POSITIONING WOMEN'S NARRATIVES IN CANADIAN HISTORY COURSE MATERIALS

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ABSTRACT

Historical narratives about and by women have been predominantly absent from history courses in Ontario. School textbooks and supplementary course materials, developed in the 19th century as part of state goals related to nation building and good citizenship, dominate history course narratives. The women's movement, affirmative action and equal opportunity policies helped bring issues of gender inequity to the forefront of education beginning in the 1970s, but it did little to alter history curriculum, which remained androcentric. Most history textbooks and course materials either marginalized women's narratives or presented women through a series of women's "firsts." Recent discussions about history education in Canada have focused on the purpose and the methods of effective history teaching. This discussion must also include a re-examination of traditional historical frameworks and the inclusion of women in history course narratives.

RÉSUMÉ

Les récits historiques à propos et par des femmes ont été majoritairement absents des cours d'histoire en Ontario. Les manuels scolaires et le matériel de classe supplémentaire, développés au 19e siècle dans le cadre des objectifs gouvernementaux reliés à la construction de la nation et de la citoyenneté, dominent les récits historiques des cours d'histoire. Le mouvement des femmes, l'action positive et les politiques d'égalité des chances ont contribué à porter ces questions d'inégalité des sexes au devant de l'enseignement, débutant dans les années 1970, mais ceci n'a pas beaucoup changé le curriculum d'histoire, qui est demeuré androcentrique. La plupart des manuels d'histoire et du matériel de cours ont soit marginalisé les récits de femmes, soit présenté les femmes par l'entremise d'une série de « premières » pour les femmes. Les discussions récentes portant sur l'enseignement de l'histoire au Canada ont mis l'accent sur les objectifs et les méthodes de l'enseignement efficace de l'histoire. Cette discussion doit aussi inclure un réexamen des cadres traditionels historiques et l'inclusion des femmes dans les récits historiques des cours d'histoire.

The experiences of Canadian women were absent from nation building narratives that embraced the achievements of elite and public men. Political and military leaders, lawmakers and industrial giants helped shape the national polity. Restricted by legislation that deprived them of rights and privileges, women were denied access to government, academic and economic positions of authority, removing them from national narratives or restricting them to supportive roles that validated the public discourse. Canadian history taught in schools has been shaped by the development of the country as a whole. Nation building narratives, centered

within Euro-Canadian frameworks, focused on the growth of the nation. The history of Canada, presented in well-established chronological frameworks, began with the arrival of French missionaries and advanced with achievements in industry and the mass settlement of the west.[1] Students in Ontario were presented a history of Canada that celebrated the successes of a predominately Anglo British middle class society, with little room for alternative narratives. Historians Paul Axelrod, Alison Prentice and Desmond Morton have examined the ways in which notions of patriotism and good citizenship were supported through the 19th century mass public school initiatives, designed to "create loyal and dutiful citizens" and history "was its sharpest blade."[2] History educators, throughout the first half of the 20th century, supported traditional narratives in the textbooks and materials they employed in their classrooms. This remained the standard in history classrooms until the 1970s, when social historians affirmed that power elites had directed historical narratives. Social historians concentrated instead on a "history from below",[3] which focused on an examination of the working class: narratives about immigration, work and family,[4] and how relationships of power had intersected with race, class and ethnicity.[5] They uncovered narratives about the lives and experiences of people who had been formally marginalized or omitted from traditional history education.[6]

Historical narratives about and by women have been predominantly absent from history courses in Ontario. Interested history teachers were incorporating women into their classes through stories of working class women and an examination of families.[7] Social historians as well as feminist scholars supported a broader framework in which to examine the past, uncovering historical narratives about women that eventually became part of standard college and university history courses. Uncovering these narratives meant looking beyond traditional sources and asking different questions, resulting in a wide range of newly developed historical materials that employed innovative methods for historical analysis.[8] The new scholarship in history, along with public demands for gender equity, and school board affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation, had an impact on history teachers, who developed awareness for the necessity to employ diverse historical narratives and perspectives for history courses. History education in secondary schools had initially limited the inclusion of women's historical narratives within textbooks and course guidelines, affirming women's secondary status, depriving students of viable historical female role models, and reinforcing traditional understandings about the past.

By the 1980s, public school boards had responded to provincial human rights codes that prohibited discrimination based on gender and developed affirmative action and equal opportunity policies that focused on "sex-role stereotyping" in the schools. The status of women and education councils established standards for gender accountability which aimed at countering blatant "sex discrimination" in schools. They were far less effective, however, at altering curriculum guidelines.[9] History teachers interested in including narratives about Canadian women maintained the responsibility of accessing resource materials, as textbooks and school materials provided few resources.[10] Teachers acquired materials through attendance at conferences, workshops and as members in various organizations. Materials were developed and published through small independent presses, such as the Canadian Women's Educational Press.[11] Until the 21st century, including narratives about and by women required a major effort on the part of individual history teachers.

This paper provides a brief overview of some of the steps taken to add women to the Canadian history curriculum and ends with a discussion about the current challenges facing history educators. This paper is part of a larger research project that explores the ways in which women's historical narratives have been integrated, subsumed, ignored or marginalized within schools and history courses. My examination traces the work of historians, educators, women's organizations, historical site workers and small publishers to include the narratives of women in history curriculum and the impact it had on history education. The essential role schools play as cultural transmitters makes this study an essential part of the historiography of Canadian women's history and history education.

TRANSFORMING HISTORY CURRICULUM: FIRST STEPS

The Hall-Dennis Report (1968) on the aims and objectives of education in Ontario entitled *Living and Learning* was broadly accepted as a new standard for education in Ontario.[12] The 18th annual Ontario Association for Curriculum Development (OACD) held in 1969 entitled *Human Relations in Education*, reflected this shift, through an examination of the ways to "humanize" schools and learning. The 1970 OACD theme was *Curriculum for a Canadian Identity.* Dr. Jean-Louis Gagnon, keynote speaker, stated, "the fact is that Canadians do not know their country and are very ignorant of its history."[13] In order to create a curriculum "for a Canadian identity" it was suggested that schools form stronger links with historical institutions. Readily accessible local museums and libraries in towns and cities provided opportunities to forge strong links between schools, curriculum and students. The result was significant funding for school

visits to historic sites within the province.[14] The removal of standardized history provincial tests (1968 in Ontario) resulted in history teachers obtaining the responsibility of what and how to present historical narratives in their classrooms. History department heads discussed creating packages or "boxes of materials." Teachers voiced a desire to do away with policies that restricted them to narrow and similar textbooks, often outmoded by the time they have been approved, advocating for a greater interdisciplinary approach to Canadian history teaching.[15] The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education partnered with various groups to develop education kits. The "boxes", as they were referred to, (except for the women's kit) included an Ecology Box, Ten Years One Box, language boxes and the Women's Kit. The Ten Years One Box contained a variety of documents, photos, art, records, filmstrips and slides that focus on the decade of the 1930s. Members of the advisory panel included Canadian historian Ramsay Cook. The "Women's Kit", the only kit focused completely on the narratives of women, was a giant cardboard box full of materials such as pamphlets, photos, poems, copies of newspaper articles, filmstrips, records and historical documents, produced in 1972. During 1973-1974, 170 of these kits were distributed to high schools and community colleges (mostly in Ontario) for field testing, with an additional 20 kits circulated within another 200 schools and community groups.[16] Educators were encouraged to develop new materials to reflect broader narratives, and coupled with the focus on social history, helped introduce some space for the narratives about women.[17] The rationale at the time to challenge traditional ideas within society, and within schools, was part of a broader movement focused on bringing the voices of those marginalized into public narratives, and women entered the curriculum through this lens.

In their 1980 bibliography, *True Daughters of the North*, Strong-Boag and Beth Light recognized the importance of looking beyond the "famous" or the "notorious" to narratives of ordinary Canadians. They stated: "The history of women, like that of men, includes that of the family, sexuality and work. The integration of these areas into a coherent whole will go far toward producing the first comprehensive histories of Canadians."[18] By expanding the arena, history teachers engaged in a more interdisciplinary approach to history teaching. For example, a historical examination of the suffrage movement in Canada and the fight for women to obtain greater rights as citizens, opened up a socio-political and economic analysis of the impact of paid and unpaid labour, the issues related to political participation, and the ways in which marginalization affected societal opportunities and quality of life, thus expanding the historical dialogue taking place in classrooms.[19]

By the mid 1980s, a significant feminist scholarship had emerged, which helped propel universities and colleges to establish women's studies courses, to include women's narratives in undergraduate survey courses, and to allow for feminist scholarship in graduate programs. Public schools in Ontario, however, did not parallel the academic changes taking place in post-secondary institutions and lagged significantly behind in integrating women into course materials. Although public school boards prohibited discrimination based on gender, and affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation focused on "sex-role stereotyping" in the schools, little was done to alter formal history curriculum.[20] Course guidelines in the humanities did not produce a more balanced and realistic portrayal of women in the curriculum and women's narratives remained marginalized in course materials.[21] The Toronto Board of Education Equal Opportunity Office, Affirmative Action Committee and Women's Liaison Committees embraced strategies of gender accountability in terms of Sexism and Anti-Racist Education broadened considerations of gender by placing gender within issues of race and class. Although narratives in textbooks and resource materials were altered to avoid blatant discrimination, little effort was focused on major overhauls to the curriculum.

The Ministry of Education in Ontario has never formally developed a separate women's history course and has yet to place women's historical narratives as a required expectation for history courses within the province. Current history guidelines continue to divide historical periods into traditional notions of periodization and continue to place hierarchies on "major" and "minor" events in Canadian history, products still of the grand narrative. Since school boards have failed to adequately place women's narratives as central to historical analysis or supply resource materials about and by women, teacher federations, women's organizations and individual teachers have throughout the years taken action. Many teachers were, and continue to be, active in women's groups who argue that sex-role stereotyping, the lack of strong female role-models and narratives about women are factors contributing to women's inequality.[22] Beginning in the 1970s, students and parents believed that schools needed to better reflect changes taking place in society.[23] Placed within this framework were the issues of the rights of women.[24] As a result, some teachers created individual courses that reflected their concerns over the omission of women in history course materials. One teacher, for example, developed a course called "women and art" and another developed a course called "women and society".[25] Teachers were given special allowances to develop a women's studies course at some schools. However, courses remained supplementary, the

purview of individual teachers and the developed materials were rarely integrated into mainstream history courses. The former Toronto Board of Education was progressive in terms of its leadership in developing policies around women's education and gender equity, often acting as a template for other boards in the province.[26] Committees organized Professional Development (PD) days for teachers to examine the problem of sex-role stereotypes in schools and course materials. Workshops and kits were developed to ensure that schools were accountable for affirmative action and gender equity. Affirmative action was part of a broader aim to provide greater opportunities for women to find leadership roles, and for women to find equal representation within the curriculum.[27] This aim resulted in an abundance of materials published to address school needs. Writing women "back into history" provided a focus for initiatives to reform sex-role stereotyping in schools and curriculum.[28] But changing history course outlines proved more of a challenge and by 1998 Bill 104 had amalgamated school boards in Metropolitan Toronto, dissolving many of the initiatives created by the equity branches of the former Toronto board.[29]

Throughout this period, history textbooks continued to contain marginalized references to women.[30] Textbooks published before the 1970s did not include women, only in passing reference, such as photos showing women from the 1920s in swimsuits.[31] *Call Us Canadians*, a textbook published in 1976, for example, was the first in Ontario to include a separate chapter devoted to women. In clear response to the United Nations International Women's Year (1975) the book created a chapter entitled "Profiles of Canadian Women", but placed these profiles in the last chapter of the book. The chapter features women such as Nellie McClung and Catherine Parr Trail, despite major inroads by women in Canada by this date. With the publication of *Spotlight Canada*, in 1980,[32] marginal steps were introduced to include women by including "women" as a topic at points throughout the book.[33] Teachers clearly needed more, so they continued to access kits, audio-visual materials and films into their history classrooms. Many of the films used in history classrooms were available through The National Film Board's (NFB) Studio D, which produced dozens of films about Canadian women.[34]

Throughout the 1990s, the number of available materials for teachers was staggering as national and local organizations, both grass-roots feminists and institutional feminists, provided accessible materials that documented the experiences of women, so accessing materials for history courses was no longer difficult. School boards also published posters about women, with accompanying teacher's guides, and thousands were placed in schools across the province, and women's organizations, such as the Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN) held annual conferences where teachers accessed history course materials. The posters are still being published and the conferences provide an important network between current research work in the field of Canadian women's history and the work of teachers in classrooms.

TRANSFORMING HISTORY CURRICULUM: SECOND STEPS

Recent textbooks, those published within the last ten years, have added larger sections and references to women, as well as references to supplementary materials, but still list "women" as a separate category within the index, reflecting a curriculum that continues to sidestep a full integration of women's historical narratives. Teachers are still in the position of searching out supplementary materials in order to provide a gendered balance study of Canadian history. Taking steps to include women's narratives as well as challenge traditional historical frameworks would be a bold step for history educators. A nation's historical narratives are deeply entrenched and feminist inquiry challenges both the narratives and the structures in which they are defined, cutting at the core of traditional disciplines and accepted definitions of knowledge. Despite efforts, beginning in the 1960s, to bring a more balanced human focus to historical inquiry, history curriculum continues to cling to many traditional narratives. We have taken steps to acknowledge large numbers of historical omissions, or what historian Jack Granatstein calls our "dirty laundry" and many of those stories of injustice, issues of race and class, have now become part of the general narrative in schools, but we have yet to take bold steps in terms of gender.[35] Despite the challenges that were raised by the second wave feminists and feminist scholars, the academic community remains skeptical towards the full integration of women's narratives into course materials.[36] This remains a challenge for women's organizations and reaffirms their importance in providing a platform for women's voices. Although school boards responded by creating new standards to remove bias in the schools, the results did not provide major changes to course materials. Pat Kincaid, a former women's studies consultant for the TBE stated that feminists in the 1970s believed that if they cultivated awareness about women's issues, teachers and schools boards would alter the curriculum. This did not materialize. School boards made public gestures to balance the gender divide in schools but did little to support gender equity in course materials. Rebecca Coulter argues that governments identified sexism as being simply a "wrong" attitude and targeted education, especially the schooling of children, as the means to change this attitude. She argues, "As a result,

governments often passed weak legislation or developed "soft" gender equity through education policies, designed to offend no one."[37] Guidance counselors were informed of ways to support career options for girls, and educators were mandated to attend affirmative action workshops to avoid sexist language and behavior in schools but the effort to infuse the humanities with the narratives of women never developed, and still today is left to the individual teacher who require membership in outside organizations in order to access resources.

Finally, this brings into question issues of change and an institution's effectiveness in making permanent change. The women's movement contained an optimism that saw wide ranging changes to social, political and economic institutions. Yet these changes have not completely permeated educational curriculum. Women's history month provides one outlet for the inclusion of women's narratives in schools, but like other designated months with a specific focus, result in one shot references of historical "firsts". A more integrated curriculum is long overdue. History teachers need to evaluate history course materials to ensure that the narratives of both men and women are present in all historical examinations. This is possible to do, considering the wealth of available scholarship and resources about women. Publications, within the past ten years, that focus on Canadian women's narratives provide excellent resources for history teachers but these resources remain supplementary.[38] In their 1982 pioneer article on the ways in which feminism applies to the writing and teaching of history, historians Alison Prentice and Ruth Pierson argued that students are unable to separate scholarly work with their own social and personal reality. Feminist consciousness and scholarship had exposed gender bias, altered historical questions and had uncovered links formally denied by traditional historical inquiry.[39] History textbooks were eventually altered to add specific women's narratives, but the broader challenge facing teachers of history is in re-examining the benchmarks or defining markers of historical movements, which have simply placed women's narratives within traditional paradigms that deny students exposure to authentic women's narratives.

The heightened interest in history education in schools recently has brought forth a renewed dialogue of what history should be taught in schools. Gender equality in history curriculum needs to be included in this discussion. Radical feminists of the 1960s and 70s argued that full integration of women could only take place as a result of radical societal change. Schools, as state institutions, supported patriarchal narratives and interests. Historically, women held subordinate positions within state institutions and thus were never placed into the dominant public narratives. History students today need to learn to think critically about the state systems and institutions, which form the basis of their society and examine the ways in which the past has shaped, maintained and altered these systems. History teachers provide the tools for historical inquiry, available through a critical examination of a wide range of primary documents. Good teachers also provide support for student analysis of the evidence presented in the primary documents, in order that they may draw balanced conclusions about the past.[40] But this inquiry and exposure of resource materials also requires a commitment to critical analysis of the societal systems and institutions that produced these documents. In his study with students in Northern Ireland, Keith Barton found that students often faced a history curriculum different from their own reality as history topics in schools are "rarely presented in a context that connects them to the present-rather they're just part of a chronological march through the past." Barton adds, "history deserves a place in public education only if we can develop a meaningful and publically articulated rationale for it, one rooted in pluralism, participation and deliberation."[41] I would add to Barton, the opportunity for students to question accepted historical frameworks, thus offering opportunities to develop new ways of thinking and understanding about our past. Changing the structure of history teaching involves more than introducing new tools in which to analyze the past, it also means re-evaluating the societal paradigms that framed past experiences. Challenging accepted constructed frameworks will offer a more realistic portrayal and analysis of the experiences of women. Joan Wallach Scott argues that feminist historical inquiry will "yield a history that will provide new perspectives on old questions, redefine the old questions in new terms, make women visible as active participants, and create analytic distance between the seemingly fixed language of the past and our own terminally."[42] Although narratives about and by women are currently present in Canadian history textbooks and course materials, they remain marginalized and framed within the dominant national discourse. Course guidelines do not feature women as central to historical periodization but rather continue to place women's narratives in supporting roles. Women remain listed as a subject in most indexes, reflecting their supplementary status. Continuing to engage in open dialogue concerning the ways to create a more equitable portrayal of our past is the first step to developing meaningful history courses in school.

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NOTES

[1] See: Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930) and A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada: A new history.* (Toronto: W.L.Gage, 1937).

[2] Desmond Morton, "Canadian History Teaching in Canada" in Ruth Sandwell, ed. *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*. (Toronto: U of T Press 2006), 26. Morton examines issues related to public school history teaching. See also Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914*. (Toronto: U of T Press, 1997) and Alison Prentice, *The school promoters: education and social class in mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada.* (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart 1977)

[3] See: Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social history of Higher Education.* (Montreal, 1989), Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education", *History of Education Quarterly*. Vol. 36. no.1 (spring 1996).

[4] Charles Edward Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada.* (Toronto: Gage Publishers 1957).

[5] Scholars had various reactions to changes in history scholarship. See: Jack Granatstein. *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper Collins 1998) And a response to Granatstein in Timothy Stanley's "Why I killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada", *Histoire sociale/ Social History* 33, no. 65 (2001) and Stanley's "Whose Public? Whose Memory? Racism, grand narratives and Canadian History" in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada* (Toronto: U of T Press. 2006)

[6] For example, by 1977 the Toronto Board of Education fully adopted an Affirmative Action Task Force Report, which called for a dedicated plan of action and the creation of an Affirmative Action Advisor.

[7] Based on interviews with Toronto teachers. (Interviews took place fall 2009 as part of my dissertation work).

[8] Natalie Zemon Davis and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women's History as Women's Education* (paper from a symposium at Smith College, April 17, 1985), 13. In the paper Dr. Davis states "the creative method in historical thinking from where I sat was to put the parts of society together in interchange rather than isolating them."

[9] Lise Julien. *Women's Issues in Education in Canada: A survey of policies and practices at the elementary and secondary levels* (Government of Canada, 1987)

[10] See: Chad Gaffield, "The Blossoming of Canadians Historical Research: Implications for Educational Policy and Content" in Ruth Sandwell, ed. *To the Past.* (Toronto: U of T Press, 2006) Gaffield examines the disconnect between new scholarship in the field of Canadian history and history course materials used in schools.

[11] Canadian Women's Movement Archives: University of Ottawa. *Canadian Women's Educational Press Collection* held at the library (X10-12) Ads were listed in: The Canadian Teacher, Books in Canada, City Magazine, Canadian Forum, Quill and Quire and others. Books from CWP are featured in many catalogues, with large circulations across the country. In 1988 the Women's Press split, with some members departing to form Second Story Press.

[12] Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning Report.* (Toronto: Published for the Committee by Newton Pub. Co., 1968)

[13] 19th annual OACD Report, November 1970, *Curriculum for a Canadian Identity.* Dr. Jean-Louis Gagnon keynote speaker, Director General Information Canada, (Toronto, OACD)

[14] For example, a 1967 report indicated the development of new educational field trip brochures, published for Fort York, where 4000 copies were sent to school Principals. 37,500 pupils had attended various sites in 1967. (Toronto Archives Library, *Toronto Historical Board 1968 Annual Report*, 12

[15] 19th annual OACD Report: November 1970, *Curriculum for a Canadian Identity.* The Canadian Studies Foundation had $3,500,000 of non-government money to be used over five years in an effort to improve the teaching of young Canadians about Canada. The Ontario Department of Education (Circular HS1) recommended a broad area of study which included communications, arts, pure and applied sciences and the social sciences, which included economics, geography, history, man and society, marketing and world politics, 25-29

[16] The boxes are in storage at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education library: University of Toronto.

[17] Feminist historians responded with social and labour narratives about women. See: Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Veronica Strong-Boag and Joy Parr. See Parr, "Case records as sources for social history', *Archivaria* no 4 (Spring 1977), 122-36, and Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff, eds. *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History,* vol.1. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), Veronica Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio's Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada", *Archivaria* no.6 (summer 1978), 70-82.

[18] Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag, *True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women's History: An Annotated Bibliography.* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1980), 1-6.Beth Light also produced a curriculum document entitled *Family History: A Method for the Study of Social History* as part of the Women in Canadian History Project (Feb. 1977)

[19] Throughout the 1980s The Toronto Board of Education had its own resource centre, which had a large staff and a large budget. Teachers requested items to supplement course work, including materials about women. By the 1990s, it became standard for textbooks to include narratives on the suffrage movement, the Persons' case and the role of women during the wars, providing teachers with opportunities for broader examination.

[20] Toronto Board of education Archives: Status of Women files. "Sex-role stereotyping" policies began in 1972.

[21] *A Non-Sexist Bibliography- Affirmative Action folders.* The introduction stated "the writing team compiled this bibliography to meet the special aim of helping teachers ensure there is a good representation in classrooms and programs of acceptable books by and about females. If this aim is achieved, teachers will have contributed greatly to the elimination of sex-role stereotyping and sexual bias from the curriculum."

[22] During the 1970s several research studies were conducted. See: Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System, 1975; Elaine Batcher, Alison Winter, Vicki Wright, *The more things change – the more they stay the same* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1987) Conferences on *Sex-Role Stereotyping and Women's Studies: Report* (Toronto :Ontario Ministry of Education, 1978)

[23] *The Toronto Community Schools Newspaper*, for example, published between 1971-1974, represented a group of parents, students, teachers and other community members who were concerned about the quality of education in Toronto. They believed that a community paper would provide an important communication link for shared dialogue and action plans within their communities and beyond. The paper, similar to others during the 1970s, contained articles about current issues in education and provided updates on legislative changes in education.

[24] To name only a few: *The Velvet Fist* (Toronto Women's Caucus); *We are Women*; Joyce Cowley, *Pioneers in Women's Liberation* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971), 15 pages. All pamphlets in OISE/UT WERC collection

[25] Interviews with history teachers 2009-2010. One year, in a *Man and Society* course, a Toronto teacher had a large number of girls who argued for a women's studies course. In response to their demands, and her own beliefs, this teacher developed course materials. She added, "I realized that the board allowed me to add curriculum materials, and still award a credit, but I didn't want that-this provided me an opportunity to make a political statement."

[26] Toronto Board of Education Archives: Status of Women file, Affirmative Action file: The Status of Women Committees developed Affirmative Action programs beginning in the 1970s that included changes to guidance, general curriculum, textbooks and ancillary services.

[27] TBE Archives: TBE-EAO-AAction envelope #5. Kit from Awareness workshops Nov. 1979Data included in this file: Full time teaching positions schedule II: 1976=170, and in 1979= 182. The number of women is 27 (16%) and 35(19%) Secondary teacher's percentage that is female in 1976 was 37.8%. Percentage of female Principals and Vice-Principals was 37.8% for secondary schools in 1979. The `kit' contained a suggested bibliography with a few of the following titles: Paula Bourne: *Women in Canadian Society,* (OISE 1978); V. D'Oyley, *Black Presence in Multi-Ethnic Canada* (1978) H. Troper: *Native Survival.* (OISE 1973); B. Kane. And P. Harris: *The Women's Kit* (OISE 1974). Envelope #2: Numerous conferences took place at the TBE during the 1970s and 1980s. April 26, 1979 conference was called *Free to Choose: An evening of Speakers* sponsored by the Women's Studies Dept. Speakers included Marion Colby and Dr. Ouida Wright. Topics included women

in law, in advertising, battered women, Jan Tennant spoke about women in the news and Abby Hoffman spoke about human rights.

[28]"Writing women back into history" is the theme of the *National Women's History project* (NWHM) for 2010 and represents a focus of women's groups in Canada and the United States since the 1960s.

[29]Tim McCaskell, *Race To Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequality.* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 237.

[30]Throughout the 1970s, textbooks continued to reflect traditional narratives forcing teachers to seek supplementary materials. By the end of the decade, some textbooks responded to changes taking place in board policies but the high cost of textbooks meant old history textbooks remained in school classrooms for 10-15 years.

[31]For example see two popular history textbooks: *Decisive Decades* written by A.B. Hodgetts (Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961) and *Challenge and Survival: The History of Canada* by H.H. Herstein (Prentice Hall, 1970) both books do not include "women" as a category in the book or listed in the index.

[32]J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas, *Spotlight Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980)

[33]J. Bradley Cruxton, *Spotlight Canada* presented the theme "women", depicted in a cloche hat from the 1920s. Women appear in a paragraph about the WCTU, Dr. Emily Stowe, in an examination of the home front in both world wars, for their efforts to support the war, and as British war brides arriving in Canada. This reflects the common places where women entered history curriculum in most textbooks by the early 1990s.

[34]Pioneer work was published by the BC Teachers Federation (BCTF). Many of those classroom materials could be found in libraries in Ontario. For example, *Famous Canadian Women, Early Canadian Women, From Captivity to Choice: Native Women in Canadian Literature.* The Corrective Collective published *She named it Canada: Because that's what it was called.* (Vancouver: Press Gang Press, 1971). There were copies of this book at the Toronto Board of Education. See: NFB film discussion in a report on the NFB/Educators Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary Schools. (Montreal, 1986) and Gail Vanstone, *D is for Daring: the women behind the films of Studio D.* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2007)

[35]See: Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper Collins 1998) Desmond Morton, "Canadian history teaching in Canada: What's the Big deal" and Timothy Stanley, "Whose Public? Whose memory? Racism Grand Narratives and Canadian History" in Ruth Sandwell, ed. *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006)

[36]Alison Prentice et al. *Canadian Women: A History.* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, first published in 1988, now in its 3rd edition) In preparing *Canadian Women: A History,* the authors were cognizant that conventional history remained problematic in the history of women as language, definitions, and even designated turning points were often unrelated to women's experiences.

[37]Rebecca Priegert Coulter. "Gender Equity and Schooling: Linking Research and Policy", *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, 4 (1996) 433-452.

[38]See books by Green Dragon Press: Pat Staton with Paula Bourne, *Claiming women's lives: history and contemporary studies, grade 7-OAC* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press 1994); Pat Staton, Rose Fine-Meyer, S.K. Gibson, *Unfolding power: Documents in 20th century Canadian women's history* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press 2004) Marguerite Alfred and Pat Staton, *Black women in Canada: past and present.* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press 2004) Pat Staton, *It was their war too : Canadian women and World War I* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press 2006)

[39]Ruth Pierson and Alison Prentice, "Feminism and the writing and teaching of history " in A. Miles and G. Finn eds. *Feminism in Canada: from Pressure to Politics* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982) Prentice and Pierson had hoped that feminist inquiry would expose how women's roles had been framed and distorted within traditional historical writing. They challenged, for example, the established divisions between private and public spheres.

[40]There is a great deal of scholarship in the study of critical thinking and humanistic education. See two collections: Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada.* (Toronto: U of T. Press 2006) and also Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives.* (New York: New York University Press 2000)

[41]Keith Barton, "History, Humanistic Education, and participatory democracy" in Ruth Sandwell, ed. *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006) 50-69.

[42]Joan Wallach Scott ed., *Feminism and History.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 175.