay (Kuehn 1981a, 4).

The other major factor in the Terrace dispute was the role of the ministry of education. Government appeared willing to allow teachers input into the determination of working conditions, as the intervention by the deputy minister signified. Recent government initiatives to involve the

public in educational decision-making reinforced the image of government responsiveness to cooperative notions of education. This approach was best illustrated in the ministry's promotion of a "consultative model" of board-teacher relations in order to reduce the conflict and adversarial procedures inherent in full collective bargaining. Education, according to proponents of the consultative model, required working consensus rather than discord and disruption. Such a model acknowledged teachers' right to engage in the process of determination of teacher welfare and teaching conditions, while preserving the principle of accountability to the public. In accordance with the consultative model, working conditions were separated from teaching/learning conditions. The former included salaries, professional allowances and bonuses, which were negotiable, and items like educational leaves, vacation arrangements and hours of work which were not necessarily subject to collective agreement. The latter included class size, assignment of teaching loads and pupil selection, preparation time, tenure decisions, and general school conditions (BCSTA 1981h). Teachers could be consulted or offer advice on these teaching/learning conditions but school boards and the province retained the authority to regulate nearly all aspects of actual school operations and arrangements. Under the consultative model, teacher professionalism became defined as a technical function performed by employees within a strict hierarchy that descended from government to boards to teachers:

In this model, procedures for teacher involvement are negotiated. Teachers are genuinely involved in shaping decisions, perhaps by providing expert information, or by generating and testing alternatives. The final authority, however, rests with the board. The ground rules must be clearly established to avoid expectations that the final decision is to be shared (BCSTA 1981f, 4-5).

In principle, all three parties - teachers, trustees, and government - were prepared to allow teachers greater participation in the education decision-making process. However, government's benevolent-sounding notions

of "consultation" began to loom in stark contrast with teachers' aggressive bargaining stance. A public image of militant teachers, conjured in part by anxious school trustees and relayed through the mass media, had some real grounding in distant perceptions of the Terrace strike. An editorial in the Vancouver Sun, for example, accused teachers of seeking confrontation over demands which the newspaper incorrectly claimed were prohibited by school law (Vancouver Sun 1981). Some local teachers' associations were reticent to support what they viewed as confrontational tactics. The executive committee of the North Vancouver Teachers' Association, for example, approved a motion which expressed support for the principle of expanded scope but indicated that the association did "not support or wish to be associated with the particular strategy the BCTF executive has proposed which in the event of an impasse in negotiations encourages the invitation and participation of teachers in an illegal act, namely that of striking" (Friesen 1981).

The BCTF, despite its efforts to educate members and inform the public of its legal and bargaining position, was placed in a defensive posture, misunderstood or opposed even by some of its own membership. As teachers came under attack for their bargaining stance, most trustees, following the advice of the BCSTA, entrenched their position with the argument that no items other than salaries and bonuses were negotiable but that the school boards were open to the consultative approach to discuss with teachers pertinent matters of mutual concern to be considered for school board policy (BCSTA 1981b, BCSTA 1981f, BCSTA 1981g, BCTF 1981g, BCTF 1981h, Wilson 1981).

With few exceptions, boards seemed eager to defuse a potential crisis either by seeking contracts greater than one year in length or by holding open the notion of consultation as a "reasonable" solution to difficult sets of issues. On questions of pupil-teacher ratio and class size, for example, the BCSTA observed that,

The challenge for policy-makers is to look beyond the simple solution and establish a process for deciding which students (and how many of

them) should be in which classes. Boards must be prepared to accept the professional expertise of teachers in this regard and teachers must be prepared to balance their knowledge with an appreciation of the fiscal constraints facing school boards (BCSTA 1981b).

The BCTF strategy had anticipated, and was sufficiently flexible to meet, these responses. Officials in the federation's Vancouver office maintained close contact with local teachers' associations so that the federation could offer advice and information or direction, where necessary, to the locals, and federation tactics would be responsive to the various local developments. The BCTF urged local associations to begin with the objective of gaining contracts which contained teaching/learning conditions items. Each local was then to alter its pursuit of these in accordance with particular readings of the local situation, including the extent of board willingness or reluctance to discuss these matters and the aptitude and organizational sophistication of the local teachers' association. The federation also encouraged locals to develop their own "action plans" in order to build public support for their position and pressure boards to negotiate.

As bargaining proceeded, federation officials were pleased with initial indications that most boards were willing to negotiate or, more commonly, offering to discuss with teachers expanded scope items outside of the bargaining process. In the meantime, several associations developed action plans while BCTF officials explored the legal right of teachers to strike. A federation committee drafted a ballot, in accordance with the 1981 AGM resolution, for a referendum to seek changes in school legislation to allow locals the option of choosing arbitration or strike action in order to resolve contract disputes. In November, teachers in Langley and a few smaller districts including Trail, Agassiz-Harrison and Central Coast, engaged in work-to-rule campaigns, performing only official duties specified in school legislation. Despite these actions, and fears of more general

disturbances, the bargaining session ended quietly at the mid-November deadline with only sixteen arbitration cases. Teachers and trustees claimed success for their respective approaches. Trustees were satisfied that threatened job disruptions were minimal, and claimed that the consultative approach was a major breakthrough in improved teacher-board relationships. Teachers were satisfied with agreements which provided for salary increases averaging 17.25 percent and included in several cases expanded scope items such as reductions in or elimination of noon-hour supervision (in nineteen districts), teaching or preparation time clauses (in at least eighteen districts) and contractually specified grievance procedures (in at least twenty districts) (BCSTA 198ld, BCTF 198ld, BCTF 198lj, BCTF 198lm, Kuehn 198lb, Langley Teachers' Association 198l, Yorke 198la).

Looming behind the apparent bargaining success were more ominous signals from the state. The education minister, Brian Smith, maintained an official stance of non-involvement in teacher-board relations, but made periodic statements which belied that position. In October, he suggested that the BCTF might be preparing its strike referendum in an improper manner, while three days before the statutory deadline for settlement of collective agreements he warned that the public would not accept school board budgetary increases rumoured to be in the twenty percent range. He noted that possible changes to the School Act were forthcoming to ensure that boards would consult with teachers over working and learning conditions outside the collective bargaining process. Also in November, a review board which had been appointed in June to investigate the Terrace situation released a report that criticized existing school legislation, especially for its inadequate provisions to specify relations between teachers, school administrators and school boards. A further indication of ambiguities in these relationships came in a decision of the B.C. Court of Appeal, released early in December, which ruled on a long-standing arbitration decision. The case involved the

attempt by Langley teachers to include provisions for maternity leave as a "bonus" item within an arbitration settlement in 1971. The 1981 court decision ruled that maternity leave was not an item defined as "salaries and bonuses" and so could not be awarded by an arbitration board. The decision signified the rigid constraint which governed the legal definition of the scope of bargaining for B.C. teachers. At the same time, the court decision did not rule out the possibility that teachers and boards could negotiate (before arbitration) settlements which included items beyond "salaries and bonuses" (BCSTA 1981c, BCTF 1981l, Smith 1981, Terrace District Schools Review Board 1981, Vancouver Sun 1981, Yorke 1981b, Yorke 1981d).

Prior to the end of the 1981 bargaining session, teachers received even more disturbing news from government in the area of school finance. A government-appointed committee to investigate school taxation released its recommendations in late October. The Fleming report, named after Jack Fleming, the senior ministry of education official who headed the inquiry, emphasized the principle of tighter state control over education funding. Although focussed specifically on the issue of removing tax inequities, the report indicated that greater accountability was required in education finance. Measures such as "program budgeting" would tie education finance to specified criteria for the operation of particular school programs.

Prior to the report's release, both the BCTF and BCSTA - although with differing orientations - had promoted the idea of a serious re-examination of the education finance system. Both groups wanted to ensure adequate funding for the school system and alleviate taxpayer resistance to school taxation. The BCTF sought equitable taxation arrangements and local budgetary autonomy directed to the provision of "instructional excellence" and equal education opportunity for all pupils in the province. The BCSTA supported program-based funding and a reduction in the proportion of property tax in order to provide tax equity and equality of educational opportunity.

Based on these stated positions, the two groups struggled to make sense of the nature and significance of the Fleming report. Both saw political consequences in the report, paradoxically for its potential for more centralized educational decision-making and the deflection of public criticism over school taxes from the province to school boards. Overall, however, the BCSTA welcomed the report's efforts to orient education financing to educational needs while the BCTF criticized the report as an attack on local autonomy and remained wary of the government's intentions (BCSTA 1981a, BCSTA 1981g, BCTF 1981i, Lowry 1981).

Teachers' suspicions about government intentions were aroused after a series of private meetings between officials of the BCTF and the ministries of finance and education. It became apparent that a change in school tax structure was only a small part of a much broader shift in government fiscal policy. Government officials hinted, without elaboration, that major changes in school finance were in the works, particularly with reference to the province's "deteriorating" financial situation, the need for accountability in school programs, and the collapse of the post-war growth spurt in education finance and school enrollments. Government appeared ready to provide educational funding on the basis of particular criteria. The province would be responsible for provincially-prescribed programs, local districts would be responsible for locally-initiated programs, and other funding arrangements would be made in accordance with special programs under government-determined standards. At one meeting of the Deputy Minister's Advisory Committee, the deputy minister of education noted that the proposed education finance formulae were based upon pre-1960s models. Indicative of the ill-feeling which had developed, one BCTF official responded that, "if that was so, ministry financial approaches were about to catch up with their philosophical ones" (BCSTA 1981a, BCSTA 1981g, BCTF 1981e, BCTF 1981i, Lowry 1981, North 1981a, North 1981b).

In December, amidst a climate of mounting suspicion, the government announced its education tax estimates for the upcoming year. Levels which government claimed constituted a reduction in the basic mill rate and an increase in the provincially-funded basic education program were attacked by the BCTF and BCSTA as real reductions in the provincial share of education funding which would involve tax increases of up to twenty percent for local property owners (BCSTA 1981e, BCTF 1981k, Ministry of Education 1981).

As 1981 closed, educational hostilities were once again simmering in the B.C. political landscape. The anticipated battles between teachers and trustees did not materialize; instead, both parties transferred their suspicions and anxieties towards the provincial government. Teachers and trustees feared that the government, with its references to economic recession and the demise of education's "glory days," had a hidden agenda for financing the education system which it was not revealing to the other education system participants. The preliminary budget information provided a clue to the government's direction, but the misleading way in which it was presented was interpreted by teachers and trustees as an act of bad faith on the part of the government.

FISCAL RESTRAINT AND THE ATTACK ON EDUCATION

The government's moves to rationalize education in the early 1980s were hastened by a 1982 provincial "restraint" program in the face of rising unemployment, inflation and government deficit. Although the rationale for and implementation of the program were often unclear (see Persky 1983, 195-206, for details), the restraint initiatives highlighted three strategic considerations that the state would later employ in a more fundamental restructuring of education and other state services: undermine oppositional resistance by creating uncertainty and chaos; concentrate decision-making and

fiscal powers within the state administration; and transfer state resources from social services and public sector development to investment for private profit.

Events early in the new year fueled suspicions that education and other state services would soon be subject to stringent controls. In January, 1982, municipal affairs minister Bill Vander Zalm announced a proposal for a provincial county system in which a single board of elected officials would oversee all local government and educational matters within each of several provincial counties. The county system plan, which was ultimately dismissed as little more than the musings of an overzealous cabinet minister, drew harsh criticism. The BCTSA attacked the proposal as a dangerous system which would centralize control over local affairs, eliminate school boards, and relegate education to a secondary priority. As trustees struggled with the possible demise of school boards, teachers were disturbed by reports that a public sector wage control program would be introduced following a federal-provincial first ministers' conference in early February. The BCTF, with an eye on its own affairs, was also concerned that labour organizations like the BCFL and the BCGEU were preparing a response that might involve the teachers. Teachers in general did not want to be forced to engage in any action which might provoke the government to implement more severe measures against the school system (BCSTA 1982b, BCSTA 1982d, Hutchison 1982b).

Teachers' fears that their labour involvement would antagonize the government were rapidly overshadowed by the government's declaration that decisive action was required to practice fiscal restraint in order to combat general economic stagnation and the high costs of government. Beginning in February, 1982, the government introduced an onslaught of announcements and legislation which far outstripped any of its previous actions. The measures constituted what the government called a temporary "two year economic stabilization program" in the context of economic recession.

On February 18, Premier Bennett announced plans for the implementation of a public sector "restraint" program which entailed a twelve percent ceiling on budgetary increases for all government programs, the establishment of permanent guidelines to limit the size of the public sector work force, and the appointment for a two year period of a Compensation Stabilization Program commissioner with the power to roll back public service contracts which provided for salary increases in excess of eight to twelve percent. Public sector operations would be determined by stricter measures of productivity to ensure that, like in profitable business enterprises, government employees were not underworked and overpaid. Concrete indications of the government plans were presented with an announcement that government had set a target of reducing the public service by twenty-five percent. Less than a month later, on March 11, the government presented details of a new Education (Interim) Finance Act which would suspend for a three year period large sections of the School Act in order to allow the provincial government to control local school board expenditure levels and to remove from local boards the right to tax non-residential property. The government argued that the legislation, which was passed in April, would allow education finance in an era of restraint to be shared according to districts' ability to pay. The government suggested further that the move toward uniform tax rates would create an incentive for business and industry to become established anywhere in the province. On March 15, the government declared that the school board budgetary cuts were to constitute \$28.3 million in the last quarter of 1982. These reductions and two subsequent directives forced school boards before the end of September to reduce within strict time frames their expenditures by over \$110 million for the 1982 and 1983 fiscal years. In June, the Compensation Stabilization Act was passed. The act, consistent with federal government guidelines for a "6 and 5" wage restraint program, outlined measures by which public sector wage increases would be strictly monitored by

a government-commissioned officer subject to general wage increase limits of six percent the first year and five percent the second, effective retroactive from February, 1982. In July, teachers and school trustees were informed by the premier that, because "tough times" necessitated a systematic two or three year plan, education would likely be subject to productivity measures and a six percent ceiling on total educational expenditure increases. An amendment to the provincial labour code in August increased restrictions on strike picketing in the province. Finally, in late September, 1982, in the midst of chaos induced by the succession of government announcements, continued reductions in and revisions of school budgets, teacher layoffs, school district efforts to manage programs and staffing for the new school year, and teachers' search for an appropriate political response, the government introduced Bill 89. The bill, passed in October, set criteria with which teachers' contracts had to comply or else be declared invalid and, as a cost-saving measure, forced schools to close a minimum of one day in 1982 and six in 1983 for which teachers would forego pay. Teaching time was to be made up by lengthening the school day and removing six non-instructional professional development days (Bennett 1982; BCSTA 1982a; BCTF 1982j; Hutchison 1982a; Kilian 1985, 55-60; Ministry of Education 1982a; Ministry of Education 1982b).

The rapid succession of government moves was sufficient to unbalance teachers and other participants in the education system. Teachers' strident efforts in 1981 to expand the scope of bargaining and increase their influence in provincial education decision-making were suddenly transformed into defensive efforts to regroup. The state had declared its intention to act decisively in a period of fiscal crisis and had channelled public debate that might otherwise be directed at more fundamental political and economic problems towards the ability to finance state services, including education. As Persky (1983, 197) observed, "Once Bennett had defined the solution as

'restraint,' responses tended to be organized around whether or not his was a good restraint program rather than whether or not restraint was the appropriate measure."

Despite a general sense that restraint was necessary, teachers and trustees agreed with one another that the education system had been scapegoated more heavily than other services for the province's economic difficulties. However, the BCTF and the BCSTA differed in their orientations to the restraint legislation.

The BCSTA favoured the general principle of restraint, and agreed that schools had to be subject to the same guidelines as other sectors. The problem for trustees was one of management of the restraint issue and of the government program's effects on the school system. School boards, sensitive to public attacks on school taxes, did not want to open themselves to further charges of fiscal irresponsibility by ignoring restraint guidelines. At the same time, boards opposed the B.C. government's approach to the restraint program which involved the usurpation of authority from local school boards. The succession of government announcements and directives provided general confusion, especially given the four month interval between Bennett's first announcement of the restraint program and the passage of legislation, and the short time periods which boards were given to alter budgets and reduce expenditures. The BCSTA advised boards to delay action in compliance with the restraint program until after legislation was passed. Trustees were also concerned that regular procedures be implemented to ensure that cutbacks would be carried out with minimal disruption to school operations (Begin 1982, BCSTA 1982c, BCSTA 1982e, BCTF 1982f).

Teachers were immediately threatened by the restraint program. The BCTF released an initial estimate that 4,700 teachers could be laid off before September, 1982, but revised the figure to between 1,500 and 2,000 as more specific details of the program were announced. Drawing upon the

communications and action network established for its 1981 bargaining strategy, the BCTF attempted to monitor various aspects of the restraint program, to maintain regular communications with local teachers' associations, and to develop an action plan. Formulated by the BCTF executive and representative assembly, the federation's opposition to the government initiatives began as a lobbying and public relations campaign which sought to publicize the effects of government restraint on education and develop and promote alternatives to the government measures. In February, 1982, the representative assembly authorized a grant system financed by the federation's reserve fund to cover up to three-quarters of the cost of public relations or political action campaigns organized by local teachers' associations. At the same meeting, federation representatives recommended that the province's teachers proceed with a work-to-rule action in September in the event that any teachers were laid off as a consequence of the restraint program (BCTF 1982a, BCTF 1982f, BCTF 1982i, BCTF 1982j).

As teachers put their local and provincial publicity campaigns into motion, the BCTF investigated the possibility of taking joint action with other groups to oppose the restraint program. However, teachers' traditional isolation on political matters had left them with few certain allies. Trustees were not hesitant to discuss mutual problems with teachers, but were more concerned with matters of crisis management. Major trade union organizations also brushed aside any serious consideration of forming a common labour front in opposition to the education cutbacks. The BCFL argued that a public sector coalition would merely induce the premier to base an election call on the spectre of irresponsible union militancy. The BCGEU, sensing general cohesion within its membership and confident that restraint could be opposed as an act of bad faith on the government's part, intended to carry on as usual, engaging in contract negotiations as if no restraint program was in place. The government employees planned to engage in general

strike action only if the right to strike was threatened by new legislation. Consequently, teachers were left to seek liasons with other groups in the education sector. In early March, the BCTF was successful in joining with education workers and representatives or affiliates of such organizations as the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Association of University and College Employees, and the Canadian Federation of Students. The new group, called the Defend Education Services Coalition, was oriented to oppose cutbacks in education services. The coalition's strength was limited relative to the nature of the threat posed by the government program. Its formation signified, though, that the BCTF, in its search for effective political action, was prepared to forego its long-standing hesitancy to associate with other groups in order to engage in common struggles (BCTF 1982g, Kuehn 1982).

The onslaught of provincial legislation combined with the staggered series of education cutbacks forced teachers into a defensive position which impeded the development of any consistent strategy. While the BCTF did not abandon entirely its campaign to seek greater input into educational decision-making, the federation retreated steadily in its position as the certainty and impact of the cuts were revealed. Plans for job action became translated into plans to resist cooperation with school boards to make decisions about cutbacks and then into the provision of services for unemployed teachers. At the 1982 annual general meeting, the federation identified its top priority for the coming year as the protection of existing levels of educational programs and equality of access to educational programs even as those levels and programs were being steadily undermined by provincial government actions. Although Larry Kuehn was re-elected as president, he faced a strong challenge for the office. Several executive members representing the Teachers' Viewpoint were defeated by "moderates" on the strength of a coalition of teachers led by Vancouver school principal

Allan Garneau and other principals and vice-principals who sought a change of direction in the BCTF leadership to a quieter, more conciliatory approach. Many federation members felt that the BCTF had brought the wrath of government upon itself through the adoption of confrontational tactics (BCTF 1982b, BCTF 1982h, Casselton 1982).

Any expectations that summer, normally a time for teachers to upgrade their educational credentials and restore energy for the coming year, would provide a respite from the events of the previous months, proved misplaced. As teachers and trustees decided how they would cope with cutbacks already made, planned or threatened, the government-informed school boards on July 30 that \$37.5 million would have to be cut from budgets for the 1982-83 school year by August 1, less than forty-eight hours away. In August, the government provided further notice that additional budgetary trimming would have to be made by September. The appointment of a new education minister on August 10 also contributed to the destabilization of the education system. The new minister, Bill Vander Zalm, who earlier in the year had raised the ire of trustees with his proposed county system and whose attacks on welfare recipients and minority rights had gained him widespread notoriety, symbolized to educators that the government really did hold the education system in contempt. These impressions were reaffirmed after Vander Zalm met in apparently conciliatory fashion with teachers and then made statements to the media which were contrary to what he told the teachers in private.

Participants in the school system were visibly demoralized and shaken in September as about one thousand fewer teachers than in the previous year returned to classrooms to begin the new school year. Despite the scrambling that had taken place to ensure that schools would be staffed and pupils would not be too inconvenienced at having to move into large, multigrade classes, in mid-September, an additional 278 teachers received notice that they would be let go by October. Then, on September 28, the introduction of Bill 89

placed in further jeopardy any hopes of a return to stable educational relations in the province with the strict curtailment and reduction of teachers' collective bargaining rights (Bowman 1984, BCSTA 1982a).

The continual disruption of school board budgeting procedures and the cuts to programming and staffing levels during the course of the school year infuriated trustees who were entrusted by law to ensure the regular operation of school affairs. In September, the BCSTA advised the BCTF to take a mutual position that the cutbacks ordered by the government for September were not legal. The trustees wanted to join with teachers to lobby the government to ensure protection of the quality of education. However, after a court challenge made by the Vancouver School Board against the restraint directives was ruled invalid in late September, government ignored further protests from the education sector. Collective bargaining for teachers' contracts, in stark contrast to the promise the previous year that major advances might be made towards gaining either the consultation which trustees favoured or expanded scope which the BCTF sought was almost non-existent in the fall of 1982. School boards knew that any agreements would be adjudicated by the compensation stabilization officer and put little effort into bargaining. Consequently, sixty-two districts went to arbitration in 1982.

Teachers began to realize that direct action was the only way to make an impact on the government's activities. The BCTF urged local teachers' associations to publicize and discuss with parents and community groups the impact on children of government constraints on the education system. The federation developed a plan to present to the premier and minister of education for securing the restoration of "order and stability" to the education system through four measures: the development of a "rational process for educational decision-making;" adequate financing for maintaining and restoring "quality educational" services; the restoration of local school board authority; and the provision of legislation to guarantee teacher

bargaining rights. Following the introduction of Bill 89, teachers embarked on a campaign of non-cooperation with the ministry of education, withdrawing their services from ministry committees and refraining from carrying out duties associated with provincial examinations (BCTF 1982c, BCTF 1982d, BCTF 1982e).

By late autumn, 1982, matters appeared quieter on the education finance front. Teachers, demoralized, adopted a low profile as they attended to their classroom duties. Trustees, although bitter about the government's rapid and generally unilateral imposition of restraint in its own terms, carried on with school board business within the new limitations.

Almost on cue, sensing the other parties' retreat into school affairs, the minister of education began to move into areas of education which had not yet been directly confronted in legislation. Bill Vander Zalm, violating the standing practice that the BCTF was able to determine the composition of its own membership, announced that principals and vice-principals should no longer be part of the teachers' organization. In February, 1983, the minister released, without any warning to the major education groups, plans for a revised school curriculum which was to be implemented at the start of the next school year. The proposal called for stricter emphasis on areas like science, computers and language education, structured in such a way that existing courses of study, particularly for students intending to enter university, would be drastically altered. While teachers, trustees and parents agreed in general terms with some of the suggestions in the curriculum plans, they saw the sudden announcement as a clear sign that Vander Zalm had no respect for existing practices and channels in the education system. After parents mounted a protest demonstration against school budget cutbacks, the BCTF and BCSTA began to call publicly for the minister's resignation (see Kilian 1985, 58-70, for details).

In March, 1983, teachers attempted to meet directly with the premier in

order to negotiate a truce in education hostilities and develop a plan to have a stable, adequate education system in place before the next school year. The move to bypass the minister of education appeared to be consistent with the premier's own actions, as Bennett was more likely to consult with the deputy minister of education than with the minister on education matters. The teachers were optimistic that some progress could be made in talks with the government after Jim Carter, the deputy minister of education who had served on the BCTF's commission on education in the late 1960s, was appointed to coordinate discussions among the government, the BCTF, and, in an observer role, the BCSTA.

The talks centered around a plan presented by the BCTF, which emphasized seven points: the establishment of a commission composed of representatives of the BCTF, the BCSTA, and government to investigate items such as curriculum, graduation requirements and provincial examinations; immediate amendment of the School Act to permit teachers to bargain for personnel practice matters; the retention, within compensation stabilization program guidelines, of 1983 local collective agreements; an agreement to provide a government finance formula which would maintain school staffing within districts at levels in place in summer, 1982, and which would allow teachers and trustees to negotiate actual pupil-teacher ratios and staffing formulas; the provision of government funding to restore teaching positions lost since summer, 1982; and guarantees by government to stop its attacks on teachers and the public school system and to avoid interference in negotiations for 1984 contracts (BCTF 1983a). The BCSTA claimed that many of these items were school board matters which teachers and government had no discretionary authority over within the framework of the School Act. The trustees' organization, fearing that the government was about to reach agreement with teachers contrary to the legal restrictions, formally withdrew from the discussions on March 15. Then, when Vander Zalm commented publicly (despite

a stated agreement that the parties would refrain from public comment on the negotiations) that the teachers wanted to discuss items which went beyond the agreed upon topics of salary and job security, the BCTF withdrew and the meetings collapsed (BCSTA 1983a; BCTF 1983c; Edge 1983).

On March 22, a week after the breakdown of the talks, Vander Zalm approached the BCTF with a request to buy a set of mailing labels so that he could send a letter directly to each of the province's teachers to explain the government's latest position. Although the nature of the government proposal was not revealed to the BCTF leadership, the press appeared to have immediate knowledge of it. Vander Zalm's approach, although more blunt than in the past, provided a stark illustration of the Social Credit government's sentiment or wish that the BCTF leadership could not be counted on to represent the will of most teachers in the province. The BCTF was by now conditioned to expect nearly anything from the government, but this latest attempt by the minister of education to undermine the legitimacy of the federation was considered, in the words of BCTF president Larry Kuehn (1983c), fit for little more than inclusion in "Kuehn's Believe It or Not (I couldn't, but it really happened)." Kuehn immediately wrote a letter to Premier Bennett in which he expressed his indignation at Vander Zalm's treatment of educational affairs, concluding with a reiteration of his earlier request that the premier remove Vander Zalm from the education portfolio or, alternatively, as Kuehn told Bennett, "it would at least help if you muzzled him so he does not create more confusion" (Kuehn 1983b, 3).

B.C. teachers' preoccupation with Vander Zalm, whom they treated as a somewhat eccentric nemesis, tended to divert their attention away from more serious currents in Socred education policies. Even if it was not always articulated coherently, Vander Zalm clearly recognized that teachers could be regulated on the basis of both productivity as employees paid to produce a specific product and moral/subjective criteria as educators responsible to

the public. In August, 1982, Vander Zalm contended that, "I think we do need some fairly good management in the schools as you would in any other business," just days after he commented that, "To my mind, the two most honest people in our society, in terms of their integrity, should be our judges and school teachers: judges because they have the last word and teachers because in many ways they have the first word" (quoted in Osborne and Schendlinger 1988, 28, 41-42). What appeared to some observers, including many teachers, as contradictory musings revealed to the contrary that in the context of restraint policies the state was prepared increasingly to regulate teachers as business employees as well as "honest, integral" public servants.

Attentiveness to the significance of restraint was diverted by the campaign for a May 5, 1983, provincial election. Government appeared intent upon making groups which opposed it seem irresponsible as it began to play a conciliatory role in a framework which it had seemed intent on destroying several months earlier. In response to a radio interviewer's questions as to whether the government saw the BCTF as a major campaign threat, the premier repeated the government's often-stated philosophy that it represented individuals rather than interest groups:

No, we're running our campaign based on individuals. I've never thought it's wise for any political party to ride in to power on the coat-tails of either private agreements or tacit agreements with powerful groups in our society, and particularly now when the general public see those groups -- if they're given a preferred position -- as competing for their dollars or competing dollars that they would want in other services (Bennett 1983).

Certainly teachers would be surprised to discover that they had suddenly become a "powerful" group on the verge of gaining a "preferred position." Education issues were prominent in the campaign, nonetheless. Teachers had become a regular focus of attention across the province, and media observers were treated to a steady interchange of public comments by Larry Kuehn and Bill Vander Zalm. While no face-to-face dialogue took place, television,

radio and newspapers contained a daily ritual of claims and counterclaims between the two spokespersons. Vander Zalm conveyed a flurry of various offers through advertisements in daily provincial newspapers, telegrams to school boards and letters to teachers (using mailing labels supplied by school board offices) outlining such proposed "deals" as an arrangement whereby the province would maintain pupil-teacher ratios as of September 30, 1982, in lieu of teacher salary increases for 1983. In March, the minister of education presented two public discussion papers on the School Act and deregulation in educational governance. The papers outlined plans for school boards to gain greater "flexibility" and autonomy to facilitate school management functions and determine local policy in areas, such as personnel management, setting of the school year, and the determination of teachers' duties, which were presently covered under non-statutory cabinet regulations. In a further move to gain the support of trustees and local ratepayers, the government announced just over two weeks prior to the election date that it would restore partial funding to the education system and remove restrictions over local disbursement of the school funds (BCSTA 1983c; Ministry of Education 1983b; Ministry of Education 1983c; Smith 1983).

Teachers and trustees were inclined to reject these latest government actions as inadequate measures designed only to win favour with the electorate. The proposals contained items which alternately pleased and infuriated the various participating groups in the education system - teachers, for example, welcomed discussions to reform curriculum and expand their collective bargaining framework, but vehemently opposed the funding restrictions and the ephemeral but heavy-handed manner in which government was conducting educational affairs, and trustees disapproved of government's negotiations with teachers on bargaining and finance but favoured the latest announcements on education funding. In the current education climate, many teachers and trustees were ready to accept any concessions that the

government was prepared to offer, yet participants were equally wary that government proposals could be rescinded quickly or that any agreements which transcended existing practices of decision-making in the education system might establish a dangerous precedent (BCSTA 1983c, BCSTA 1983d, BCTF 1983j).

Teachers' exasperation at the state of educational affairs in the province was tempered by the hope that disarray in the education system would vanish with the electoral defeat of Vander Zalm, Bennett, and the rest of the Social Credit government. Contrary to claims made by the Socreds that teachers were "sheep" being deceived by BCTF leaders, the opposition to the government's education policies was widespread within the teaching force. At the 1983 AGM, the BCTF broke with tradition by refusing to invite the minister of education and all other representatives of any political party to attend the sessions. Delegates displayed at the meetings little of the internal divisiveness which had characterized previous AGMs, and focused instead on plans to avert the threat posed by government. The list of federation priorities for the upcoming year contained many regular concerns, like improved support for quality educational services, educational equality and expanded scope of bargaining. Among the priorities, however, were new items which entailed a commitment to work with outside organizations to secure adequate support for education and other social services. To these ends, the delegates to the AGM approved a broad range of activities, including a campaign for public support for education and social services, legal action to challenge restraint and other government actions, and participation in a wide range of education coalitions and labour groups such as the Defend Education Services Coalition, the College-Institute Educators' Association, the BCFL, and CUPE (BCTF 1983h, Smart 1983).

B.C. teachers also committed themselves to political action in the guise of TPAC-II, modelled after the Teachers' Political Action Committee which teachers had organized in 1972 for the purpose of defeating the Social Credit

government. In 1983, unlike 1972, though, teachers had experienced more directly the severe consequences of government policy and were less reticent to take a firm partisan stance. Twenty of the fifty-seven NDP candidates were teachers, and several local action committees directed their support to NDP candidates in their constituencies for reasons like those stated by teachers in Vancouver's Point Grey district:

Today the situation differs greatly from eleven years ago when TPAC supported candidates from many parties. The options have all but disappeared. British Columbia has become a two-party province.

After examining the educational platforms of the Social Credit and New Democratic parties we are convinced that the NDP is more committed to supporting public school education (Point Grey Teachers' P.A.C. 1983).

CONCLUSIONS

Between 1972 and 1983, relations between teachers and government had undergone several highly uneven transformations. The euphoria that came from the possibility that teachers could make a political difference in 1972 had changed to disillusionment by 1974 followed, after a varied series of expectations and disappointments, by a sense of utter disbelief and outrage at the state of education in the province in 1982 and 1983. Teachers' political battles, combined with careful organizational work within the BCTF by politically astute leaders, had provided the BCTF with a base upon which to proceed with a careful assessment of teachers' occupational and political possibilities. As the 1983 election approached, the question remained whether a change of government was a sufficient goal for teachers' political activities.

The rationalization of education proceeded within a general framework of reorganization of state services. Centralized planning and fiscal control enabled state officials to develop both long- and short-term agendas, and thereby to avoid periodic crises and exigencies which marked much of the

previous history of the province's school system. However, the centralization of control also removed the capacity to make important educational decisions from most school system participants, including parents, trustees, and teachers. The various steps taken by British Columbia governments in the 1970s and 1980s to rationalize the school system allowed for increasingly more careful specification and assessment of educational practices in accordance with a growing sense that education was in principle a business. However, schooling remained a unique kind of business enterprise, providing a moral underpinning for social development. Teaching was becoming intensified under technical regulation, as Apple (1986) argues, but the success of such regulation depended upon constraints which pressured teachers to become personally responsible, as moral leaders, for their educational product. Government's successful mobilization of its restraint program suggested that teachers would have to increase their productivity (more pupils, better knowledge, higher standards) with fewer resources, obliged to perform their work with utmost dedication, in the process convincing others that they should do the same.

The regulation of teaching under state rationalization had mixed implications for teacher resistance. Events in 1983 suggested that teachers in the province had developed an unprecedented level of cohesion. The efforts by recent BCTF leaders to mobilize the federation's membership, although disrupted severely by ongoing battering by the provincial government, were put to the test by the onset of the crisis in the education system. Teachers, who since the early 1950s had claimed that they were unique or different from other workers, now had to reassess their status and seek the support of the same groups which they had rejected previously. The task was jeopardized by the government's proclivity to single out education for harsh treatment. In 1983, progressive leaders in the BCTF hoped that teachers were ready to accept the difficult burden of linking education

struggles with wider political objectives. As Larry Kuehn, who was re-elected BCTF president at the federation's 1983 AGM, told an assembly of teachers from across North America,

It is at [the] stage - of influencing decision-makers - that a teachers' organization can have the most impact on the actual work of the teachers and conditions in the classroom. But success at this stage depends on adequately addressing the problems of the broad cultural/ideological climate and electing supportive candidates to office (Kuehn 1983g, 5).

The "cultural/ideological climate" had by early 1983 clearly made the retrenchment of education and other state services an important site for teacher-state struggle. While the harshest measures invoked by fiscal restraint were introduced to reduce spending and suspend collective bargaining rights on a temporary or provisional basis, they demonstrated the considerable powers possessed by state officials to regulate social and industrial relations policy and laid the foundation for more enduring changes.

Teachers' autonomy was highly circumscribed by state regulation. Legislation to restrict educational expenditures and teachers' collective bargaining rights placed severe limitations on the range of resources and services which the education system could offer; department of education financial and organizational management systems tightened central control over specific units within the education system; and initiatives to strengthen school administrative practices and pupil assessment procedures contributed to the precise measurement of school operations and outcomes. What remained to be implemented was a more complete specification of what was to be learned and what constituted adequate teaching of the precise learning objectives. Teachers favoured a collegially-determined approach that acknowledged the developmental side of education which would prepare the learner for a broad range of social experiences. However, from the perspective of educational managers, this orientation was too indeterminate. As noted by one teacher who served on the province's Joint Board of Teacher

Education, "what one is left with is a definition of 'competence' best described as a state of inner grace which is knowable only to the individual" (Mullen 1977, 1). Social reproductive practices in the 1980s were becoming too important to be left either to chance or to a body of professionals whose interests were periodically in conflict with the aims of educational managers.

CHAPTER NINE - NEW REALITIES AND NEW STRATEGIES, 1983-1988

Unlike periods earlier in the century when teachers made real or potential gains in salaries, job security, working conditions, and status, it was clear to commentators that nearly all elements upon which teachers' claims to professionalism had been built were threatened by state action in the 1980s. To some observers who hold a traditional view of teacher professionalism, like Gillis (1987) in Canada and Roy (1983) in Britain, state intervention to erode the welfare state and reshape schooling has stood as an affront to both teachers' professional respectability and the integrity of education as a necessary but neutral key to social advancement. Writers from a critical perspective adopt a less idealistic stance with respect to the state's recent educational initiatives. Grace (1987, 221-222) argues that the state was able to accomplish direct rule over teachers through the aid of teachers' adoption of an "ethic of legitimated professionalism" which served to depoliticize teachers and incorporate the occupation into the state structures which were now under attack. Commentators like Apple (1986), Ozga and Lawn (1981) and Warburton (1986), contend that the current restructuring of teaching is an extension of wider trends in the proletarianization and intensification of work, to which teachers are responding with union militancy and closer integration with the working class.

In this chapter, I argue that the position that teaching is being fundamentally restructured, proletarianized and depoliticized is essentially correct. However, I contend in addition that changes to teaching need to be understood with reference to the unique nature of teaching as reproductive work. In other words, while there are clearly observable trends towards the real subordination of teachers as "workers," the outcome of teacher-state

struggles remains dependent upon the relative ability of teachers and state officials to align the moral/subjective dimension of teaching with the rationalization of teaching as a labour process. I argue that in British Columbia the state has employed effectively a neo-conservative ideology emphasizing individuality and market competition to advance both the technical and personal regulation of teaching. Teachers, by contrast, have moved away from the "ethic of legitimated professionalism" which restricted their ability to resist state initiatives through militant or broad-based political action in favour of a new notion of professionalism in which union activity is defined as fully compatible with teachers' educative functions. There has resulted a flurry of teacher-state conflicts over legislation, strikes over contract negotiations, and ideological struggle over competing conceptions of education. However, while teachers have developed occupational strategies and alliances that point the way to possible democratic coalitions among state employees, clients of state services and other working and community groups, teachers have not demonstrated the social and educational leadership which they claim they are capable of. Rather than advancing a scenario by which education can be employed to democratize and transform society, teachers have accommodated to educational restructuring. They have underestimated or failed to recognize the depth of educational changes taking place under initiatives advanced through neo-conservative state policies in alliance with capitalist interests which have defined educational values in terms of social and economic investment.

NEO-CONSERVATISM AND THE PROBLEM OF MANAGING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The assault on education which began in the late 1970s accelerated in the 1980s. While the assailants often hid their motives with language which suggested a commitment to strong educational values - in catch phrases like

"educational excellence" and "flexible, lifelong learning" - the message was clear: existing educational structures were failing in their task to provide young people with basic skills and marketable assets. The signs of a faltering society were widely apparent to the school's critics - lagging economic productivity, high unemployment, moral ferment, and a population highly dependent upon the state's excessive goodwill.

The critics of the school system adopted a number of orientations. Conservatives, for example, issued elitist calls for an emphasis on common schooling grounded in a core of academic subjects in the liberal arts and natural sciences (Adler 1982, Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein 1984). Most prominently, however, a neo-conservative ideology promoting self-reliance and market discipline and denouncing egalitarianism, collectivism and state enterprise proved especially attractive to political leaders seeking to ameliorate social and economic problems (Panitch 1987, 136). Neo-conservatives attacked the liberalism which they saw entrenched within the state and disseminated through schools, the media and other major social institutions. Schools and other liberal agencies, the critics argued, were guilty of espousing a doctrine of egalitarianism ("the leading fetish of our time") which contributed to "the likelihood that, if they have their way, the ultimate outcome will be a decline into widespread poverty and tyranny" (Letwin 1983, 1, 70). The "caring" schools which prevailed in the 1970s needed to become "demanding" schools in order to reassert North America's competitive advantages in the world economy (Drucker 1986, 164). According to neo-conservatives, government had encroached too far in the lives of individuals, thereby reducing incentive and promoting unproductive social and economic practices. More careful fiscal planning was required to promote healthy economic development in a competitive environment. Extensive state bureaucracies and trade union organizations characterized by inflexible structures and selfish, inward-directed priorities posed apparent barriers to

social and economic progress. The largest of these structures, health, education and welfare branches of government, also appeared to be guided by practices which retarded individuals' self-reliance and promoted unnecessary dependencies on social assistance.

The appeal of neo-conservatism, aside from its sponsorship by powerful political and economic agencies like the Conference Board in the United States and the Canadian Business Council on National Issues which could successfully finance and promote the view, lay in its ability to pose economic and social crisis as a problem requiring rational management procedures (Block, Cloward, Ehrenreich, and Piven 1987; Langille 1987; Piven and Cloward 1982). The key to socioeconomic renewal lay in "'unlocking' the 'reservoir' of human productive potential (see Silver 1987, 123). Without such regeneration, North American enterprise could not compete in a world economy driven by low cost labour and high productivity.

The managerial logic appeared straightforward in the face of two issues, economic decline and government deficit, which could be shown to have undesirable consequences for nearly all segments of the population in struggling western economies. In Canada, trends in most of the major national economic indicators, including a real decline in the gross national product of 4.8 percent in constant (1971) dollars between 1981 and 1982, a decline of 33.3 percent in pre-tax corporate profits the same year, and an average annual unemployment rate of eleven percent in 1982, provoked widespread demands in the early 1980s that government take decisive action to encourage market-based economic revival (Wood and Kumar 1983, 23-26). Ironically, the way to remove the burden of government seemed to involve greater government participation in economic development and more careful monitoring of social policy. Capital promoted the notion that government incentives to industry and business, in the form of direct grants, tax breaks, restrictive labour legislation, and policies to facilitate corporate

flexibility, was the most viable strategy to regenerate the economy. At the same time, the spectre of government deficits contributed to the widespread questioning of government's ability to finance existing state programs. The post-war expansion of government functions and consequent growth in size of the civil service had produced a large state bureaucracy that often appeared unwieldy and lacking in internal cohesiveness. Calls for government responsibility, advanced especially by the corporate and business sector, began to entail the notion that government should be streamlined and regulated more fully according to industrial models of management. As implemented most prominently beginning in 1980 by the administration of president Ronald Reagan in the United States and the government of Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain, the neo-conservative policies involved cutbacks in the size of the civil service, privatization of state enterprise, increases in tax concessions and direct grants to business and military operations, restrictions in social spending, deregulation of market, labour and environmental procedures, and assaults on organized labour (Piven and Cloward 1982, Warnock 1988).

The neo-conservative agenda was underpinned by two major principles which were of significance for the regulation of teaching and other work in the social services. First was the emphasis on fiscal management which subjected state enterprises to the dictates of rational principles that governed the production of commodities in the private sector. This included the extension of modes of control which I have called technical or industrial regulation, including the assertion of productivity measures, the strict delineation of performance tasks within a hierarchical division of labour, and the centralization of decision-making procedures within senior levels of management. At the same time, however, the association of neo-conservatism with a moral agenda, represented prominently by the strong lobbying of the Moral Majority in North America, provided an incentive to extend regulation

into a second area, which I have called personal regulation. As with teachers late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, teachers in the 1980s came under increased scrutiny on a wide range of measures. The prevention of moral decay required teachers who were dependable as persons fit to guide children to become worthy adults and citizens. Teachers were to be free of values and habits which were detrimental to common social goals of productive citizenship, respect for life, and wholesome participation in the mainstream of social life. The teacher was to be an agent of change for the new order, providing leadership and guidance for the nation's youth, but all the while under intense scrutiny on classroom methods, school content, and personal activities.

A major task for the new problem of management involved dismantling existing state social programs in such a way that the resistance of workers and clients would be minimal. How, in particular, could workers who in the past had been granted a measure of professional autonomy, occupational security and relatively high wages, now be expected to perform, under stricter supervision, prespecified duties for lower wages within a reorganized delivery system? The problem in education was summarized in a report on educational planning prepared for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development:

A problem of the 1980s will be to persuade teachers' organisations to accept changes, many of which will appear to be detrimental to the interests of their members. Many of the ideas for resource reallocation could be readily put into practice if teachers' salary scales and conditions of service were infinitely flexible. If teachers were willing to move from one school to another at reduced levels of pay there would be few problems in maintaining all schools open despite a lack of finance and declining school populations. . . . However, the kind of developments which are likely to be essential in the 1980s will almost certainly require some sacrifices by the teaching profession. Already it is becoming apparent that if education budgets are fixed there is a direct trade-off between higher pay and reducing unemployment amongst trained teachers. In such circumstances teachers' dissatisfaction with their pay is likely to increase. A disgruntled teaching profession is likely to do little to improve the public and political image of the education service.

. . . The main difficulty is to persuade teachers collectively and individually to accept policies that may not be in their direct

interests. Obviously this is a difficult task in which the skills of the diplomat and politician will be at least as important as those of the planner. However, without them resource redeployment is likely to be resisted at every juncture and the educational system is likely to experience a disorderly retreat rather than any re-grouping of forces for selective attacks at points where the chances of victory are greatest (Williams 1983, 346-347).

Education was posed as a battleground for social and economic progress, with teachers and presently constituted teachers' organizations standing as obstacles to the rationalization process. The struggle to change schooling now required three groups of participants - planners to design the school system and plan the transition process; diplomats and politicians to establish school reorganization as a political priority and persuade other groups to accept the viability of the rationalization process; and teachers to carry out as willing participants the objectives of a restructured school system. Planning involved increased technical regulation of teaching in order to specify work tasks and guarantee adequate job performance under definite conditions. In addition, akin to early school promoters, the new reformers came to rely upon personal regulation of teaching as a means of ensuring teachers' commitment to the overall education plans and operations. Teachers had to be convinced that policies defined in contradiction to their own interests for good wages, control over the work process and job security were in fact desirable. Unlike in earlier school reform situations, however, teachers in the late twentieth century were organized as an occupation, with prescribed legal and bargaining rights. State and educational planners could not simply impose new regulations, but had to adopt a combination of coercive and persuasive tactics in order to implement desired changes.

Teachers were faced with the challenge of developing new responses as the mode of regulation changed. At one level, as teachers became subject to the encroachment of technical regulation, affiliation with organized labour and the adoption of labour tactics such as strike action seemed appropriate. At the same time, however, the whole system of industrial relations was under

attack through state and employer restrictions on bargaining, job actions, and certification practices. In addition, the renewed emphasis on personal regulation created for teachers a sense of cautiousness about their own values and behaviour, and a feeling that overt militancy or political activity would bring them undesirable consequences. But, as the effects of state retrenchment and reorganization of social services became increasingly more visible in the school and classroom, through hungry children and reduced school resources, for example, teachers became agitated to take some form of remedial action. Teachers' efforts to reconcile the contradictory aspects of their occupation were limited by the strength of the state assault on teaching within a forum defined by the state.

THE "NEW REALITY" IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Teachers were dislodged in jarring fashion from their traditional position in the background of British Columbia's political activity with the province's formal adoption of neo-conservative policies in 1983. The turbulence which surrounded the introduction of and reaction to a new restraint budget and legislative package placed education as an integral part of the province's economic restructuring. After teachers rose to defend educational services, they were portrayed variously as valiant but naive participants in class struggle forsaken by the combined machinations of a labour aristocracy and government leadership (Palmer 1987, 66-80), morally and politically weak actors who failed to take a consistently firm stance against government action (Kilian 1985, 231-232), and benefactors of a new political realism (Kuehn 1989, 22-23). More importantly, underlying these assessments, teacher-state relations became redefined within an agenda set by the state for the broader restructuring of education both at the expense and with the participation of teachers. This section outlines the turmoil which

surrounded the 1983 provincial budget and legislation. Subsequent sections are concerned with more recent developments in the restructuring of education and teachers' collective responses.

Prior to the budgetary announcements, the re-election of a Social Credit majority government in the 1983 provincial election provoked an uneasy blend of hope and despair for British Columbia public school teachers. The many teachers who had worked to defeat the government through TPAC-II were disappointed with the Socreds' return to office and feared that a new mandate would generate further backlash against teachers. Astute observers recognized that the government's unprecedented failure to present a spring budget had provided a powerful weapon in the hands of the rejuvenated government. The downturn in the province's economy seemed to indicate that government was preparing harsh measures for fiscal management. Exports in key resource industries like forestry and mining declined markedly between 1981 and late 1982, while unemployment rates more than doubled during the same time period, reaching 14.8 percent in the last quarter of 1982 as employment declined by 14.5 percent in the goods-producing industries and by 1.2 percent in service industries (Wood and Kumar 1983, 38). Government borrowing to finance social and economic development in the province reached new peaks by the early 1980s; public debt, which had been maintained at average annual rates of 0.1 percent of total government spending under W.A.C. Bennett's tight fiscal rule had risen to 2.6 percent in 1982 (Maslove, Prince and Doern 1986, 220). Nonetheless, a tone of cautious optimism had been prevalent among teachers since education minister Bill Vander Zalm withdrew from provincial politics before the 1983 election. The premier's announcement in late May that former labour minister Jack Heinrich had been given the education portfolio was welcomed by teachers. Most teachers felt that anyone would be an improvement over Vander Zalm; with Heinrich, whose willingness to listen to participants and remain informed of important issues

within his portfolio had won the grudging respect of labour leaders, teachers felt that they had once again an education minister whom they could trust.

The cynics rather than the optimists proved to be correct. The 1982 provincial fiscal restraint program turned out, in retrospect, to serve as tests of both government strategy and anti-government responsive strength which softened the public sector for oncoming blows.

The government's intentions were formalized publicly on July 7, 1983, with the budget speech and introduction of twenty-six new pieces of legislation. The "temporary" restraint measures, as they had been billed in February, 1982, had become transformed within a year and a half to a "new economic reality." The budget outlined the government's objective to maintain a balance between "restraint for recovery" and short-term stimulation of employment. The legislative package, bearing strong affinities with neo-conservative agendas promoted by the right wing Fraser Institute, constituted a direct assault on organized labour, social services and human rights. The government measures served to increase the provincial government's authority by providing tighter control over taxation, fiscal policies, wage determination, and working conditions, and extended state flexibility to dispose of funds and capital holdings for economic development. High profile investments to promote private sector growth were reinforced as the key to the province's economic security. Rekindling memories of W.A.C. Bennett's commitment to grandiose "megaprojects" in transportation, hydroelectricity and other massive construction projects in the 1950s and 1960s, the B.C. government continued in the early 1980s an orgy of spending begun in the late 1970s on visible projects like highway construction and a rapid transit system and sports stadium in Vancouver. Many of the projects, including a coal mining and shipping venture in the province's northeastern region financed in conjunction with Japanese interests, attempts to designate Vancouver as an international finance centre

to foster Asia-Pacific links, and the Expo 86 world's fair to promote transportation and communication, signified B.C.'s growing integration with international capital (H. Curtis 1983; Fisher and Gilgoff 1987; see Magnusson et al., 1984, and Palmer, 1987, for details of the bills and opposition to the legislation).

In addition to its provisions to allow the state a freer hand to stimulate capital development, the legislation appeared to be targetted in such a way as to taunt both the politically disorganized and groups which the government had identified as contrary to its own interests. Several bills seriously eroded or removed protections for such groups as residential tenants and racial and sexual minorities. Teachers and other public sector workers were singled out by Bill 2 (the Public Sector Labour Relations Amendment Act, which restricted collective bargaining rights for government employees with the removal of the employees' ability to negotiate provisions for working conditions like job security and work hours), Bill 3 (the Public Sector Restraint Act, which made public sector employees subject to job termination without cause when collective agreements expired, thereby removing tenure and seniority protections), and Bill 11 (the Compensation Stabilization Amendment Act, which extended indefinitely the compensation stabilization program and aligned wage control guidelines to suit the employer's ability to pay). The education sector was further affected by Bill 6 (which maintained provincial control over local non-residential property tax and extended the suspension of the School Act clauses under the original Education (Interim) Finance Act until the end of December, 1986) and Bills 19 and 20 (which provided the minister of education with increased, direct control over major aspects of finance, courses and programs in community colleges and technical institutes).

The announced legislation rapidly crystallized diverse sources of opposition to the government's policies. Several groups began to plan and

conduct their own protests against the legislation. By mid-June, the groups had aligned themselves into two major coalitions - Operation Solidarity, composed of the B.C. Federation of Labour and other major unions, and the Lower Mainland Budget Coalition, representing a diverse range of unions, community organizations, and ad hoc groups which formed in response to the legislation. A series of massive public demonstrations revealed the mounting bitterness directed towards the government. By mid-August, the two groups joined forces under the banner of the Solidarity Coalition which formed in order to coordinate action aimed at opposing, and developing alternatives to, the most repressive aspects of the government program.

The BCTF, represented most prominently at an official level by its president, Larry Kuehn, participated actively in the Solidarity Coalition's plans and demonstrations. Kuehn's personal commitment to a united oppositional front was instrumental in helping to congeal teachers' engagement in coalition politics. On a wider scale, too, teachers were collectively ready for and active in the growing challenge to the government's policies. Teachers were in many ways better prepared than most groups in the coalition because of the organizational infrastructure developed in the BCTF in the 1980s to seek increased bargaining rights and fight the government's 1982 restraint program. BCTF leaders were aware, because the proposed legislation would hurt teachers as well as many students and their families, that teachers' opposition to government policies was widespread. The problem was to convince teachers, already conditioned to expect nearly anything from government, to convert their frustration and cynicism into effective action.

While teachers debated the role they might take in further opposition to government policies, the government unleashed two additional salvos at the education system a few days before the opening of the new school year. On September 1, the government announced that reductions of twenty-five percent

in school board budgets would take effect in 1983 and remain in place until 1986. Two days earlier, on August 30, the minister of education had announced that, beginning in spring, 1984, provincial exams would be reintroduced to determine fifty percent of pupils' final grades in all grade 12 academic subjects. The reinstatement of provincial exams after an absence of ten years was promoted by the minister as a means to ensure high academic standards, equitable evaluation of pupils, and a commitment to quality education - "in short, provincial exams should encourage teaching to the curriculum and promote more effective and purposeful teaching" (Heinrich 1983, 59-60).

The provincial government's intent was clear. Whereas fiscal cutbacks served to reduce services and program resources, allowing less leverage for teachers to introduce new ideas, courses and materials, there still remained some discretion for school boards and teachers to arrange the remaining services and resources as they saw fit under given conditions. The provincial examination requirement, however, signalled the provincial government's desire to increase its disciplinary powers over teachers in order to ensure that particular content was taught and learned. "Teaching to the curriculum" meant that students' and teachers' performances became tied to specified samples of knowledge and norms defined by or through the minister of education. Direct classroom supervision of teachers by educational managers was not required to ensure that teachers performed their duties when teachers knew that the products of their work would be subject to the scrutiny of government agents.

The government, as well, intended to introduce an additional level to the process of educational management. Principals and vice-principals were to be designated as "senior managers" under the terms of Bill 3, consistent with former education minister Vander Zalm's statement earlier in the year that school administrators had no place in the BCTF organization with other

teachers. An industrial model would replace the collegial system of governance in the school. In the latter, teachers, principals and vice-principals were able to participate within the school setting in relatively autonomous collective decision-making over many school functions and engage in direct contact with students, whereas in the new model, management functionaries would be physically present in the everyday school setting. The proposal marked the extension of earlier legislation in 1976 and 1978 which had redefined administrators' terms of appointment. As managers, school administrators' backgrounds and functions as educators would be undermined and superseded by allegiances to more senior managerial personnel in the school system.

Teachers were outraged at the latest government proposals. The irony of government claims to provide "quality education" at the same time that school budgets were being slashed was not lost on teachers. BCTF executive members were quick to point out to other teachers the implications of the government actions. Teachers were not opposed to the general idea of comprehensive exams, but federation policy explicitly rejected provincial exams where standards and results were controlled by the state. As Pat Clarke (1983c, 63), the BCTF's first vice-president in 1983, observed, "We must resist any attempts to make us technicians, and to make children only receptacles of information." Until the government's sudden announcement that the exams would proceed, B.C. teachers had been led by government to believe that the whole question of student evaluation was to be studied jointly by the BCTF and the ministry of education. Similarly, despite the efforts of several principals and vice-principals to distance themselves from federation politics, the long-standing BCTF policy, which had been endorsed most recently in February, 1983, and supported by a majority of teachers (including principals and vice-principals), declared that principals and vice-principals were teachers first and administrators second. Unilateral

action by the government to change both the examinations policy and the status of school administrators signified to teachers that the government had an agenda which was directly contrary to teachers' interests, and that the government had no intention of engaging in quiet consultation.

Teachers also began to remind one another that any action that they took in defense of education was justified in the face of government's efforts to destroy what teachers believed had once been a sound education system. Strike action and other militant activities remained repugnant alternatives to many teachers who expressed concern about the harmful effects such a move might have on students and education relations in general. Nonetheless, many of these fears were dispelled with the memory that several months earlier the provincial government conveyed no such reservations when it decreed arbitrarily that schools would be closed for six days in order to save money.

As teachers attempted to conduct their regular classroom duties in a climate of hostility and uncertainty, the BCTF executive maintained a close relationship with the Solidarity Coalition. Talks of a general strike pervaded the public imagination as each of the participating sectors and groups debated specific points of contention over government policy and how best to fight the policies. In September, the BCTF executive committee outlined its objections to the legislation and prepared to mobilize the federation in the event of unified action. The executive maintained that any such action should be oriented to the objective of removing all aspects of the new legislation which pertained to education, because,

The budget and legislative package currently before the House fails to provide adequate funding to meet educational needs, inhibits economic recovery, incorporates a funding formula that is divisive, works against educational effectiveness, and transforms major decision-making powers from local to provincial jurisdictions (BCTF 1983e, Appendix B).

Moreover, the executive members emphasized, "the designation in Bill 3 of some BCTF members as 'senior managers' must be rejected as being inconsistent with a style of educational leadership that includes shared decision-making"

(BCTF 1983e, Appendix B).

In late September and early October, 1983, the executive committee and representative assembly approved a strike ballot to be sent to teachers on the question of BCTF participation in a province-wide strike by teachers and other workers. The BCTF executive declared its willingness to take action in support of workers in any public sector union who were fired under the terms of Bill 3. A massive demonstration organized by the Solidarity Coalition on October 15 drew 60,000 participants to protest government policy during the Social Credit party convention in Vancouver. Few observers could avoid the conclusion that the extra-parliamentary opposition to the government's policy was gaining momentum. The government hastily pushed the legislation through the house and on October 21, several of the offensive bills, including Bills 3, 6, 11, and 19, became law. On November 1, BCTF president Larry Kuehn announced the results of the teachers' strike vote - 59.45 percent of the 27,187 ballots from BCTF members were in favour of the strike action (BCTF 1983d, BCTF 1983e, BCTF 1983f, Kuehn 1983a).

The strike ballot results provided a mixed indication of the teachers' position. While lower than the eighty-eight percent favourable strike vote to back improved pension rights in 1971 in the only other province-wide strike mounted by the BCTF, the strike support in 1983 was unprecedented for B.C. teachers on a provincial basis in that it was directed in part at collective bargaining rights. The margin of voting in favour of the strike was a reversal of teachers' voting patterns on other labour issues, notably labour affiliation, which had generally been defeated by proportions of about 60-40 throughout the previous decade. Even among the strike supporters, few teachers approached the strike situation enthusiastically. Most BCTF members voted on the basis of frustration over government policies on education, labour, and social services, indignation over government insensitivity to workers and recipients of government services, and a sense of moral duty to

protect the rights of others. Few observers had a clear idea of how effective BCTF strike action would be if plans to mobilize the strike were actually carried through.

Nonetheless, with a majority of its members voting in favour of strike action, the BCTF's plan of action went into effect immediately. The federation was reorganized for the strike period so that the executive committee would be directly responsible to Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition. A provincial strike coordinating committee was to serve as a liaison between the BCTF's executive committee and the federation's staff strike coordinating committee. The staff committee served to coordinate various channels of communication with members (including the dissemination of regular bulletins, press releases and telephone hotline updates), field and picket services, and liaisons with other unions. The executive also secured the cooperation of the B.C. Principals' and Vice-Principals' Association to ensure the full participation of teachers in the strike. Strike coordinators began to struggle with such practical questions as, "What to do about teachers who cross picket lines?" and, "When will we know we have 'won'?" (BCTF 1983k, Kuehn 1983a).

The latter question, as naive as it appeared to be, was a crucial one for the BCTF and other Solidarity Coalition participants. B.C. teachers, most of whom in 1983 had no experiences either in strike situations or in working with other unions, were suddenly in the midst of a movement which transcended their own organization, enmeshed in events the course of which no one could predict accurately. The Solidarity Coalition's plan was to stage an escalating strike, beginning November 1 with the walkout of the BCGEU and continuing with successive walkouts by other sectors. If no settlement was reached by November 2, teachers' associations and other education workers were to serve notice that day that they would be on strike on November 8. The Solidarity Coalition plan was for each group to remain out until the

striking workers gained a settlement which entailed a new collective agreement for the BCGEU, the withdrawal of Bill 2 and repeal of Bill 3, and a guarantee that no public sector workers would be laid off as a consequence of the new legislative package.

The BCGEU would be in a legal strike position after the expiry of its contract on October 31, with the union contending that the scheduled termination of jobs for 1,600 government workers violated the collective agreement. The legality of strike participation by other groups, however, was more uncertain. The position of teachers, in particular, was ambivalent since the School Act and provincial Labour Code were silent on teachers' right to strike, and the matter of the possible legality of teachers' withdrawal of services if it could be determined that the employer committed a breach of contract was unresolved (Cocking 1981, Yorke 1981a). The groups other than the BCGEU promoted the strike action as a legal political protest against the impending loss of existing labour and human rights and adequate provision of social services. The legitimacy of strike action was of particular concern for teachers who conceptualized their work in terms of service to the public (Clarke 1983a). It was essential for the BCTF:

to explain, not only to the public, but to [its] members, what it was they were doing within a kind of a legal context. Teachers are always really concerned about the legality of [an action]. . . . they feel a kind of social responsibility to be models of proper decorum, law abiding citizens and what have you. It was a major problem for teachers to overcome the fact that this strike was "illegal." It had to be legitimized in political terms. Fortunately, because of the tone of the times, and thanks I think to Bill Vander Zalm and other people, teachers began to see it as a legitimate political protest which, as a matter of conscience, was an act of civil disobedience which was legitimate in the political context (Clarke 1986, 19).

In addition to its definition of the strike as a political matter in terms which transcended the narrower concerns of the major trade unions, and unlike many other groups, the BCTF had its own specific objectives for the strike. Strike resolution, according to a statement prepared on October 29 by the BCTF executive committee, would be dependent upon arrangements for an

agreement which covered six items:

1. A limit is placed on the arbitrary powers granted to school boards by Bill 3, through an exclusion agreement that guarantees due process for teachers in layoffs or terminations.
2. The provincial government commits itself to a level of funding that is adequate to at least maintain the current levels of educational service during the term of Bill 6 (1984-1986).
3. Restoration of collective bargaining rights for all teachers, including principals, vice-principals and other teachers with supervisory responsibilities.
4. A halt to the centralization of decision-making in education.
5. Access to post-secondary education for all qualified students.
6. Removing the limitations on human rights and democratic and social rights created by other parts of the government's current legislative package and budget (Kuehn 1983a, 2).

The BCGEU walkout proceeded, as scheduled, on November 1. Although the anticipated layoff of 1,600 government employees did not occur and government proceeded to negotiate last-minute concessions on Bill 3 with the union, nothing substantially changed which might alter the strike plan. Very quickly, public attention began to shift to the teachers. The November 15 legislative deadline for teacher bargaining, combined with general uncertainty over teachers' strike orientations, seemed an appropriate basis for teachers to delay their entry into the strike until a later stage after other groups had shown their willingness to strike. The November 8 date, by contrast, appeared to be a calculated effort to serve divergent interests, with BCTF leaders like Larry Kuehn confident that teachers would deliver their support and other Operation Solidarity leaders aware that teachers' response would act as a swing factor one way or the other to terminate or escalate the job action. Some observers, like Palmer (1987), suggested that the timing of teachers' entry into the strike may have been intended by private sector trade unions to provoke a failure which would weaken the buildup of popular protest in the province. Labour leaders feared losing control of the protest; the entry of the education sector would make the

strike something much more significant than a contract dispute between the government and its employees' union. Pat Clarke, who was a BCTF vice-president in 1983, commented that,

The reason why teachers were figured in the strike as early as they did was because there was a belief, I think, abroad that teachers would not act in the strike and that they would be the reason why it would start to unfold. When that didn't happen, some other segments of the labour movement became pretty worried because it did start to look like a general strike (Clarke 1986, 8).

A headline in the Kamloops News of November 4, claiming "Teachers weak link in chain," expressed what many participants and observers suspected or anticipated. No one knew with any certainty whether teachers' ambivalent strike orientations would be resolved one way or another on November 8. Militant strike supporters, cognizant of the BCTF's past poor record in support of labour, feared that the BCTF members would back out of the strike. Teachers' sixty percent strike vote seemed an uncertain commitment to the job action, especially as pressure mounted on the teachers. The state, which was counting on teachers' reservations about job action to break the strike, accelerated its campaign to intimidate the teachers. Several school boards reiterated claims they had made in October that a teachers' strike was illegal and threatened to serve injunctions against the teachers. While most boards, like the Vancouver School Board, sought injunctions to prohibit picketing activities by teachers, other more reactionary boards, such as in some Fraser Valley districts, were dedicated to force teachers back to the classroom through either injunctions or direct threats to penalize striking teachers. The possibility of severe sanctions was heightened when education minister Jack Heinrich announced on November 2 that strike action by teachers was illegal and threatened that if teachers withdrew their services their teaching certificates would be subject to cancellation or suspension. The BCTF also came under attack from several school trustees. Gary Begin, who chaired the Burnaby School Board, chided the BCTF for its apparent submission

to the dictates of the BCGEU against the objections of nearly half of the province's teachers (Begin 1983, Ministry of Education 1983d, Vancouver School Board 1983).

Teachers did not hide their reservations about participation in the strike. Accustomed to their regular performance of classroom-related duties, uncomfortable with the possibility that they might be on picket lines with other education workers and trade unionists, and now threatened with severe reprisals by their employers, teachers agonized over their impending decision on whether to walk out. Scattered groups of teachers pleaded with BCTF officials to delay the strike, and others attempted to mobilize campaigns against the strike. One North Vancouver teacher devised an ill-conceived plan to form a group called Teachers Against Communist Tactics. Vancouver school principal Allan Garneau, who had mounted several previous challenges against militant BCTF leaders, disseminated a newsletter entitled The Teachers' Professional Voice in which he promoted teacher professionalism as a form of "creative entrepreneurship" and, ignoring the statement on goals for strike resolution which the BCTF executive had circulated to federation members, misguidedly attacked a "unionist" BCTF leadership for lacking clear guidelines for strike resolution (Cox 1983, Garneau 1983).

As November 8 approached, the flurry of activity to prevent the education workers' walkout intensified. Teachers' contract negotiations, which would normally end on November 15, became a complicating factor in the public sector dispute. A frantic series of meetings between local teachers and trustees, first in the Richmond district on November 3 and 4, and then in North Vancouver on November 6 and 7, proceeded with the intent to establish contracts in order to undercut the strike plans. Agreement was close but the efforts were ultimately futile. The North Vancouver board and teachers' association reached what appeared to be a tentative agreement the day before teachers' planned entry into the strike. The meetings were monitored closely

by several labour and government officials, including Operation Solidarity leaders Jack Munro (regional president of the International Woodworkers of America) and Art Kube (president of the BCFL), BCTF president Larry Kuehn, Compensation Stabilization Commissioner Ed Peck, deputy minister of education Jim Carter, Stephen Kelleher (who chaired the Labour Relations Board), and Employers' Council of British Columbia president Jim Matkin. Most of these officials were involved simultaneously in efforts to negotiate a broader arrangement involving exemption of government employees from Bill 3 provisions. Talks between the North Vancouver teachers and school board broke down late in the afternoon of November 7 after government made it clear that it would not allow Bill 3 exemptions to both groups (the teachers and the government employees). The failed negotiations were further complicated by uncertainty among participating groups over what would constitute an adequate settlement. With the BCTF and BCGEU close to agreement, there was a legitimate fear among other groups that their interests were about to be sacrificed. The BCTF, which had already indicated its strike objectives, emphasized that it would not abandon the strike plan without government commitment to grant exemptions to Bill 3, provide an adequate formula for education resources, and keep school administrators "in scope" within the BCTF. The BCGEU, meanwhile, was concerned primarily with contractual exemptions from Bill 3 and the withdrawal of Bill 2. Otherwise, the Solidarity Coalition revealed dangerous fragmentation among business labour unions which wanted to preserve labour interests and other groups which were more concerned with the political and social consequences of the total legislative package (Kuehn 1983f, Public Sector Disputes Committee 1983).

On November 8, teachers joined the strike. The reservations which several groups held about teachers' solidarity were shattered when early reports estimated that between eighty and ninety percent of teachers were out. As planned, principals reported to work on the morning of the 8th to

monitor the situation, ensuring the safety of students who showed up and then, if sufficient instructional staff were not present, to close down the schools. On the picket lines, teachers handed out pamphlets which appealed for strike support, stating in part that, "We are on strike today because we firmly believe that our public education system is in danger from the provincial government's budget and legislative package," and, moreover, that "teachers and other workers in the public sector are treated unfairly and unjustly under the proposed legislation" (BCTF 1983o).

As the teachers set up picket lines, trustees and courts were busy acting on the injunction threat. Vancouver and Victoria school boards had their injunctions before the start of the strike. In Vancouver, the injunction was directed specifically against picketing by teachers, so BCGEU members set up picket lines which were honoured by nearly all the city teachers. By the strike's third day, a total of eight injunctions had been issued while injunctions were in various stages of readiness in up to thirty-two other districts. The legal action against the strike strengthened teachers' resolve to make their walkout a success. The interaction of teachers with members of the BCGEU, CUPE and other unions on the picket lines provided many teachers with a newfound awareness of the relationships between teaching and other jobs and working situations. Teachers were heartened by the support of parents, many of whom joined teachers on the picket lines. The provincial Home and School Federation, referring to a policy approved by its members in 1981, urged parents not to enter schools, and reminded parents that no harm was done to pupils' education by government-imposed school closures the previous year. Increasing numbers of teachers participated in the strike as the strike progressed. By November 10, over ninety percent of the province's school teachers, including over half of the school principals, were out (British Columbia Home and School Federation 1983, Hutchison 1984, Kuehn 1989, North 1983).

Teachers' participation in the strike proved inspirational to other groups in the Solidarity Coalition and set the stage for further escalation as crown corporation employees walked out on November 10. The BCTF sought to cultivate high morale among teachers on the picket lines through a flurry of printed and verbal communications outlining statements of solidarity, picket line heroics, and alliances between teachers and other groups. Teachers, however, still had many lessons to learn about the politics of labour and the state. While the BCTF attempted to keep members informed about ongoing developments in the strike and negotiations, teachers and other strikers were left in the dark as to what was really happening in negotiations over settlement of the strike. Many strike participants were growing restless, feeling that the mere act of striking had been a sufficient expression of determined opposition to the government's policies. As one teacher observed,

The pain of being on strike is not the lost salary or the cold feet. It's not knowing when it all will end - the uncertainty. For a professional person who has always known clearly defined roles, this is what is so hard to cope with. . . . I resolve [the question of whether or not anything was accomplished by the strike] in my own mind by determining that my act, our act, was a necessary statement (A Saanich Teacher 1984, 136).

Teachers' uneasiness over the legality of their strike participation was compounded by the narrow legal interpretation of the strike maintained by government officials and, ultimately by the union leaders who were at the helm of the solidarity movement.

The next phase of the walkouts, involving municipal employees and the transportation sector, was scheduled to proceed on November 14. On November 11, which was a statutory holiday, leaders of Operation Solidarity approached senior officials of government and employers' groups to proceed to negotiate an end to the strike. The government made it clear that only contractual items would be negotiated. While Solidarity leaders expressed the view that social and human rights issues must be part of any settlement, their sentiments were betrayed by the fact that only the major trade union leaders

were involved in the negotiating scenario which unfolded over the course of the next three days. On November 11, Jack Munro and Mike Kramer, representing Operation Solidarity, met with Norman Spector, the premier's chief advisor, to work out a plan to settle the BCGEU contract and resolve the broader issues. Further meetings were held on November 12 and 13 to work out details. Before the strike escalated after the long weekend, government and BCGEU negotiators reached agreement on a contract which provided government employees with wage increases of zero percent the first year and about three and a half percent the second, and exemptions for BCGEU members on seniority clauses and other provisions of Bill 3, and established government's right to proceed with the planned layoffs of 1,600 government workers. With the BCGEU agreement in place, Munro flew directly to Kelowna as planned to meet with the premier. ~~Solidarity~~ leaders expected that the two would, under pre-arranged terms, sign and make public the agreement reached on the 11th which, according to a report in the Vancouver Sun, was to contain provisions for Bill 3 exemption agreements on layoff terms for all public sector unions, the maintenance of 1983 levels for education funding in the next school year, changes to human rights and rental legislation, consultation on other social issues in the legislative package, and amnesty for unions which participated in the Solidarity strike, in exchange for an immediate end to the strike so that the government could proceed with the remainder of its plans (Glavin 1983).

Government members and officials, however, were aware of rifts in the Solidarity Coalition and hesitated to give away what might be perceived to be extravagant concessions to the strikers. As the government saw it, many of the strikers, like the teachers, were out illegally.

The agreement, which quickly became known as the Kelowna Accord, was signed but the terms were not immediately made public. Operation Solidarity leaders, though, did assure various participating groups that the terms of

the earlier agreement had been retained. With the wider agreement in place, the North Vancouver district was targetted to provide a model teachers' contract. On the evening of November 13, the teachers and trustees reached agreement on essentially the same terms, including exemptions for teachers on Bill 3 provisions, which had been rejected by government earlier in the week.

On November 14, the BCTF publicly announced what it understood to be gains for teachers under the new settlements. Teachers were assured that virtually all of their major concerns had been addressed: the maintenance of near-current funding levels for the 1984 school year; government recommendations to school boards to negotiate Bill 3 exemptions for teachers on seniority, job security and severance pay provisions; a promise by government that it would not take reprisals against employees who participated in the strike and that it would recommend the same to other public sector employers; and the establishment of advisory committees to investigate human rights and labour legislation. Teachers also had been led to believe that the accord provided guarantees that an estimated eighteen to twenty million dollars saved by school boards in unpaid salaries and other benefits during the strike would be retained by the school system to reduce the impact of budgetary cuts (BCTF 1983b, BCTF 1983i).

Upon release of these details, Norman Spector, the premier's deputy minister who had guided the Kelowna Accord arrangements, publicly chastized BCTF president Larry Kuehn for releasing the terms of agreement prematurely and erroneously. Spector insisted that any proposed agreement to return money saved by the education system during the teachers' strike was contingent upon the teachers making up the three strike days in school time. Premier Bennett, in one of his few brief public comments on the agreement, also suggested that the BCTF statements were for the most part incorrect (Comparelli 1983, Glavin and Barrett 1983).

Several weeks of uncertainty and counter-accusations followed. The

issue of the three days of "lost school time" threatened to bring tensions within the Solidarity Coalition into the open, with education in the forefront of political controversy. Government insisted that reinstatement of the time lost underlay the agreement; labour and BCTF leaders denied that any conditions had been attached to the return of the money to the school system; and teachers in general felt confused and betrayed by the labour leadership.

Teachers, trustees and government did agree that the strike money would remain in the education system, but the parties disagreed on the conditions under which the funds would be retained. Government officials maintained that teachers' participation in the strike was an illegal and irresponsible action which deprived children of school time. Premier Bennett noted that "every fair-minded person . . . would expect that our children . . . would have restored to them the education that was lost" (quoted in BCTF 19831), as if teachers were paid on a piece-work basis, expected to dispense with given quantities of knowledge. In a similar manner, the minister of education adopted a legalistic position which emphasized the stipulation in school law that schools were to remain open for 192 days during the school year, but he then threatened that if the three days were lost, the money saved would be taken from education budgets. The government was prepared to concede the issue of how the time was made up by teachers, as long as the three days were not lost and the money was not directed in any way towards paying teachers' salaries or retaining teaching positions that were targeted to be cut under the restraint program. The BCTF, by contrast, was concerned with the loss of up to six hundred teaching positions through the legislation, and dismissed provisions to make up the three days as totally ridiculous. School trustees wanted assurances that the funds would remain in the school system, but feared that government and teachers might make an agreement which superceded school board authority. Trustees also tended to believe that teachers should

not escape reprisal for their participation in the walkout (BCSTA 1983b, BCTF 1983l, BCTF 1983n, Clarke 1983b, Kuehn 1983d, Vancouver Sun 1983).

Confusion and tension mounted as each party put forward new proposals. By late November, most teachers and trustees tended to agree that any attempt to reinstate three days of instructional time would be futile. Few participants in the education system wanted to exert their lagging energies on a new crisis, although there was a strong basis for fears that hostility within the education system would escalate.

Many teachers were bitter at what they saw as a raw deal for them in the Kelowna Accord, and were eager to engage in further job action to push their case. In some local associations, teachers who were active in the strike began to seek disciplinary action against teachers who had crossed picket lines or worked during the strike. At the BCFL convention on November 28 to December 2, labour leaders lavished glowing testimonials upon teachers' involvement in the strike, and on December 1, delegates voted unanimously to support teachers if any education worker was laid off as a consequence of strike money diverted from the school system. Teachers could be forgiven for developing an inflated sense of either strength or irony under these circumstances (BCTF 1983m, Robb 1983, Sundby 1983).

Meanwhile, several school boards proceeded to reprimand school administrators and other teachers who participated in the strike, and began to issue termination notices in accordance with the budgetary cutbacks. The combination of the reprisals and staff dislocation through restraint measures afforded boards a potentially strong disciplinary hand. Most commonly, boards issued letters of reprimand to administrators as, for example, in Windermere and Prince Rupert; in Quesnel, classroom teachers also received letters of reprimand; in Surrey and Smithers, district superintendents began to interview and verbally reprimand each principal who participated in the strike; and the president of the Agassiz-Harrison teachers' association was

reportedly forced to transfer to another school. The government increased the pressure on November 30, when the minister of education announced that government grants to school boards would be reduced by the amount of strike-time salary savings in each district. The minister also advised boards to seek their own solutions to the three days issue and recommended that teachers who offered instruction for the three days should not lose benefits. The announcement had the potential effect of exacerbating tensions among teachers who did and did not work during the strike and forcing school boards to take measures which might be unpopular in their districts. While some boards did develop their own solutions (Penticton, for example, planned to cancel two professional development days and make up the third day by adding three minutes to each school day), other boards, like Kamloops, told the government that they would not accept any strike money if it was offered conditionally (Bowman 1983, Boyer 1983, BCSTA 1983b, BCTF 1983g, Ministry of Education 1983a).

Not all participants saw the lost school days matter as necessarily internally divisive. Al Blakey, who as president of the BCTF in the late 1970s had guided the federation to take a more politically active stance, saw that teachers could use the issue as a means to expose contradictions in the government's position:

I think we need to begin hitting the government on its three days position in terms of what it means to schools. They would rather have us make up some meaningless time than save the programs and jobs that the money could be spent on. . . .

It's rather interesting, really, the way this money issue means more in terms of politics than it appears. To begin with who ever heard of a public sector union negotiating the placement of its members' lost pay as a condition of settlement? It's a precedent that public sector unions might well follow because it's a further way of establishing the fact that the interests of public sector workers and the public can be the same. In addition, the issue is not the money per se but the fact that our position puts a spoke in the real program of the government to cut education (Blakey 1983).

Despite these insights, most participants wanted the issue to fade. Even the conservative Association of British Columbia School Superintendents

joined the BCTF and BCSTA in calling publicly for a quiet resolution of the issue with no further action necessary. When education minister Jack Heinrich announced on December 22 that the twelve million dollar teachers' salary component of the strike savings was to be retained by the province "to improve education across the Province," and that the time issue was to be resolved locally by school boards, most school participants retreated for their Christmas vacations thankful for the respite (Association of British Columbia School Superintendents 1983, Ministry of Education 1983e).

Teachers could now go back into the classroom to resume their normal duties shielded, they hoped, from direct political attacks. The teachers had shown convincingly to themselves and others that they were not afraid to enter wider struggles in defense of political and social rights. They were now integrated to an unprecedented degree into labour and political alliances. Uncomfortable as it often was, participation on the picket lines had changed many teachers. Teachers were euphoric with the realization that they had new allies in the labour movement and the community, but they had also tasted the bitter flavour of serious political and labour maneuvering. Their experiences, they hoped, would provide them with the resourcefulness that was required to operate a classroom under conditions of restraint.

ASSESSING THE CRISIS

B.C. teachers' role in the Solidarity protest highlighted the contradictory strengths and limitations of teaching as a productive and moral/subjective endeavour. As the state exercised its authority to regulate education and other services, teachers joined labour in collective industrial action. However, the education sector also occupied a unique position. The BCTF, especially through its president, Larry Kuehn, was the only group to bridge formally labour and community groups through involvement in both

Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition. Yet ultimately the teachers were singled out as the major targets of state reprisals, first in injunctions during the strike, then in the dispute over the make-up of lost time. Teachers and other strike participants tended to ignore the crucial fact that the recent teacher-state struggle and wider involvement with labour and community groups had been staged on terrain defined by the state. Few participants debated the issue of whether restraint was necessary and concentrated instead on formal or procedural questions of how and when to apply particular cutbacks and legislative restrictions.

The guidelines which had marked the traditional dilemma of whether teachers were a union or a profession no longer seemed as relevant or clearcut as they had once appeared. Teachers gained a sense that in many respects they shared common interests with other workers and community groups. The government restraint package and the dismantling of the solidarity strike shattered many illusions which teachers held about their legal authority to determine public priorities and their autonomy to deliver state services. The education cutbacks were not only an affront to teachers' notions of professionalism, but a strong reminder that teachers were dependent employees. Kuehn (1989, 22-23) observed that the strike experience hardened many teachers to important political realities:

Those with a romantic political idealism, who saw the strike weapon as a transforming experience, discovered that it doesn't always deliver. And those who feared that a strike would somehow demean them as caring professionals discovered that they hadn't changed all that much in the three days spent out of their classrooms.

However, while teachers had overcome the isolationism which had characterized the BCTF since the 1950s, there was no certainty over which alliances would continue after the 1983 crisis. Teachers had demonstrated that they could cooperate with the labour movement and engage in industrial action, but they were motivated at least as much by a sense of outrage over social and educational injustices as over state encroachment on industrial relations

practices. The Solidarity Coalition demonstrated that wide-ranging alliances could mobilize the population to oppose state policy cohesively, even if the consequences ultimately made teachers and other social groups appear to be unwitting pawns for the objectives of state officials and the labour elite. Teachers' sense of disillusionment and betrayal at the agreement which had ended the strike reinforced the distaste which many teachers held for trade unionism and reduced the likelihood that the BCTF would automatically enter into any permanent alliance with labour and possibly other groups.

As the traditional boundaries which had defined teaching as a profession became blurred, the state constructed new parameters to advance technical regulation over teaching. The government's management of school operations according to business principles was a two step process. The first stage involved centralized fiscal control over school budget levels and budgetary processes which provided the state with tremendous discretionary powers to regulate school operations. While in strict legal terms school boards retained the autonomy to operate the schools as they saw fit, their options were limited. School budgets were relatively fixed. Classrooms had to be equipped, maintained and staffed, and now non-residential tax revenues and the largest item of school expenditures, teachers' salaries, were regulated tightly by provincial legislation. Boards were left with the option of indiscriminately slashing expenditures or developing rational criteria with which to cut programs and funding. Either course of action was likely to offend some educational participants or damage procedures which had been implemented to meet earlier needs based upon particular local or professional criteria. As education minister Jack Heinrich told Solidarity Coalition representatives in November at the outset of the strike, the government's objective was to preserve school board autonomy while "the ministry will concern itself only with funding and facilities, certification, curriculum and testing" (Kuehn 1983e). One might well have wondered what was left for

teachers and school boards to determine with their autonomy.

The second stage, which had been anticipated in part by the core curriculum and learning assessment programs in the 1970s, allowed the state to take a more direct role in educational programming and evaluation by emphasizing school content and procedures which could be assessed in terms of specific productivity measures. As in Britain, where Lawn and Ozga (1986) and Grace (1987, 215) argue that the state moved from a position of indirect rule to direct rule over teachers, the British Columbia government shed any hesitation it had to intervene in school system operations. Centralized fiscal control facilitated the introduction of new incentives to evaluate and increase school productivity. The post-Solidarity classroom was highly constrained by strict central control by the provincial government. Schools contained diminishing numbers of teachers, support staff and resources. A BCTF survey based on data from fifty-four of the province's seventy-five school districts revealed that the teaching staff was reduced by 2400 teachers, or nearly twelve percent, between 1981-82 and 1985-86, while support staff such as teacher aides, library aides and custodians was reduced by over 1200, or 14.5 percent over the same time period (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 18). Teaching was intensified as the teacher became counsellor, social worker, nurse, disciplinarian, coach, and, if there was the time and energy left, imparter of knowledge.

A problem remained with the more indefinite moral/subjective aspects of the schooling process. The nurturing and socializing functions of schooling could be undermined if teachers were treated or allowed to identify themselves only as workers or productive inputs into a technical system. The threat of injunctions against teacher strikes and debate over the lost school time implied that teachers had a duty or responsibility to provide classroom leadership that should not be interrupted by political or industrial agitation. Notions of the public responsibility of teachers could work

either for or against teachers. Teachers had the potential ability to mobilize public support through advocacy of the benefits of public education which were under attack by the government. As was recognized by BCTF officials like Al Blakey, teachers' involvement in the strike signified a stark contrast with traditional business unionism which emphasized narrowly-defined contractual matters:

I think a number of us for a long time have had the concept that a public service union has got to ally itself with the client, if you want, and not with the institution. We didn't create the educational system. Others did who have power and authority. We have been forced to work in it, and we've had some influence on it, but it is essentially not what we would have put there. And we are the teachers of youngsters in the community, etc., and together with them we should be working - that should be the alliance that tries to bring about change - that's our concept of democracy (Blakey 1986, 17).

At the same time, however, by playing upon notions of dedicated service to human clients, government could impose further restrictions on teachers by means of extending personal regulation over teachers' character and worthiness as guardians of the same public interest. As nineteenth century school reformers recognized, effective school management could be accomplished by forcing teachers to defend their fitness to teach.

In sum, the Solidarity struggle marked a key turning point in teacher-state relations and the wider organization of state services. By establishing "restraint and recovery," defined in terms of reducing human services, cutting government payrolls and state expenditures, restricting labour rights, and stimulating private economic development, as the path to economic advancement, government and its business supporters set the agenda around which legitimate political struggle could be mobilized. Social reproduction was concerned with the problem of how to adjust to or manage life in a world guided by market principles and individual selectivity. Oppositional forces including labour, community groups and teachers were obliged to respond to state initiatives more in terms of how to preserve or allocate existing resources than of any fundamental questioning of the new

agenda. The matter of changing to conform to the new reality was beyond question; struggle involved primarily the search for assurances that the change would be accomplished in a humane manner to ensure that all constituencies were given equitable treatment.

RESTRUCTURING EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES

The management of schools and other social reproductive services under neo-conservatism required a close integration of what I have called technical and personal regulation. The welfare state was to be downsized, governed by rational business practices and encouraged to stimulate highly productive free market relations. At the same time, the free exchange of ideas and commodities would serve as a constraint on moral decay. Teachers and other state agents thus became moral entrepreneurs, using the state to advance rather than hinder the development of a new work ethic. Without such a reorientation, as Grubel (1984, 79, 81) warned, "social programs erode the traditional values, constraints, penalties and institutions of society, the loss of which threatens the viability of society. . . . Encouraged by a growing indifference to traditional values and the law, these developments feed upon and reinforce one another, thereby lowering incentives to work, decreasing productivity and changing the nature of Canadian society." I examine in this section the British Columbia government's use of restraint as a rationale to advance a neo-conservative agenda by moving simultaneously to reduce educational services and alter priorities within the education system. Educational structures were not simply downsized, offering the same services with reduced resources, but were oriented in a new direction, consistent with social and economic demands for flexibility, basic literacy and moral regulation.

The government's position was encapsulated in a background paper on

educational finance prepared in 1984 by two senior officials of the ministry of education:

The Provincial Government has established financial targets for the system which call for a return to levels of service much like those which prevailed in the mid-seventies. This does not, however, mean that the nature of the services provided in years to come will be the same as ten years ago. Programming and resource priorities have shifted and are expected to remain shifted (Fleming and Anderson 1984, 35; emphasis in original).

Within this framework, the government focussed its efforts to restructure education in three main areas - to further consolidate its control over educational finance, to reorganize school curriculum and programs in accordance with market competitiveness, and to restructure teaching and teachers' organizations to carry out the reorganized educational services.

The provincial government retained control over all educational finance except the residential tax base. The Education (Interim) Finance Act, in effect from 1982 and extended under Bill 6 in 1983 to 1986, allowed the province to set limits on tax rates and on school board budgets. It limited, directly and through indirect political pressure, the amount of funds that school boards could spend in total and on particular budgetary components. Provincial control over non-residential property taxes enabled the province to provide tax breaks to business and shift state funding to priorities other than education. School boards were left with residential taxation as the only viable source of revenue by which they could maintain school services at roughly comparable levels from one year to the next. An audit by the BCTF on the effects of restraint revealed that between 1982 and 1986-87, school revenues from non-residential property taxes decreased by \$142 million (or 21.5 percent) and provincial grants from general revenues to schools increased by \$146.9 million (25.3 percent), while school revenue from residential property taxes increased by \$76 million (17.6 percent) - thus, as the BCTF indicated, government grants barely covered the loss of non-residential tax revenues, leaving residential taxpayers with the burden

of paying for any increases in school costs (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 94-101). As in the 1970s, schools were highly susceptible to potential criticism in the form of a taxpayer revolt because school taxes stood out as a visible component of general taxation.

Government's fiscal control over education was reinforced by its wider discretionary powers. In May, 1985, four school boards, frustrated with a continuing series of government-imposed revisions in education budgets, defied the government and submitted budgets which exceeded limits set by the ministry. The boards argued that their budgets, despite failing to comply with government guidelines, could not be reduced without seriously impairing the delivery of educational services. Succumbing to government pressure, two of the school boards revised their budgets to meet the ministry levels. To deal with the remaining districts, Vancouver and Cowichan, the government invoked a clause in the School Act which authorized the minister of education to dismiss the entire school boards. Elected trustees in each of the two districts were replaced with single government-appointed official trustees who were expected to comply with the government guidelines without any hesitancy or legitimate opposition (see Kilian 1985, 180-207 for details). The last time the government had engaged its powers to appoint official trustees on a widespread basis was during the 1930s and 1940s when small school districts were collapsing because of insecure operations and inadequate funding; in the context of the 1980s, government's dismissal of the elected school boards was widely interpreted as blatant retribution for the trustees' political disagreement with the government.

The strict funding limits, besides forcing school boards to enact government dictates, also enabled government to define and direct funds towards what it considered absolutely essential educational practices. With such limits in place, government was then in a position to allocate for political payoff or other reasons additional funds for specific school

programs. The most prominent such measure was the government's announcement in February, 1986, of a \$110 million fund which it called the "Fund for Excellence in Education." The premier and education minister emphasized that the fund would be allocated only after a consultation process involving government and education system participants to finance special projects outside of the regular operating budgets of public schools and post-secondary institutions, such as computer purchases, teacher training programs, new equipment, and curriculum development. Teachers, trustees and other critics dismissed the fund as a "sham" and a "shell game." The critics were proven correct in the sense that the government, without consultation and in considerable displays of largesse, quickly began to dispense with the funds to cover such items as new textbooks, increased energy and transportation costs, and regular teacher salary increments, which would normally be components of provincial operating grants to school boards (Hume, Gill and Todd 1986, Ministry of Education n.d., Todd 1986a, Vancouver Sun 1986). At the same time, the existence of the fund provided a clear signal that the government was prepared to regulate educational expenditure in a rational manner according to government's intent to control educational costs and programs and maximize political returns on selected disbursement of educational funds.

The Compensation Stabilization Program further ensured government control over education finance by isolating, monitoring and, if necessary, rolling back the teacher salary component of education budgets. Teachers and school boards remained formally free to negotiate teachers' salaries and bonuses. Agreements, however, were subject to review by the compensation stabilization commissioner, who had the power to restrict wage increases which exceeded his program guidelines. This process had the dual effect of curtailing teachers' already limited bargaining rights and reducing school board autonomy given the fact that teachers' salaries constituted the

greatest part of school districts' operating budgets. Moreover, the 1983 amendments to the Compensation Stabilization Program made the commissioner's decisions contingent upon employers' ability to pay. Since provincial budgetary procedures regulated school boards' ability to pay, teachers' bargaining became little more than a charade of formalities.

With fiscal control in place, the government moved to reorganize the curriculum. The new legislative session opened with a throne speech in 1984 which argued that discipline needed to be restored in the schools. The speech echoed the sentiments of the Employers' Council of British Columbia (1984, 9), which set as its priority for 1984 the re-establishment of control over working conditions, stating that, "More recognition will be given to treating unionized employees as management's employees and not the union's employees." The rhetoric of discipline and control neglected to acknowledge that the state and employers already had the means of such control at their disposal.

In March, 1984, education minister Jack Heinrich released a discussion paper on graduation requirements for secondary school. The paper outlined plans to impose a rigid structure on high school course offerings, beginning in the new school year for students expecting to graduate in 1987. Three streams or areas of specialization which required specific prerequisites in grade 10 were planned for grades 11 and 12. An Arts and Science Program was tailored for university entrance, an Applied Arts and Science Program was oriented to post-secondary technical or college career training, and a Career Preparation Program was intended for pupils who planned to enter the workforce immediately upon graduation. The curriculum plan prescribed new requirements in each program and increased the overall number of required senior (12-level) courses by one, added compulsory mathematics and science requirements to the core curricular areas for all pupils, and substituted courses in "specialty" areas for a range of elective classes (Ministry of

Education 1984, 10-12). The development of distinct educational streams organized around a core curriculum was neither new (the same general principle was elaborated in 1960 Chant commission report, for example) nor isolated to British Columbia; furthermore, curriculum revision has always been a multifaceted process (see Cochrane, 1987, for example, for a discussion of contradictions in the introduction of a core curriculum in Saskatchewan and its links to American curriculum revision processes). Nonetheless, the proposed curriculum revisions in the 1980s were distinguished by their responsiveness to the interests of business and neo-conservative critics of the schools who argued that schools were wasting time and resources on too many fringe courses at the expense of programs which would move students into the workforce prepared to work at available jobs (see Livingstone 1985, 73-81, and Nevitte and Gibbins 1984).

Before most observers had a proper chance to study and digest the new curriculum plans, the government set them into motion, although in the 1984-85 school year the three streams were not as rigidly defined in practice as the discussion paper had suggested. As these plans were put into place, the minister of education assembled an advisory committee composed of senior ministry of education and school district officials, trustees, and university educators, to prepare a discussion paper on schooling in the province. The paper, given the homey title of "Let's Talk About Schools" to suggest an open approach to discussion of education matters, was released in January, 1985, following several months of debate among trustees, who had originally demanded a complete royal commission on education, the ministry, which seemed prepared to push through its own agenda, and other participants who saw the promise of genuine consultation on the education system rapidly evaporate. The government excluded the BCTF from the process until the end, at which point the federation refused to allow government-appointed members to serve on a provincial review committee concerning curriculum and school

organizational change because they had not been duly elected in accordance with BCTF policy (Bolan 1984; see also Kilian 1985, 124-132).

The "Let's Talk About Schools" working paper appeared in the form of a primer on the nature of the school system and its programs and participants, complete with discussion questions, for public consumption. While intended to stimulate public discussion, the report betrayed many of the government's major educational concerns, couched in general terms like "challenge," "excellence," "diversity," and "high expectations." The central message was that change was required, represented in greater fiscal responsibility, carefully scrutinized teacher and administrator "professionalism," and system responsiveness to current socioeconomic conditions which the government characterized as a time of constraint (Ministry of Education 1985b).

The "Let's Talk About Schools" discussion process caught the imagination of a public which had been excluded for over a decade from input into educational decision-making in the province. Early in 1985, over 25,000 persons were involved in the school review process by way of public meetings, the preparation of written and verbal submissions, and an opinion poll which surveyed samples of educators and the general public. Two themes - the desire for cooperation in the education system and demands for improvements in the quality of education in British Columbia schools - dominated the review discussions and were highlighted in the government's final report. The report revealed widespread support for several specific goals associated with these broad objectives, including a commitment for increased educational funding, greater public accountability in school programs and teachers' and students' performances, and greater public participation in educational decision-making (Ministry of Education 1985a).

Critics and supporters of the government's educational policies all found material in the report to buttress their respective cases. Critics saw the results as a scathing indictment of recent directions in education taken

by the provincial government, and urged the government to heed popular demands to reverse the erosion of school funding and quality educational services (Kilian 1985, 130-131, Vancouver Sun 1985). However, the report's many vague and frequently ambivalent findings also provided the government with a possible rationale to reconstruct the education system as it saw fit. Support for a "consultative" approach to education was what the government had promoted in 1981 and 1982, before taking charge for a brief period of "temporary restraint." There was little sentiment in the review process for the position that the government should give up its educational responsibilities. Strong support existed for the view that government needed a firm hand to coordinate and regulate the school system, although there was disagreement over how far central direction was required over different aspects of the system.

Possibilities for future government action were most pronounced in the report's discussions about teachers. As with previous surveys on public schooling, "Let's Talk About Schools" revealed teaching to be the central component in the education system. Widespread public support was indicated for making teacher certification subject to periodic renewal, for teachers' professional upgrading, and for expanding teachers' scope of bargaining, while just over half (fifty-five percent) of the general public survey respondents favoured compulsory membership for teachers in the BCTF and three-quarters of all respondents opposed strike action by teachers (Ministry of Education 1985a, 21, 29-30).

The diverse range of opinion on teachers reinforced notions of teachers' contradictory status. Teachers were to be accorded particular rights and responsibilities in recognition of their expertise in the important task of educating children. At the same time, the fragility of the task required constraints on teachers for the "public good," with the proviso that teachers must remain scrupulous beyond question in terms of their morality and ability

to perform their duties.

State officials appeared ready to manipulate these ambiguities for their own purposes. As the government prepared to return some areas of fiscal and decision-making authority to school boards and other education system participants at the end of the "temporary restraint period" in 1985 and 1986, government members practiced their skills in the art of "teacher bashing" for which the Social Credit party had become renowned since the early 1970s. The attacks on teachers were directed simultaneously at what I have identified as the productive and the moral/subjective dimensions of teaching. Teachers as employees were constrained by general restrictions on working conditions and unionization while strict emphasis was placed upon the obligations and social responsibilities of teachers as educators.

In 1986, for example, education minister Jim Hewitt suggested in the legislature that teaching was not a "real job." He previously had accused teachers who served on school boards of being in conflict of interest and, at the BCSTA annual convention, he had in disgust ridiculed as a "rag" a BCTF booklet on poverty on British Columbia. In the same vein, Hewitt's successor, Tony Brummett, criticized the contents of a lesson aids package on unions and labour designed in part by the BCTF as an "insult" and "propaganda" put forward by irresponsible BCTF "union leaders." Shortly before these remarks were made, Bill Vander Zalm, who was elected provincial premier in 1986, revived an old strategy to send letters directly to teachers' homes asking for teachers to explain the government's privatization program to students. Also in 1986, Vander Zalm commented that, "Teachers should teach facts, not opinions" (Baldrey 1988; Bula 1988b; Osborne and Schendlinger 1988, 42; Todd 1986b; Todd 1986d; Volkart and Bellett 1986).

The government attacks on teachers were reinforced by wider challenges to the teaching profession. Increased public awareness of sexually transmitted diseases and sexual abuse of children placed new constraints on

teachers as the issue of morality caught the popular imagination. Teachers had long been subject to public scrutiny befitting the extended periods of time they were entrusted with the care and education of children. In the mid 1980s, however, a series of high profile court cases and revelations about molestation of children by teachers created a climate of fear and suspicion over classroom-related activities. Proposals and demands for careful monitoring and screening of teachers, while often well-intended under specific circumstances, suggested that the domain of the classroom and teachers' out of school lives were to be repossessed as public commodities. In the 1986-87 school year, the certificates of twenty-four teachers were suspended or cancelled (at least two-thirds of these for sexual misconduct), compared to ten cancellations in 1985-86, seven in each of 1983-84 and 1984-85, three in 1982-83, and none from 1979-80 to 1981-82 (Bula 1987f, Bula 1987g, Cernetig 1987, PSR 1987, Todd and Still 1986). Widespread sentiment was expressed by a judge who upheld the Abbotsford school board's six week suspension of two teachers, one of whom photographed the other to appear semi-nude in a "men's" magazine; the judge ruled, in part, that, "Teachers must not only be competent, but they are expected to lead by example" (Vancouver Province 1987).

The teacher, then, was coming under increased scrutiny in all aspects of his or her life, subject to what I have called personal regulation, at the same time that the school system was being oriented to technical or industrial measures of productivity. It was not a matter of one form of regulation or the other, but the interplay of the two which was required to fulfill the various expectations upon the school system. Schools were to be concerned with the production of a high quality commodity - the competent, flexible young person prepared for productive work and citizenship - but that commodity was also a human subject who had to be nurtured in a morally conducive atmosphere under the sensitive eye of the trustworthy teacher.

An atmosphere characterized by apparent chaos and confusion induced by rapid changes to educational finance and programs held for the government more than a few of the "disciplining" possibilities which education minister Pat McGeer sought in the mid-1970s. It seemed ironic, for example, that the provincial government funding cuts resulted in a net loss of over twenty-four full-time equivalent counselling positions in B.C. schools, including fifteen in Vancouver schools, at a time when the need for counselling services was increasing with growing awareness of sexual abuse and other tensions in children's lives (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 55; Todd 1986c). The government's response to such issues continually pointed to the need for teachers and trustees to cope with reduced funding by altering their own priorities and action. Education minister Tony Brummett observed in 1988 that:

I listen to BCTF executive submissions about how the morale of the teachers is down and I go out to schools and the teachers are enthusiastic, really professional, doing innovative things. . . .

If a counsellor is so damned important, you have it within your means. . . . I considered myself a possibilitarian. I always am very frustrated when somebody tells me "There's nothing I can do" and I say, "Don't TELL me that" (quoted in Bula 1988a; emphasis in original).

School organization was to be characterized by careful educational management in order to ensure that everyone in the system was working productively and industriously within their appropriate sphere of duty. It became a teacher's individual responsibility to ensure that the classroom functioned properly, and managers were seen as crucial to guarantee that teachers carried out their duties. As another Social Credit MLA revealed in the legislature,

The only way we know [teachers are] going to be doing a good day's work for a good day's pay is to have a measuring process, and a manager in the system - who is logically the principal - to give a report to the board of school trustees or the superintendent that a certain teacher is not fit for that vocation, or perhaps should be transferred to another field within the system. Maybe he or she would make a better industrial arts teacher, stenographer or custodial worker, rather than teaching children in a classroom and wasting everybody's time (cited in Bowman 1986, 6).

Teachers were expected to be something other than mere workers or individuals; they were moral entrepreneurs, or particular kinds of persons

(Connell 1985) who played a transient but important part in the shaping of a young person's life while also serving the state by monitoring children and disciplining them to remain within the confines of "normalcy." At the same time, as Apple (1986) argues, teaching was being reshaped in accordance with other forms of industrial work in a high technology service economy, oriented to measures of productivity and specified outcomes. The similarities between teaching and producers of other commodities provided an affinity between teachers and labourers in general while the moral/personal responsibilities of teaching led teachers to the position that they were unique. Resolution of this ambiguity was important if teachers were to gain or retain any autonomy or ability to resist elements of educational change that they saw as contrary to their vision of education as a facilitator of individual development and opportunity.

TEACHERS AS WORKERS AND PROFESSIONALS

The closing network of regulation over teachers did not signify the end to collective teacher resistance. The Solidarity and post-Solidarity experience facilitated the adoption by teachers of a kind of professionalism deemed to be compatible with trade unionism and working class ties (Kuehn 1989, Warburton 1986). Nonetheless, BCTF actions in the 1980s, despite the espousal of several specific educational priorities distinctly different from the provincial government's agenda, revealed teachers' position to be accommodative to the general direction of educational reorganization.

The BCTF, through the various cleavages and differences within the teaching occupation, sought after 1983 to clarify the role of teachers within and beyond the school. Most teachers seemed to recognize that it would be risky and unrealistic to revert to the federation's traditional political isolation. The task for teachers was to determine "who their allies really

were" and what they wanted to achieve from their alliances (Clark 1986, 16). Without a clear understanding of those positions, teachers feared that the state or some other entity would reshape teaching for them.

The "restraint" process contributed to change the nature of teaching and the teaching force. Between September, 1981, and September, 1985, the provincial teaching force declined by 3,254, or 11.1 percent, from 29,157 teachers to 25,915; the number of students in the public school system also declined, but only by 3.7 percent over the same time period (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 34-35). The consequences - more pupils per teacher overall - were exacerbated by the distribution of pupils and teachers in the school system, especially since the total number of teachers included such categories as school administrators who had no assigned classroom duties and special education teachers or subject specialists who worked with small groups of pupils with particular learning needs. When these factors were taken into consideration, BCTF analysis revealed that the average number of pupils per class was higher at all levels. Between 1980 and 1986, for example, average class sizes increased at the kindergarten level from 17.4 to 19.3, in grade 7 from 26.5 to 27.9, in secondary English from 24.4 to 25.7, and in secondary languages from 19.5 to 25.4 (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 30). Claims of teacher professionalism and specialization were undermined by the observation that up to one quarter of the teaching force, including twenty-eight percent of teachers at the secondary school level where subject specialization was most clearly demarcated, were teaching outside of their areas of expertise in the mid 1980s (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 8).

The demographic character of the teaching force was also affected by educational restructuring and funding cutbacks. A growing trend to part-time teaching accelerated during the restraint program. The proportion of part-time teachers in the total B.C. teaching force increased from 3.9 percent in 1973 to 11.1 percent in 1983. By 1985, three percent of the total

male teaching force and twenty-two percent of the female teaching force taught part-time (Jacobson 1984; Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 25). Budget-induced layoffs, especially after seniority protection was ensured through exemptions from Bill 3 provisions, affected younger teachers more than older teachers and women more than men. The average age of teachers in the province increased from thirty-eight in 1980 to forty-one in 1985. In 1985, the proportion of women in the total full-time teaching force was forty-eight percent compared to fifty percent in 1981 and fifty-three percent in 1971; the proportion of women teaching at the secondary school level remained constant at thirty-two percent between 1971 and 1983 while the proportion of women teaching at the elementary level declined from seventy-one percent to sixty-nine percent over the same time period (Jacobson and Kuehn 1986, 22-25).

These problems were compounded by fractiousness within the BCTF. In 1985, status of women committee members rebuked the BCTF for "the structural sexism that is still endemic in it" and for the repeated dismissal of the status of women program as a "special interest group" (BCTF Status of Women Committee 1985, 3-4). School administrators were also dissatisfied with the BCTF, but for different reasons.

Many administrators took issue with a BCTF policy adopted at the 1975 AGM to seek reductions in the salary differences between classroom teachers and school administrators, and their bitterness intensified with a resolution at the 1983 AGM that BCTF fees be based on a proportion of each individual member's salary rather than a proportion of the average, as it had been up to that time, thereby increasing the fees collected from the higher-paid administrators. The educational crisis in 1982 and 1983 exacerbated the tensions over administrators' roles and loyalties. Several principals and vice-principals were uneasy with their role in the 1983 strike and in more general terms were coming to see their managerial interests take priority

over their interests as teachers. In 1984, the BCTF annual general meeting passed a resolution which affirmed the membership of principals and vice-principals in the federation, with the same rights and obligations as other teachers. The same year, though, the B.C. Principals' and Vice-Principals' Association passed resolutions which supported the right to exempt school administrators from participation in job action and adherence to BCTF policies which might conflict with administrative responsibilities. A federation task force on the issue, which reported in 1986, reaffirmed the principals' status as "teachers first," performing administrative functions defined in terms of ongoing supervision and consultation rather than strict evaluation. Despite the conciliatory overtures of the task force, leaders of the administrators' association took exception to subsequent actions by the federation's representative assembly and executive. The BCTF, concerned with minimizing the distinction between administrators and teachers, weakened the task force report's reference to administrators' specific legal responsibilities which distinguished them from teachers, and specified principals' roles in the event of teachers' job actions. Dismayed at these policies, leaders of the administrators' organization informed the BCTF early in 1987 that it would begin the process of withdrawing from the BCTF (BCTF 1984, 38; Cocking 1987; Crawford 1987; Vancouver Sun 1984).

The BCTF attempted to underplay threats of internal divisiveness. The ninety percent strike support in 1983, combined with the fear of further attacks from government, suggested to BCTF leaders and much of the general membership that the federation needed to consolidate its new orientation toward teachers as workers. At the 1984 annual general meeting, delegates passed a resolution to begin a federation investigation of the possibility of affiliation with the Canadian Labour Congress or other labour bodies. The federation adopted a policy to respect legitimate picket lines established by non-teaching employees during a strike or political protest. At the AGM,

delegates also approved three priorities "in defense of professional development of teachers:" to improve teacher rights; to improve the quality of education; and to institute programs which would integrate an understanding of socioeconomic conditions and the education system (BCTF 1984, 17, 21, 42-43).

A year later, however, at the 1985 annual general meeting, delegates authorized a statement on the teaching process which concentrated much more on teachers' role in the classroom than on their activities in other spheres. Teaching, according to the statement, was a "planned process" which involved:

assessing of learner needs; establishing and communicating objectives to the learner; developing interpersonal relationships designed to motivate the learner; creating a classroom climate that is conducive to learning; matching content, materials, and strategies to the needs of the learner; appraising selected content and materials on an ongoing basis; providing ongoing feedback to the learner (BCTF 1985b, 11-12).

Little mention was given to the wider context within which teaching operated, except to acknowledge that teaching processes should "aim to develop students to become self-reliant, self-disciplined, participating members with a sense of social responsibility within a democratic society" (BCTF 1985b, 11).

The BCTF statement on teaching reflected in large part teachers' disenchantment with educational politics which distracted them from the day to day demands of teaching. The main conflict between teachers and government was posed as a matter of which group was most concerned about the student's educational development and which group was most competent to plan the teaching process. Teachers were prepared to fight if necessary to defend educational services, as indicated by their continued membership in the Solidarity Coalition and the regular election of militant candidates to the BCTF executive, but they were battle-weary, shell-shocked and hesitant to step too boldly into new controversies. As one former BCTF president indicated, "I think in B.C. that a lot of teachers are worn down in terms of their political involvement. Teaching takes so much energy, you give up.

You don't have the time to give" (Broadley 1987, 43).

Beginning formally in 1984, the BCTF attempted to reconcile the two dimensions of teacher as employee and teacher as professional. Delegates at the AGM that year authorized the federation to conduct a study on teachers' roles with respect to their salary, working and learning conditions, and education policy. A task force on teachers' bargaining and professional rights, composed of three persons each from the BCTF's bargaining committee, professional development advisory committee and the membership at large, was established in April, 1984, to examine teachers' employment and professional relations and provide guidelines to ensure that teachers' rights were protected in law. The task force report was first presented to teachers in November, 1984, endorsed in whole in overwhelming fashion at the 1986 AGM, and ratified by a supporting vote of eighty-three percent of the province's public school teachers at local association meetings in the spring of 1986 (BCTF 1986a, BCTF 1986c).

The report stressed the necessary integration between teachers' professional responsibilities and their rights as employees:

There are two inescapable realities about teachers.

One is that they are educators; the other is that they are employees.

As educators, they are responsible for providing the best instruction and the finest teaching that can be expected of professionally trained and experienced persons. By the very nature of that responsibility, they are expected to exercise independent judgment, and to assure the tasks of assessing needs, planning programs, and delivering the widest range of quality instructional services. They operate in the context of a discipline that researches, develops theoretically, and values the co-operation and judgments of colleagues. In a word, teachers have professional responsibilities.

But teaching takes place in the context of an employment relationship. Teachers are not self-employed, as are some other professionals. They do not set fees, select clients, or operate outside of an organized employment structure. On the contrary, teachers' commitment to a system of public education necessarily involves the assumption that teachers are, and should be, employees--employees of a public that puts a value on the education of its young people. The economic welfare of teachers, their conditions of work and their rights as employees are inevitably dealt with in the framework of that employment relationship.

Surprisingly often, teachers are invited to ignore one aspect or another of their reality. People outside the education system,

editorialists, politicians, and even some teachers, sometimes say, "Teachers must choose between unionism and professionalism."

That choice would be simplistic, harmful, and irresponsible, if it were not, in the final analysis, impossible. . . .

The concerns of teachers in these two areas are at once distinct and related. They are not inconsistent, but complementary (BCTF 1986b, 4-5).

The report contained statements of teachers' employee rights and of their professional responsibilities, and outlined specific changes to provincial legislation and BCTF policy to implement these rights and responsibilities. Employment-related recommendations emphasized amendments to the School Act to provide for collective bargaining between local teachers' associations and school boards on a broad scope of items, including appointment, assignment, tenure, dismissal, review of teacher competence, transfer, leaves of absence, and teachers' duties, as well as salaries. The proposed changes suggested retention of the strict time frames for the bargaining process (which, following amendments to the School Act in 1985, were organized around the school year rather than the calendar year), but sought to enable local teachers' associations to elect either arbitration or courses of action that would follow from the inclusion of teachers under the provincial Labour Code (BCTF 1986b, 28-30).

The section on teachers' professional rights outlined provisions for ensuring teachers' autonomy in the classroom to determine instructional methods and plan and present course materials, government consultation with BCTF-appointed teacher representatives on all matters of educational policy and practice, and school staff committees elected by teachers to determine policy and administrative matters within each school. The recommendations also sought to establish or increase teacher representation on a new Teacher Certification Board, a proposed Provincial Curriculum Advisory Committee, the Joint Board of Teacher Education, and processes related to administrative appointments and pupil and teacher evaluation (BCTF 1986b, 30-32).

Finally, the report contained strategies for gaining public support and

implementation of the various recommendations. The scope of these suggestions provided a synopsis of BCTF experiences over the previous three decades. Traditional BCTF approaches of lobbying legislators and the provincial cabinet were to be augmented with presentations and appeals for support to the BCSTA, parents' and community groups, the Defend Education Services Coalition and other education groups, an advertising campaign, and publicity during the forthcoming election campaign (BCTF 1986b, 36-37).

The task force represented an effort by B.C. school teachers to gain trade union rights and, at the same time, to move beyond the confines of traditional "business unionism" in a manner consistent with their responsibilities to deliver an important social service. Teachers acknowledged in the report that they were workers who sought occupational protection and increased control over their labour process through collective bargaining rights. However, teachers also saw in their work a distinct professional service orientation in which complete autonomy was neither possible nor appropriate given their shared interest with parents and the wider community in the welfare of the child. Their concern for the "product" of the education system (the educated student) was linked with an understanding of the conditions within which that "product" was produced. The student was not to be regarded as a mere commodity because the nature of educational services was to provide a human context for the inculcation of skills in social participation as well as work preparation. The BCTF reinforced the report's clear statement of teachers' orientations by making overtures to workers with similar interests, especially nurses and college educators. Federation leaders saw that, as opposed to earlier pressures either to align the BCTF with industrial union organizations or remain aloof from other organizations, teachers' best interests could be served by cooperating with workers who delivered human services within the framework of public sector employment.

Teachers appeared ready to confront on their own terms the contradictions which characterized their work process. The task force report presented issues which traditionally had divided teachers, such as collective bargaining rights, recognition as employees and school-level policy-making, within a framework which was acceptable to most of the BCTF's members. The bargaining and professional rights statements provided in a forthright manner evidence that a cohesive "teacher policy" was both necessary and possible. Teachers had uncovered insights about their reproductive tasks to constitute pupils as workers possessing both definite skills and more general or indefinite human capabilities. However, to transpose Willis's (1977, 145) observations about pupil consciousness of oppressive class practices, teachers' awareness of their status as reproductive workers constituted a "partial penetration" that ignored important questions about the structural and political context within which teaching was performed. That context, as teachers soon discovered, was given immediacy by a provincial government which acted on the basis that teachers had little effective power and that teacher solidarity was more illusory than real.

THE ENCROACHMENT OF STATE INTERVENTION

Teachers' continuing faith in the electoral system as a basis for political and social renewal was betrayed one more time in the mid 1980s. A provincial election was called for October, 1986, after Bill Bennett's resignation from the premiership in August. The Social Credit party, under new leader Bill Vander Zalm, offered a promise of responsible and responsive government which seemed more appealing to the electorate than similar vague appeals to caring management advanced by the opposition NDP under the often shaky leadership of Bob Skelly. Vander Zalm's three year absence from provincial politics was not sufficient for concerned groups, including

teachers, to forget either his attacks on welfare recipients and the BCTF or his populist disregard for prevailing relationships within established government channels. Nonetheless, teachers and other Vander Zalm opponents did not act as a force in the election campaign, and the Socreds were returned to office with a majority government. The election of the "reborn" Vander Zalm was widely heralded as a return to cooperation and conciliation after years of confrontation in British Columbia politics. To signify the new spirit of cooperation and "open-government," the new premier provided each minister in a pared-down cabinet with specified tasks including reviews of the health care and labour relations systems and the appointment of a long-awaited royal commission on education (Baldrey 1986).

The real meaning of "cooperation," however, became apparent following the government's inaugural throne speech in March, 1987, which announced the introduction of two major pieces of legislation. Bill 19, the Industrial Relations Reform Act, was intended to consolidate the provincial Labour Relations Board and Labour Code in the form of a new, highly centralized body called the Industrial Relations Council. Bill 20, the Teaching Profession Act, modified the framework for the structure of teachers' collective bargaining and created a Teachers' College to regulate professional control over teaching.

The contents of the bills reflected the heavy-handed manner in which they had been drafted. Consultation was evident in internal ministerial review processes and a series of public hearings on labour relations in the wake of a four and a half month strike in 1986 by the International Woodworkers of America which forestry officials claimed cost over two billion dollars in lost revenues. The actual drafting of Bill 19, though, was carried out by a team composed of management negotiators and private sector lawyers working directly under the premier's authority. Graham Leslie, the deputy minister of labour, resigned before Bill 19 was passed by the

legislature in June and publicly criticized the bill's strong provisions for government intervention in the industrial relations system as a "disaster" for the province's labour relations and investment climate. The premier's "hands on" approach to state management was also apparent in education, where the appointment of crown prosecutor Barry Sullivan to head the royal commission was roundly condemned by participants in the school system. Sullivan, critics argued, was an outsider with no established credentials to comprehend the complex nature of the education system. Moreover, deputy minister of education Jim Carter, whose ministry was affected by Bill 20, was transferred to another department on July 1, after passage of the bill in June (Baldrey and Mason 1987, Bula 1987d, Glavin and Baldrey 1987, Odam 1987, Todd 1987, Weatherbe 1987).

The government promoted the new legislation as a mechanism to ensure "fairness" and "stability" to enhance the province's attractiveness to potential investors (British Columbia 1987b, British Columbia 1987d). In form, the province's reorganized industrial relations system resembled the "consultative model" which the government had paraded to teachers and trustees in 1981 as an alternative to the more traditional adversarial approach to collective bargaining. Bills 19 and 20, individually and in tandem with one another, were highly complex pieces of legislation, targetted towards what critics and even some supporters considered a "shopping list" of problem areas for employers and the state. Bill 20 addressed issues like membership, bargaining, and professional rights which teachers themselves were concerned with, and Bill 19 highlighted twenty-nine areas which business had previously had difficulty with in labour relations board hearings and other tribunals on the pretext that existing provisions were biased unfairly towards labour. The president of the Business Council of British Columbia, James Matkin, observed that, "If you look at each of the 29 amendments, you could actually put a case name to each" (Schreiner 1987). Like the

"consultative approach" to teacher collective bargaining, bills 19 and 20 were heavily weighted to promote management rights, with a strong central role for the state.

The main ingredient in Bill 19 was the institutionalization of the state's role as preserver of "the public interest" in the industrial relations system. The Compensation Stabilization Program was to be phased out and replaced by a similarly structured but more powerful vehicle, the Industrial Relations Council, headed by a government-appointed commissioner (who happened to be Ed Peck, the incumbent Compensation Stabilization commissioner). The council, under cabinet authority, was given broad and often binding powers to rule on, order arbitration or mediation procedures for, or resolve, employee-employer disputes. The legislative measures included limitations on union certification procedures, strike voting, picketing, and lockouts. Bill 19 enabled employers and the state to intervene directly in union affairs through such measures as regulating hiring hall and dispatch procedures, allowing employers to hire non-unionized apprentices, specifying union voting procedures, and timing of votes on contract offers before or during a strike or lockout. "Freedom of speech" for individual workers and employers was given precedence over union rights. With enforceable provisions to fall back on for dispute resolution, it was possible that employers and employees alike would lose their traditional bargaining capabilities. There were major provisions in Bill 19, however, which would ensure that in practice strong pressures were weighted against employees. The Industrial Relations Council was empowered to guard against threats to "the public interest" by designating certain public or private sector workers as "essential services." In such cases, workers could be ordered back to work under threat of legally binding disciplinary action. The bill specified as essential services any possible threat to the provincial economy or to public health, safety, welfare, or educational

services. Finally, the Industrial Relations Commissioner, like the Compensation Stabilization Commissioner after 1983, was required to consider the "ability to pay" of employers in the public sector in the process of reviewing contracts (British Columbia 1987b, British Columbia 1987c, British Columbia 1987d; see also Panitch and Swartz 1988, 78-79, and Yandle 1987, for details).

While Bill 19 clearly favoured employers' interests, Bill 20, at first glance, appeared to address teachers' recent concerns about their lack of bargaining rights and occupational control. The legislation accorded teachers for the first time a full scope of collective bargaining rights; in addition, teachers were allowed to participate in the teacher certification and disciplinary process, and, under Bill 19, they were recognized fully as employees. In practice, however, Bill 20 was intended to fragment the BCTF and its membership. Bill 20 was fractious in several ways, creating a gulf between professional and bargaining matters, outlining procedures to create a distinct teachers' union or professional association in each school district, removing compulsory membership in the BCTF, and excluding school administrators from membership in teachers' associations and the BCTF. One observer recorded that,

At a reception attended by Premier Bill Vander Zalm shortly after the legislation was introduced [in] April, the premier was commended by someone at the event for "really giving it to those teachers, by splitting them into two groups." Vander Zalm responded: "Two groups, hah, I split them into 75 groups" (Farrell 1987, 24).

Bill 20 defined teachers' first organizational loyalty to a College of Teachers rather than the BCTF. All certified teachers and school administrators in public and private schools were to become automatic members of the college. The college would be governed by a twenty member council which included five government appointees, one of whom would be nominated by provincial university deans of education, and one elected college member from each of fifteen designated zones in the province. (The original draft of the

bill would have enabled the government to appoint all twenty of the council members). The college council was given three main areas of responsibility - teacher discipline, qualifications and professional development - as well as duties related to the general administration of the college (British Columbia 1987a).

The bill also contained a series of amendments to the School Act which specified the nature and duties of school administrative personnel and altered the structure of teachers' professional and bargaining organizations. The bill accomplished what school administrators who were dissatisfied with their membership in the BCTF had threatened to do by placing the administrators outside the scope of teachers' associations and clarifying their position as managers. Through the legislation, principals, vice-principals and superintendents lost their designation as "teachers" (although by virtue of their teacher certification, they would be members of the College of Teachers) and were re-defined as managers or "administrative officers." Principals and vice-principals were given supervisory duties which included assisting the school board in collective bargaining matters and disputes, evaluating and reporting on teachers, ensuring compliance with provisions of the School Act and educational regulations, recommending to the district superintendent the assignment, suspension and dismissal of teachers, and, if assigned by the board, performing teaching duties. The section of the School Act which provided for compulsory membership of teachers in the BCTF was repealed and powers formerly held by the federation to suspend or expel membership were transferred to the College of Teachers.

The other significant aspects of Bill 20 were its provisions for teacher associations and bargaining. The bill outlined procedures for teachers in each school district to organize as an association, following one of two options. The first option was to seek union certification as a bargaining agent under the Industrial Relations Act (Bill 19), which, unlike the

previous provincial labour code, recognized teachers as employees and provided them with the ability to bargain for contracts in the same manner as other unions, including provision of the right to strike. The second option was to elect status under the School Act as a professional association, which could gain authorization to act as a bargaining unit to negotiate contracts but for which any disputes over salary and bonuses would be subject to binding arbitration rather than strike or lockout options. Each association was defined as a distinct entity, with no compulsion for members to join and no requirement that the association affiliate with the BCTF or any other organization (British Columbia 1987a).

The combined effects of the Teaching Profession Act and the Industrial Relations Act would severely curtail teachers' effective rights and powers. While teachers gained increased bargaining rights and the right to strike, teachers' real options were restricted by the state's new powers to constrain both activities. Panitch and Swartz (1988, 79) observe that:

In view of the new Industrial Relations Act's severe restrictions on any job action which could be construed as threatening the "provision of educational services," the legal recognition of teachers' right to strike in Bill 20, must be seen as fundamentally meaningless. At the same time, Bill 19's overriding requirement that all public sector agreements meet "ability to pay" criteria, effectively blocks real negotiations over teachers' wages and benefit levels.

The stipulation that teachers had to reorganize to form unions or associations was accompanied by the loss of existing teacher contractual provisions following implementation of the legislation. Benefits and working conditions items ranging from sick leave to extra-curricular activities which often reflected years of intense negotiation would have to be renegotiated from the start under the new system. In addition, the College of Teachers usurped from teachers and restructured teaching-related decision-making options. The premier and education minister informed the BCTF in mid-April, 1987, that the intent of Bill 20 was ultimately to enable the state to regulate teaching methods (BCTF 1987i). As a BCTF (1987c) analysis of the

bill emphasized, the college would replace the collegial and democratic decision-making processes cultivated by the BCTF with antagonistic relations and a hierarchical structure controlled from the top by the state. Teachers' role as employees, strictly supervised under managerial authority, would become highlighted to the detriment of a strong collaborative voice in the determination of professional matters.

THE "NEW" BCTF

The BCTF's response to Bills 19 and 20 indicated how accommodation to state regulation can be disguised by militant activity. Philosophical differences and the threat of non-complicance with the legislation congealed into strategies to adhere to the new guidelines under conditions which could be considered in the teachers' interests. This was accomplished in two ways. First, the legislation allowed teachers some space to respond and make occupational gains, such as in the legal right to strike and the ability to negotiate working conditions items like class size, supervision and teaching loads. Second, as Apple (1986, 46-47) observes in a broader context, the rhetoric and reality of educational change has been embedded in a seductive logic which allows teachers potentially greater professional autonomy even while their work is proletarianized through deskilling and reskilling under state authority. In other words, teacher-state struggle has been constituted around the most visible signs of change, some of which are clearly repugnant to teachers, while teachers are complicit in the general reshaping of schooling under capitalist restructuring.

An initial explosive response to the bills by labour and teachers belied a lack of commitment to take any strong sustained action. BCTF president Elsie McMurphy called the legislation a "diabolical" package that was intended "to butcher the BCTF" (BCTF 1987d). Other labour leaders were

equally scathing in their remarks. Patricia Lane, director of research and legislation for the B.C. Federation of Labour, observed that the legislation was "the most virulent attack on the labour movement in the history of British Columbia" (BCTF 1987e, 2). Even school principals like Gordon Moffat, president of the B.C. School Administrators Association, who had approached government to allow for changes to modify the administrative role in the school, lamented that, "I wasn't expecting [the government] to go that far" (Bula 1987b).

The B.C. Federation of Labour developed an action plan against the legislation shortly after the bills were introduced. The first phase of the plan included union votes to register opposition to the bills, public protest rallies, a campaign to publicize labour's concerns, and labour boycotts of employment-related government boards and agencies. A second phase, announced in late April, 1987, provided for a planned campaign of civil disobedience which would entail a boycott of Industrial Relations Council procedures and other measures outlined in Bill 19. In May, CUPE and other unions proceeded with a work-to-rule campaign and ban on overtime work. Finally, the BCFL called a one-day general strike for June 1, 1987 (Glavin 1987a, Glavin 1987b, Rose and Draaisma 1987).

The BCTF developed its own action plan and endorsed the BCFL plan on May 9. Prior to the introduction of Bills 19 and 20, the BCTF was preparing for a strike or alternative forms of militant action to protest against the harmful consequences for teachers of the Compensation Stabilization Program. With the initial mobilization in place, the BCTF was able to develop quickly a three part plan to protest against the new legislation. The proposed measures involved immediate withdrawal from all ministry of education committees and additional ministry-related activities, an immediate one-day withdrawal of services, and a province-wide instruction-only campaign to follow the one-day strike (BCTF 1987a). Teachers, in a province-wide ballot,

voted seventy percent in favour of the plan and on April 28, eighty percent of the province's teachers participated in the planned walkout. The next day, teachers began their instruction-only campaign, withdrawing services from extra-curricular activities such as sports events, field trips, drama, and fund-raising activities, and curtailing their involvement on school board and ministry activities outside of the school times and duties prescribed by school legislation (BCTF 1987a, BCTF 1987g, Bula 1987e, Vancouver Sun 1987a).

As the action plans were executed, leaders of the BCTF and other unions met with government officials to attempt to soften or have withdrawn the legislation. Government responded with amendments to modify Bills 19 and 20 slightly, introducing such changes as minor reductions in the Industrial Relations Commissioner's powers, limits on some of the new provisions covering non-unionized employees, reductions in school boards' powers to fire teachers without reason, removal of compulsion for school administrators to sit with school boards in collective bargaining, and new emphasis on the educational role of principals (BCTF 1987i, Vancouver Sun 1987b). Nonetheless, the premier's insistence that he would do nothing to change the essence and major substantive points of the legislation convinced leaders of the BCTF and other unions that the government was resolved to smash unions and eradicate workers' rights. A propoganda war ensued in April and May, leading up to the planned job action on June 1. The ministry of education sent teachers a series of bulletins which promoted the supposed benefits of Bill 20. In newspapers, government-sponsored advertisements announced that, "When you talked we listened," while the BCFL contended in their own advertisements that, "When we talked he ignored us."

Public opinion seemed to be mixed as the strike day approached. A province-wide poll released by the Vancouver Sun in late May revealed that fifty percent of respondents agreed that Bill 19 was unfair to labour while thirty percent disagreed; forty-eight percent disagreed with the planned

one-day walkout while forty-four percent agreed, and fifty-seven percent felt that teachers' instruction-only campaign was not justified compared to thirty-six percent who felt that it was justified (Odam and Mason 1987).

There was little such division within the membership of the major unions like CUPE, other BCFL affiliates, and the BCTF. On June 1, nearly one quarter of the provincial workforce walked off the job. Among the ranks of the 300,000 strike participants were eighty percent of the province's teachers. Despite this one-day show of strength, however, labour provided little followup action, and Bills 19 and 20 became law before the end of June (BCTF 1987b, Cruikshank 1987).

With the new legislation in place, workers' threats of defiance turned quickly to a search for accommodation with the new labour relations system. Unions vowed to continue their boycott of the Industrial Relations Council, and began in practice to make private arrangements with employers to ignore provisions of the law (List 1988).

B.C. teachers, meanwhile, engaged in the task of preserving the BCTF and retaining a role for teachers within the new provincial framework of public education. The BCTF, in a study of its membership commissioned during the summer of 1987, found strong support among the 479 respondents for the retention of membership within a federation organized on the basis of locally certified unions; only five percent of respondents indicated that they did not intend to retain voluntary membership in the federation, and thirteen percent favoured the organization of teachers through non-certified professional associations. Eighty-four percent of the respondents indicated that they were very satisfied or satisfied with the BCTF overall. The survey report, though, emphasized that the federation should proceed with caution in its organizational activities. Respondents revealed a distaste for advocacy of a strict union model or "radically left-leaning" political stance which committed teachers to continuing militant actions. While twenty-eight

percent of the respondents described themselves as "BCTF activists," sixty-two percent identified themselves as "passive supporters" and seven percent said that they were "opposed to the BCTF." Teachers seemed to prefer a process based on individualized choice and responsibility which emphasized the shared values of classroom teachers (CQ Research Corporation 1987).

There seemed to be expressed in these findings a sensitivity among teachers to public criticism and perceptions that they were radical militants. The findings also revealed that teachers were generally cautious, afraid to spell out too clearly the linkages between the classroom and the social structure within which school operated. The definition of teaching did not entail, for most teachers, a political commitment to anything but the most broadly stated belief in opportunity and individual achievement fostered in a facilitative environment through the school.

The BCTF leadership proceeded to regroup the federation in accordance with the findings of the membership survey. Shortly before the beginning of the new school year in 1987, the BCTF called an end to its instruction-only campaign. The boycott of activities was clearly unpopular with many parents, students and other segments of the public, and had been defied by several teachers who coached sports teams or supervised other activities and who claimed that the BCTF had no right to dictate the terms within which such activities could proceed. BCTF leaders, concerned primarily to preserve their energies and resources for the reorganization of the federation, recognized that the instruction-only campaign had become a political liability. At a special general meeting of the federation on October 10, 1987, teacher representatives voted on several resolutions to re-affirm the BCTF's role as a strong unifying force for all the province's public school teachers, composed of certified local teachers' associations which had the autonomy to engage in collective bargaining in their respective school districts. The BCTF's renewed mandate reiterated the federation's emphasis

on teachers' professional, economic and social concerns. The federation declared its unified dual status as a trade union and professional development organization. Delegates to the meeting also approved a resolution to allow principals and vice-principals to join the federation as "affiliate administrative members" in order to participate in the federation's salary indemnity fund and, subject to approval at future annual general meetings, other benefit plans (BCTF 1987f, Bula 1987c).

The most divisive issue was whether BCTF affiliation would be open only to local teachers' organizations which certified as unions under the new legislation or to all locals, including also those which elected to form an association rather than a union. A group of teachers, led by Teachers' Viewpoint members and members of the Burnaby and Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Associations, argued that the BCTF should include only union-certified locals, because the inclusion of non-union locals would undermine union strength and potentially fragment the BCTF in accordance with government's interests. Delegates to the special general meeting, however, supported a new group called Teachers for a United Federation, which included BCTF president Elsie McMurphy and other prominent federation leaders, and voted seventy-two percent in favour of a recommendation by the representative assembly that the BCTF would remain open to all locals. While a seventy-five percent approval vote was required to change federation policy according to the provincial Society Act under which the BCTF was chartered, a BCTF by-law already in existence ensured that all locals, regardless of status, would remain within the BCTF. Some of the more militant federation members, fearing a weakening of the federation's political strength through its policy of non-exclusivity, emerged from the meetings disenchanted with teachers' prospects for providing any fundamental reorientation to the education system (BCTF 1987f, Bula 1987c).

With the organizational structure of the BCTF assured, BCTF leaders

turned their focus towards gaining authority for teachers under the new legislation. Drawing upon their recent experiences in mobilizing the membership, leaders and supporters of a strong BCTF began to organize teachers in each district to re-apply for federation membership, to certify a teachers' organization in each district as a union within the BCTF, and to nominate for election to the College of Teachers council teacher candidates in each zone who were sympathetic to and active in the BCTF. Government members criticized what they saw as a BCTF monopoly over the organization process. The minister of education declared that teachers should be open to groups other than the BCTF which wanted to organize and represent teachers while about 230 teachers who formed a group called the Vancouver Teachers for Association criticized what they saw as the BCTF's unionist tendencies. The BCTF organizational efforts were successful, however. Under the headline, "Welcome to the new BCTF!" the BCTF Newsletter of February 11, 1988, announced proudly that the BCTF-endorsed candidates had won all fifteen of the elected seats on the College of Teachers council, teachers in all seventy-five districts in the province had voted to certify as a union with support for the union certification averaging over ninety percent, and more than ninety-five percent of the BCTF's members had voluntarily signed back into membership in the federation (Bula 1987a, BCTF 1988).

The major initial impact of the "new BCTF" was as a trade union force. Negotiations for a first contract under revamped school legislation in each of the seventy-five school districts in the province resulted in strike notices and strikes of up to two weeks in several districts in early 1989. The militancy showed that teachers could combine unionism with enhanced professional benefits; allowing teachers to gain average wage increases of about fourteen percent over two years and working conditions clauses in such areas as class preparation time, recognition of participation in extra-curricular activity as voluntary, and procedures for teacher evaluation

and disciplinary action (Bula 1989, North 1989). The contractual benefits indicated that teachers had not lost, and were not prepared to surrender, their occupational autonomy despite the recent government moves to constrain and regulate the school system.

Nonetheless, teachers' autonomy remained highly circumscribed by the state's authority to set school finance and general educational regulations. British Columbia public school teachers had become highly integrated into a wider system of industrial relations and state management in the 1980s. In the late 1980s, teachers were unionized, covered by general labour legislation, and regulated by clearly specified managerial procedures. Teachers were also experienced in industrial action and political protest, and had begun to cultivate labour alliances.

Ironically, teachers had gained union rights in the context of a general assault on labour. Legislatively instituted restrictions on union organization, strike-related activities and collective bargaining guidelines posed real barriers to the material and professional gains that were formally open to teachers. Teachers' affairs, like the affairs of other employees and unions, were now more directly subject to intervention by managers and the state. Insofar as recognition of union status was a major objective of BCTF organizers, teachers' occupational position was severely constrained.

Also problematic was the professional side of the teaching relationship wherein teachers' status as "workers plus" who had responsibilities and rights associated with service to clients was officially recognized by both the BCTF and the state. This status provided teachers with opportunities to exercise professional discretion over matters which pertained to classroom teaching, supervision and evaluation of pupils, school activities, and procedures associated with teachers' credentials. Through these relationships, however, teachers were conceptualized as a "public good," engaged in a trust relationship with children who were valued as economic

resources as well as human beings. The legal designation of education along with health, welfare, public safety, and economic activities as "essential services" reinforced the broad moral expectations placed upon teachers so that teachers were regulated both in and outside of the classroom. Like their counterparts earlier in the century who were subject to the careful guardianship of school boards and other community authorities, teachers in the 1980s were surrounded by notions of the quasi-sacred status of their calling. Even the most cynical or militant teachers could not deny that their occupation was characterized by a profound sense of duty. The integration of personal and technical regulation of teachers within a centralized system of state governance forced teachers to proceed with caution in any of their occupational activities.

One of the clearest characterizations of the emergent school system was the revealed in the 1988 report of the royal commission on education, which argued for a "loose and tight" system that was,

'loose' in the sense that greater differentiation, greater choice, greater diversity, and greater freedoms exist for all individuals within the system than at present; 'tight' in the sense that there is closer articulation and cooperation among the components of the system, that basic system [sic] of monitoring and accountability are strengthened, that funding levels are indexed and predictable, that assignments of roles and responsibilities are better clarified and defined, that zones of authority and jurisdiction are more specifically delineated, and that more appropriate structures are in place for communication, control, and action. It is a system that seeks to free the great human resources found in and around schools from the weight of conflict and uncertainty (British Columbia 1988, 219-220).

The report, with its recommendations largely consolidating the major recent trends in British Columbia public schooling in accordance with the "loose and tight" designation, provided a soothing refrain to teachers and other observers of the education system who sought a stable foundation for educational advancement (Kuehn 1989, 27-28). Education was to be marked by the end of confrontation and uncertainty, even if few people questioned whose agenda was being followed.

CONCLUSIONS

Through their struggles with the government, teachers had come to confront what their status as dependent employees meant for their occupation and the public school system. The rationalization of education had not totally eliminated the autonomous space within which teachers were allowed to shape the aspects of schooling and general social reproduction processes. Education was something that was contestable rather than a freely given public good. Nonetheless, teachers were not clear as to how best to orient their autonomy. Their continued authority in the domain of the classroom provided a sense that most educational politics had little real impact on the most important teaching processes where the teacher could continue to shape the lives of pupils much as he or she saw fit:

Teachers solve the problems simply - they just do what they can, as best they can and close the door. And you know, decisions made in the Ministry [of Education] aren't acted upon unless the teacher decides it's worth doing. And in that case the teacher was probably doing it anyway (Broadley 1987, 20).

Nonetheless, the act of "closing the classroom door" and continuing to teach in an entrepreneurial way often constituted a form of compliance with the restructuring of the education system. Clearly, many teachers were uneasy with their role in a school system characterized by reorganization and retrenchment which had curtailed significantly their ability to perform educational tasks:

One of the best examples of how [the world as reflected in cutbacks] is affecting people is that increasingly, one of the key issues that teachers are concerned with is early retirement. And that's expressed quite clearly when you talk to them - "I want out. It's not fun anymore." . . . And that desire to get out, in either early retirement or people jumping to other training facilities to go into other kinds of occupations, is an indication that increasingly, they feel unable to do the job in terms of what they feel is necessary, and they don't want to do it anymore. They want to get out, and the stress - and I think it's not only the stress of having the government attack you, or this attack you, that's all involved - [is] combined with the fact that when you go into the classroom you can't function as a professional in the sense of

what you should be able to do or want to be able to deliver, and when you know you have the skills to deliver (Blakey 1986, 46-47).

Teachers' responses to school crisis involved primarily a reaction to changes which they felt were proceeding, in nature and direction, in a manner detrimental to the existing education system. Although their involvement in educational and political struggle had helped many teachers to sharpen their analysis of where the teacher stood in relation to the social system, British Columbia public school teachers had not in the 1980s become suddenly committed to the cause of fundamental social and economic change.

CHAPTER TEN - CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has provided a description and explanation of teacher-state relations in British Columbia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I have argued that neither a traditional approach, which emphasizes the progressive development of teachers' professionalism and strength as an interest group (Muir 1968, Skolrood 1967), nor a critical approach, which stresses the proletarianization of teachers as agents of state rule (Harris 1982, Oppenheimer 1973), can account for changing historical patterns of state control and teacher resistance. Instead, I have contended that teaching has been shaped by changing forms of state regulation and teacher resistance organized around teachers' contribution to the reproduction of labour power.

On the surface, it appears that relatively little has changed in over a century of teacher-state relations in British Columbia. The first Public Schools Act in the province defined a teacher in 1872 as a person appointed and certified by the provincial Board of Education to perform the following duties: (i) "To teach diligently and faithfully all the branches required to be taught in the school, according to the terms of his engagement with the Trustees, and according to the rules and regulations adopted by the Board of Education;" (ii) to maintain school registers on a daily, weekly and monthly basis; (iii) to maintain specified conditions of order and discipline in the school; (iv) to maintain a visitors' log; (v) to make the visitors' book available for the scrutiny of trustees and visitors upon request; (vi) to announce and hold public examinations at the end of each half year; and (vii) to release information concerning school operations, interests or character to the Superintendent of Education upon request (PSR 1875, 121, 125-126).

Over a century later, the School Act defined a teacher in similar but more precise terms as "a person holding a valid and subsisting certificate of qualification issued by the [College of Teachers] who is appointed or employed by a board to give tuition or instruction in a public school or to provide other educational services to the board that employs him, and includes a person to whom the college issues a letter of permission for teaching but does not include a person appointed by a board as superintendent of schools, assistant superintendent of schools or administrative officer" (British Columbia 1987a, 14). Moreover, teachers' legislatively prescribed duties in the 1980s - (i) to perform teaching and other educational services required or assigned by school boards or the ministry of education; (ii) to provide to the ministry, board or parents (upon the board's approval) information concerning pupils; (iii) to report to parents or guardians on pupil progress and attendance under conditions specified by the board and minister of education; and (iv) to assist with the practical training of student teachers (British Columbia 1984) - have remained remarkably consistent since the 1870s.

Despite the consistency in the formal legislative definitions of teaching and teachers' duties, I have emphasized that neither teaching nor teacher-state relations have been static and unchanging. I argue, following Ozga and Lawn (1981) and Warburton (1986), that the legal designation of teachers illustrates teachers' consistent class location as dependent state employees subject to formal subordination but involved in contestation over the advancement of their real subordination under state rule. Teacher-state relations which are commonly interpreted as a question of professionalization versus proletarianization are more appropriately understood as part of a complex historical process of domination and resistance (Lawn and Grace 1987).

I have presented evidence which shows that both professionalism and

proletarianization advance and retreat subject to shifting historical definitions and circumstances. Consistent with proletarianization, teachers periodically have been subject to managerial initiatives oriented to reduce teachers' scope of decision-making, break the teaching process into specified objectives and tasks, and cheapen teaching costs. The proletarianization of teaching in British Columbia has been exemplified by such practices as school inspectors' advice to teachers on specific pedagogical requirements at the turn of the century, an emphasis on definite teaching techniques in early Normal School training, and the move in the 1970s to standardize assessment of basic skills. The teacher training and certification process, operating within state jurisdiction, has served to ensure teacher loyalty to the education system and periodically reskill teachers in accordance with changing educational demands. Educational credentials have legitimized school system hierarchies and defined a realm of appropriate teacher knowledge and pedagogical practices. However, teacher training and changing job expectations also have provided a basis for teachers' claims to professional status. Professionalism has had an appeal to teachers insofar as development of the occupation as a profession could be linked to greater job security, improved wages, and better working conditions. A conception of professionalism based on adherence to scientifically-grounded principles of pedagogy, respect for the individual learner, ethical behaviour, and the fostering of respectable social status has, paradoxically, tempered teachers' militancy by defining non-conforming behaviour as unprofessional at the same time as it has provoked teacher militancy by raising teachers' occupational expectations to a level beyond what the education system could actually deliver.

My observations support the contention of writers like Apple (1986) and Danylewycz and Prentice (1986) that the question of whether teaching is subject to proletarianization or professionalization is commonly confused

with the segmented gender structure of the teaching force. Overall, the greatest professional advantages, in terms of wages, working conditions, status, and career promotion, have gone to men, whereas women teachers have been subjected to the harshest teaching conditions and the worst effects of the intensification of teaching such as limited classroom resources and large class sizes. Until late in the nineteenth century, most teachers were men. Educational promoters, including leaders of the teachers' organizations, tended to advance well into the twentieth century an image of the ideal teacher which described a well-schooled, morally dignified man. The feminization of the teaching force, which took place largely because of economic duress that made it difficult for school jurisdictions to hire teachers who matched this ideal, enabled qualified male teachers to advance at the expense of less qualified female teachers, but it also impeded the ability of leading teachers and other educational promoters to improve the overall status of the teaching profession. Even if the ideal conception had to be modified to take into account the reality that most teachers were women, the standard of teaching success continues to rely upon a notion of the male career teacher oriented to professional respectability and full-time educational development. A general pattern of bifurcation remains within the teaching force, with women concentrated in elementary classrooms and men predominant in high school grades and as school administrators. The continued existence of sexism in the schools and practical difficulties faced by women in gaining promotions tend to be regarded by teachers' organizations and school system authorities as passing inconveniences despite the relative stability for over nine decades of the differential opportunities and career patterns for men and women in the school system.

I have observed, consistent with Apple's (1983; 1986) analysis, that a general shift has taken place from classroom inspection and surveillance over the teacher, constituting what I have called personal regulation, towards

greater emphasis on real subordination through rational supervisory criteria and measures of productivity, or what I have called technical regulation. Nonetheless, consistent with the findings of historical materialist analysis by writers such as Apple (1986), Danylewycz and Prentice (1986), Lawn and Grace (1987), Ozga and Lawn (1981), and Warburton (1986), the British Columbia experience illustrates that the state has not completely closed off teachers' autonomy and privileges, allowing the teachers some discretion over how their work is performed, evaluated and remunerated.

Where my analysis differs from the preceding commentaries is in my emphasis on teaching as reproductive labour oriented to the (re)production of labour power. Labour power under capitalism is a commodity like other goods and services which are bought and sold in the marketplace, but unlike other commodities, labour power is distinguished by its active, renewable nature and embodied in human subjects (Marx 1970, 69-72). I have argued that there are two dimensions of teaching which arise from teachers' reproductive roles around which teaching and teacher-state relations are constituted: a productive dimension which is a consequence of teachers' employment to provide specific educational services; and a moral/subjective dimension which is concerned with teachers' relations with human clients. The former gives rise to technical regulation and forms of teacher resistance which emphasize trade unionism and other industrial action while the latter gives rise to personal regulation and resistances defined as professionalism. The ways in which teaching is conceptualized and organized around each of these dimensions, through varying forms of regulation and resistance, changes with distinct phases of capitalist development.

I have identified six major periods around which the 3 Rs of teaching - reproduction, regulation and resistance - have been organized within the state. (1) In the nineteenth century, under the sponsorship of bourgeois reformers, public school teaching was created by the state as a cornerstone

for political and social unity. Regulated through personal selection and directives to ensure Christian moral virtues as well as technical standards such as extensive record-keeping, teachers had little opportunity to engage in collective resistance. (2) From about 1900 to 1947, teacher-state relations became increasingly formalized amidst conflicts between teachers and employers and competing factions of a segmented teaching force. State and corporate leaders promoted educational stability to foster social harmony within industrial development. (3) In the post-war period to 1967, teachers made occupational advances at the same time as they were constrained by state-sponsored professionalism. (4) Teachers engaged in militant political protest and union activity as the state began to rationalize educational services between 1967 and 1972. (5) As the state asserted technical regulation and educational retrenchment between 1972 and 1983, teacher resistance was undermined by factionalism within the teaching force. (6) Finally, amidst market-based economic priorities and state responsiveness to international trade patterns in the 1980s, teaching has come under attack as the state attempts to integrate personal and technical regulation. While teachers, in response, have increasingly allied with other working and community groups, teacher resistance has been accommodative in nature, oriented to preserve or extend existing educational services rather than challenge fundamental structures of class and gender domination. The differentiated structure of the teaching force and the frequent tensions which have emerged as a consequence of occupational divisions have meant that much of the effective regulation of teaching has been performed by teachers themselves. I have observed how in several instances BCTF leaders and other prominent teachers have cultivated ties with state officials and corporate authorities to promote the interests of particular segments of the teaching force. Government officials, too, have frequently played upon rifts in the teaching force in order to provoke internal discord and weaken teachers'

political effectiveness in opposing state policy. Teachers' consciousness of their often fragile occupational cohesiveness has tempered their vision of educational alternatives, commonly accommodating their ideology and actions to an education system which is in the process of being fundamentally changed. Teachers have often been reluctant to pursue with any vigour questions about what kind of world they operate within and what kind of institution schools have become in that world.

Despite its indication of the limitations of teacher resistance, my account of educational development in British Columbia has provided some insight about the nature and operation of the state which suggests that there remain possibilities for more radical teacher organization. The state, of which teachers are a part, is not in the strictest sense a "capitalist state" in that legislative and regulatory action have sometimes tended to proceed autonomously from direct industrial or corporate intervention. Consistent with the analysis offered by writers like Bruce Curtis (1983) and R.M. Stamp (1977), I have observed that a system of public schools was introduced prior to any significant industrialization in the province and oriented to the formation of a political unity. While industry influenced both directly and indirectly the subsequent development of schooling, educational decisions which favoured industrial and corporate interests were most likely to be mediated by personnel such as state officials, educators and prominent teachers. Nonetheless, education decision-makers and practitioners have been sensitive to demands made or resources provided by business corporations. The development of a rational structure of school administration and the advancement of teaching as a profession are examples of how capital, working through particular agencies such as philanthropic foundations, has been able to generate within the education system support for systematizing processes of social reproduction.

At the same time, however, rational educational expansion and planning

frequently have been interrupted by more immediate circumstances in the province. Fiscal and political support for public education in general, as well as for particular educational priorities, has not been automatic, but has had to be generated by educational promoters in the often volatile provincial context. On some occasions, as revealed in the Kidd Report in the 1930s and taxpayer resistance to school costs in the 1950s, wider pressures for school system expansion were subordinated by overt hostility to public education. In a similar manner, the development of educational priorities and the treatment of teachers in the province have often had a strong personal character associated with such figures as John Jessop in the nineteenth century, George M. Weir and Harry Charlesworth early in the twentieth century, W.A.C. Bennett in the 1950s and 1960s, and Bill Vander Zalm in the 1980s. These agendas, it must be recognized, have been successful largely because of the interests they were aligned with at particular points in time. Leading educational reformers, teachers and state officials have given expression, although often with a peculiar slant, to political forces and material interests which existed in more general form. Nonetheless, my findings have revealed the state to be something that is actively constituted and reconstituted rather than an arbitrary or monolithic structure. The indetermination which remains in schooling and governing has allowed teachers space to maintain the possibility of developing resistances to current educational trends and policies. The danger that has emerged in the 1980s is that recent state initiatives to articulate more closely school and work, phrased within imperatives to succeed in international markets, have been oriented to reduce the autonomous space enjoyed by teachers and learners.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

This thesis has emphasized that teacher resistances most commonly have been accommodative in nature, framed within existing state policies and regulations even when teachers have disagreed with the government's educational philosophy and practices. Through their inability to advance a sustained challenge to the foundations of schooling, teachers have been complicit in an education system which perpetuates class, gender and racial inequalities. However, I have suggested, following Giroux (1988; Aronowitz and Giroux 1985) that teachers have not lost all potential for advancing radical pedagogies or acting as "transformative intellectuals." It is worth considering where these possibilities lie, based upon my observations about the development of teaching in British Columbia.

Teachers have been most successful in generating support for collective action and educational services and advancing their professional welfare when they have been able to link an objective analysis of teaching with their roles as providers of service to clients, as exemplified by concern for rural teaching conditions in the early 1940s, the pensions issue in 1971, and membership in the Solidarity Coalition in 1983. While teachers did not always achieve the gains that they sought, they demonstrated in each of these cases that teaching was not confined by classroom walls and that teachers had a mutuality of interest with non-teaching groups. As this thesis has emphasized, traditional dividing-points between the classroom and the world outside of school have been socially constructed, created by the ideologies and actions of educational managers and teachers themselves. Regardless of how hard they try to convince themselves, teachers are not neutral actors working in a consensual social order.

Strategies oriented to the pursuit of either disengaged professionalism or traditional business unionism ignore the most compelling realities of

teaching as a form of reproductive labour within a particular social context. The BCTF has for several decades been able to defend, with varying degrees of success, a concept of education which emphasizes well-funded service to the learner in a diverse social world. They have begun to broaden their horizons as they have allied themselves with other workers and community groups. They need, in the process, to emphasize how schooling contributes to as well as mitigates social problems.

Teachers, if they are to have any significant social impact, must become educators and educated in the widest sense as critical thinkers and actors. They need to become knowledgeable about the political realities of schooling in capitalist societies. Their conceptions of educational research and planning must not be constrained by a narrow emphasis on how to make schooling more efficient or how to implement given technical aspects of curriculum. Instead, teachers need to become conscious and help others gain awareness of schooling's role in reproducing social, economic and political inequalities. In the process, teachers and educators at other levels, including university and college teachers, must be willing to make contact with and guide and be guided by diverse groups of workers as well as parents and pupils. Teachers are perhaps unique as organized workers who can be found in almost every community and who maintain ongoing contact with nearly all young people. This close relationship with others means that teachers are likely to remain constrained by the state's use of personal regulation as long as teaching is defined within neutral conceptions of community and society. By contrast, teachers can become educators rather than mere disseminators of the curriculum and guardians of pupils by combining sensitivity to their position as workers within a class, gender and racially divided capitalist society with the cultivation of reciprocal relations with community groups.

It must be acknowledged that it is difficult for workers like teachers

to devote the time, energy and risk involved in promoting social transformation. Teachers, under scrutiny by employers and community members, know from experience the power of threats and retaliatory measures that can be imposed by the state. Teachers face a danger that if they involve others in educational endeavours they may in the process undermine their own occupational status and credibility as professionals. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that teachers' claims to professionalism do more than serve merely an ideological purpose to legitimize their occupational position. Teachers do have skills in communications, in interpersonal relations and as educators which they can employ in dialogue about the nature of schooling and society to advance a society guided by patterns of fundamental social equality and democratic participation. Conversely, if these skills remain confined to a purely technical purpose, they may be reorganized or removed by educational managers operating in a system governed by the imperatives of profit, inequality and domination.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis stands as a contribution to the analysis of teacher-state relations as part of the wider exploration of the politics of teaching and schooling. As I noted in the introduction, following the observation by Lawn and Grace (1987), there have been few detailed critical studies of the formation and dynamics of teachers' organizations and of the historical relations between teaching and other political processes. Other teachers' organizations in Canada have rich histories (see, e.g., Chalmers 1968, Roald 1970) which can be represented not simply as patterns of professional development but rather as shifting alignments within definite material contexts. While general trends are likely to be similar, as suggested, for example, by Muir (1968), interprovincial and international comparisons may

reveal important differences in the ways in which teachers and states contest the organization of teaching around social reproduction. Such comparisons also need to be further developed within provincial teaching forces in order to advance an understanding of the differential circumstances of men and women, or rural and urban, teachers and of the rise of specific teaching groups like the Rural Teachers' Association in British Columbia. There is still little research which interrelates how teachers see their work, what they do in their day to day activities, and how teaching is reshaped through wider political practices.

Further research is also required to examine the linkages among various sites within which labour power is reproduced. While much analysis (e.g., Bowles and Gintis 1976, Carnoy and Levin 1985) has emphasized connections between schooling and work, less attention has been given to relations between schools and other spheres of reproduction. Sutherland (1976), for example, has demonstrated how various aspects of childhood are constructed by distinct social interests across diverse institutional settings. Nonetheless, teaching is often ignored as reproductive labour which has affinities as well as differences with other forms of reproductive work such as parenting, health care, and social work.

One of the major dilemmas of educational research has concerned the question of how autonomous schools are from other social processes and structures. As educational policies and practices come under increasing pressure to become "socially relevant," it is crucial to develop an understanding of how and why schooling and teaching have come to be shaped as they are within wider social, economic and political processes.

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