

**‘PRESSURE COOKER’ TRAINING FOR
TEACHERS 1948-1962:
WOMEN’S PERSPECTIVES
FIFTY YEARS ON**

Jadwiga Zychal Jewry

Dip. T. (Sec.), B. Ed. (Uni. of S.A.), M. Ed. Studies

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education, University of
Adelaide**

September 2008

DEDICATION

To my beloved mother

Janina Zychal (1921 – 2002)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	vii
DECLARATION	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION 1948-1962	1
The Nature of the Crisis	1
Investigating the Post-War Emergency Teacher Training Scheme in South Australia	4
Recognising the Gender Dimension.....	6
CHAPTER TWO WOMEN TEACHERS IN FEMINIST HISTORIOGRAPHY	8
Women in Australian Historiography	8
Patriarchy, Oppression and Women’s Active Agency	10
The Feminisation of Teaching	12
Maternal Nurturance.....	14
The Employment of Women as Teachers	15
Women Teachers as a Cheap Source of Labour	18
Studying the Lives of Women Teachers	21
The Present Study	23
CHAPTER THREE METHODS FOR INVESTIGATING THE EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING SCHEME	25
Juxtaposing Three Sets of Data	25
Archival Sources.....	26
Personal Sources.....	27
The Uses of Oral History	29
Women’s Oral Histories.....	32
The Memoir Method of Humanistic Sociology	34
The Participants	36
The Interview Process and Transcription.....	39
The Advantages of Two Methods.....	42

CHAPTER FOUR	THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT’S EMERGENCY SCHEME AND TEACHERS’ RESPONSE.....	44
	The Post-War Teacher Shortage	44
	Approaches to Educational Funding in South Australia	47
	The Education Inquiry Committee 1942-1945	50
	Initial Measures Taken by the Education Department	53
	Criticism and Response	56
	Issues of Terminology	60
	The Protests of the 1953 SAIT Conference	63
	The Media Debate 1953	66
	The Extension of Short Courses to One Year	71
	The Renewed Media Debate 1956.....	74
	The Ending of an Era.....	78
	The Women’s Perspective.....	84
CHAPTER FIVE	ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA I: AN OPPORTUNITY TOO GOOD TO MISS	85
	The Nature of the Opportunity.....	85
	Motives for Becoming Pressure Cooker Teachers	87
	Attracting Applicants to the Emergency Courses.....	99
	Selecting the Most Suitable Applicants.....	106
	Selection Criteria Applied.....	109
	The Next Step	113
CHAPTER SIX	ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA II: EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING COURSES 1948 - 1962	114
	A Chronological Overview	114
	‘Special Teacher Training Scheme’ in 1948.....	115
	One Month Observation in Schools 1949-1951	115
	Three Month Courses 1952-1953	119
	Five Month Courses 1953-1955	123
	Twelve Month Courses 1955-1962	123
	‘Ae’ Primary Courses 1955-1962.....	124
	‘Ce’ Infant Courses 1955-1960.....	129
	Emergency Teachers as Adult Learners.....	132
	Further Study.....	136
	The Personal Desire for More Education and Training	138
	Ready for Teaching?.....	142

CHAPTER SEVEN ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA III: PRESSURE COOKER	
TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES AT SCHOOLS	143
Teaching Conditions in the 1950s and 1960s	143
The Positive Aspects of Teaching	157
The Negative Aspects of Teaching.....	159
Reasons for Leaving Teaching.....	163
A Fulfilling Career.....	171
CHAPTER EIGHT ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA 1V: PRESSURE COOKER	
TEACHERS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORKINGS OF THE	
DEPARTMENT.....	173
Preferential Treatment of Women Pressure Cooker Teachers.....	173
Monitoring Pressure Cooker Teachers	177
Dismissing Unsatisfactory Pressure Cooker Teachers	188
'Pressure Cookers' and TUAs – Terms of Derogation	190
The Effectiveness of the Emergency Scheme.....	197
The Educational Significance of the Pressure Cooker Teachers	203
CHAPTER NINE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA V: PRESSURE COOKER STAFF:	
NATURAL TEACHERS OR HARMFUL INTERLOPERS?	205
Women as Natural Teachers of Young Children.....	205
Pressure Cooker Teachers as Harmful Interlopers	213
Unwanted Interlopers	222
A Range of Examples	226
A Student Perspective.....	240
CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSIONS.....	242
Reflections on Research Methods Used.....	242
The Main Findings.....	246
The Outcomes of the Emergency Scheme	248
The Longer Perspective.....	250
APPENDIX A: Schedule of Open-ended Questions on which Interviews were Based.....	253
APPENDIX B: Education Department Information Handbook.....	255
APPENDIX C: Education Department Information Handbook.....	256
APPENDIX D: Education Department Information Handbook	257
APPENDIX E: Education Department Information Handbook.....	258

APPENDIX F: Advertisement for the Five Month Emergency Training Course	260
APPENDIX G: Education Department Information Handbook	261
APPENDIX H: Cartoon from SAIT Journal	262
APPENDIX I: Poem from the 1960 'Ae' Course Magazine.....	263
APPENDIX J: Photos of 'Pressure Cooker' Teachers in Training and in Schools	264
BIBLIOGRAPHY	266

ADDENDA

1. Insert the following sentence to the end of paragraph one on page 8.

The literature discussed in the sections that follow has been mainly restricted to the Australian context, with most publications from the U.S. and U.K. considered not pertinent to the concerns of this thesis.

2. Insert the following two sentences to the end of paragraph three on page 251.

It is noteworthy, however, that the 'marriage bar' was not mentioned in any official documentation of the South Australian Education Department or SAIT during the period 1948-1962, nor by any of the 'pressure cooker' teachers who were interviewed. It can be argued therefore that the removal of the marriage bar was never considered a solution for the post-war teacher shortage in South Australia.

ABSTRACT

This study gives voice to the women who embarked on careers as emergency or ‘pressure cooker’ teachers within the South Australian Education Department between 1948 and 1962 and allows them to describe their experiences. In 1948 the Education Minister introduced the emergency teacher training scheme, an *ad hoc* arrangement that varied over the years according to the needs of the Department to overcome a severe post-war teacher shortage in State schools. Short courses of teacher training were offered to mature age people, most of whom were married women with children. These ended officially in 1962, much to the relief of the S.A. Institute of Teachers, which criticised the courses as providing manifestly inadequate teacher preparation that could result in harm for the students, schools and the professionalism of teachers.

The study investigated the emergency system from an historical and humanistic sociological perspective, using three sets of juxtaposed data to explain the views of the various stakeholders. As one line of enquiry, historical documentation from the Minister of Education, the Education Department, the Education Inquiry Committee as well as the S.A. Institute of Teachers and the print media, were used to establish the views of the proponents and opponents of the emergency teacher training scheme. The other method utilised an oral history or memoir approach to the lives of women teachers who had been largely ignored by historians in the past. This method was grounded in feminist historiography with a focus on the ‘mother-teacher’ role of nurturing young children. Of the sixty respondents interviewed for the study, most were women who had become emergency teachers, but some were Education Department Officers who had been responsible for the training and supervision of these teachers. The interviews, recorded and transcribed by the researcher, were based on a number of questions that elicited concrete and cultural data. Analysis

of the extensive data gathered was interpreted using the humanistic sociological approach of Polish-American sociologist, Florian Znaniecki.

Initially, a chronological account of the Department's emergency or 'pressure cooker' short courses of teacher training, their gradual modification in the face of teacher criticism and their eventual demise is presented. The subsequent analysis of the women's comments gives the study a human aspect to provide a far more comprehensive picture of what actually took place in the training courses and in the classrooms of the period, than could be gleaned from official documentation or the objections of critics. The analysis of the memoir data is presented in five chapters that discuss the women's reasons for applying to be emergency teachers, their experiences in being interviewed, trained and subsequently appointed to schools. In addition, their position in the Education Department hierarchy and the educational debate of whether the pressure cooker women were natural teachers or harmful interlopers are both considered at some length.

From the data it was apparent that, while the emergency scheme was not an ideal solution, for the Education Department the emergency scheme achieved its objective in addressing the teacher shortage problem and enabled them to secure the services of the extra teachers required at the minimum wage level. Although some of the worst emergency teachers resigned quickly, in the case of the women interviewed, work compatible with their domestic arrangements which eliminated the need for child care and provided a sufficient and secure income, led to a satisfying long term teaching career until retirement.

The long term outcomes of this period can be seen in changes to State legislation in 1972 that resulted in married women, previously excluded from permanency, being granted full status as

professional teachers. As well, the 1976 Teacher Registration requirements in South Australia that all teachers have adequate professional training and qualifications, ensured that it would not be easy for emergency schemes to be used again.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Signed: Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to the production of this thesis. Paramount, were the respondents, for without them the research process would not have commenced. Thank you to Connie, for suggesting the nature of the research and being the first participant.

Of the sixty women and men who contributed their thoughts, opinions and recollections of a period in South Australian educational history that occurred over fifty years ago, I can only express gratitude and amazement for the quality and quantity of information they offered. These men and women showed genuine interest in, and appreciated the value of my research. Many have since passed away, to take with them (apart from what they gave to this study) their knowledge and understanding of the personal and professional lives of educators in South Australia.

My thanks go to my supervisor, Dr Margaret Secombe for her advice, patience and support. Thank you to Dr Linda Westphalen for her comments on my work, Dr Charlotte Liu for her assistance in the production of the thesis, and Wayne van Elsen for his technical skills. Also, many thanks to my colleagues and members of the broader academic community for their encouragement and support.

To Lou van Elsen (who motivates the motivator!) your pride and belief in me, and your encouragement enabled me to complete this thesis.

A special thank you goes to my parents who valued education; my father for ensuring the best education possible for his children and my gentle mother who gave us all unconditional love and support in the pursuit of our dreams.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION 1948-1962

The Nature of the Crisis

Immediately after the Second World War, Australia, as with other Western countries, was influenced by a number of factors that contributed to a crisis in education. Due to population numbers remaining relatively static between the two World Wars and during the Great Depression, governments had exercised economic restraint, particularly as regards their education portfolios. However, conditions changed dramatically as servicemen from the Second World War entered into relationships that led to an explosion in the number of children being born, a phenomenon referred to as the 'baby boomers' (Barcan, 1980; Hyams, 1979).

Moreover, the turbulent war years in Europe had produced an unprecedented wave of displaced peoples migrating to more politically stable and relatively affluent countries such as the United States, Canada, Britain and Australia. These countries were also in the process of rebuilding their economies after the disastrous war years, and the additional burden of catering for rapidly escalating numbers of families with young children became problematic (Thiele, 1975). Public school education, in particular, reached crisis point when these young children reached school age. Schools were physically unable to accommodate them, and there were not enough materials and equipment available. The most pressing problem, however, was an acute teacher shortage. Although these problems varied in scope and duration, they were felt worldwide and the strategies pursued by Western education systems in solving these problems were similar.

Australian state governments, which were constitutionally responsible for the public schools within their borders, had spent little on their education portfolios over the two decades of

economic depression between the two world wars. It soon became apparent that large cash injections were desperately needed, not only to 'catch up' and ensure the adequacy of conditions in schools, but, more importantly, to address a looming crisis of teacher shortage in public education (Miller, 1986). The majority of Australian states responded by increasing education funding, and introducing emergency teacher training courses to overcome the shortfall in teacher numbers. However, in comparison to all Australian States apart from Tasmania, South Australia had consistently allocated less to education funding over the pre-war years. Though warned by the Education Inquiry Committee Report in 1945 to improve spending on schools and increase teacher recruitment and training in order to avert teacher shortages, the South Australian government was tardy in responding (Mares, 1958). As a result the South Australian Education Department was the worst placed in the Commonwealth to weather the education crisis (Thiele, 1975).

The reality of the conditions experienced by teachers in public schools in the 1950s is illustrated by the following excerpt taken from an emergency teacher's oral memoir. It typifies the difficult conditions teachers were faced with during this period of educational history in South Australia.

I walked into a school where half the children didn't speak any English. This was the period of the great influx. Germans and Dutch were pouring into the Hostel next door, so the school was bursting out of its seams. We had no text books worth mentioning. There weren't enough books to go around. You had to save every scrap of paper. This was immediately after the war and things were still very short. No clerical assistance, of course, I mean that was totally unheard of. There were fifty children in the class and we got in and shut the door, and you couldn't get in or out until we moved the desks away. The school was bursting at the seams. It was one of the original stone ones. Rows and rows and rows of wooden portables, and we were way down the bottom end of the school, and every time it rained there was a lake under us and we walked the plank to get in. We got in, shut the door and there we stayed until it was time to totter out again, because

there just wasn't room to move as you can imagine. But we accepted it. It was the way it was (PC22)1.

This was the situation in State schools when the so-called emergency or pressure cooker teachers started their professional careers. The term 'emergency scheme' used throughout the thesis reflects those used by the Education Inquiry Committee, the S.A. Teachers' Union, education officials and historians to refer to the post-war short courses of teacher training, its participants and the system itself. The colloquial expression 'pressure cooker' (meaning to prepare in the shortest possible time) commonly used during this era to refer to the courses and its participants, is incorporated throughout the body of work and used in conjunction with the term 'emergency' in relation to the scheme, courses and teachers.

The use of emergency short courses of teacher training as a response to the teacher shortage of the late 1940s and 1950s was not an unprecedented event in South Australian educational history. Over the previous one hundred years, the Education Department had relied on the services of monitors, apprentice teachers and pupil teachers, whose training in the schools in which they were actually teaching was of a practical nature. According to Anthony McGuire (1999) these provisions helped to staff schools at very little cost to the Department. The new measures introduced drew on the legacy of the State Government's parsimonious ideology when implementing policies that affected the course of public school education, as well as teachers' lives in the State. A comprehensive understanding of the emergency or 'pressure cooker' teacher training scheme, and teacher training courses made up almost entirely by mature age women, and their significance for the South Australian Education Department teacher training and recruitment policy, requires a critical examination of the historical context.

¹ All quotations derived from interviews are italicised.

Until relatively recently, the recording and analysis of educational history in Australia had been a field dominated by male historians. Much was written in general terms on the history of education and aspects of recruitment and training of teachers in various states of Australia, but specific comment on the issue of teacher shortages after the Second World War and how this was addressed, was decidedly lacking. Education historians such as James Richardson and James Bowen (1967) and Andrew Spaul (1977) concentrated on the historical accounts of education in Australian schools. While acknowledging the existence of a teacher shortage, these writers made cursory mention of the reasons for its occurrence or of the attempts made to address the problem. Writers on education, such as F.H. Mares (1958), Colin Thiele (1975), and Pavla Miller (1986), provided more substantial information pertinent to the teacher shortage crisis in South Australia.

Bernard Masters (1970), Bernard Hyams (1972) and Barbara Tabor (1979) who researched the history of teacher recruitment and training in South Australia provided the background material from which the line of enquiry into the emergency teacher training scheme was established. Though they were critical of the economic expediencies of the Education Department using short courses of emergency teacher training to prepare teachers, little or no comment was made on the preponderance of mature age married women participants in the courses and the reasons why these women were attracted to the training scheme. No attempt was made by previous researchers to place the emergency teacher training scheme in the context of gender.

Investigating the Post-War Emergency Teacher Training Scheme in South Australia

Official documents of the South Australian Education Department and reports of the Minister of Education specified the facts concerning the adoption and implementation of the emergency teacher training scheme from 1948 to 1962. The scheme was vigorously opposed by many educationalists and State school Principals who argued that all teachers needed to be adequately

trained. In particular, the S.A. Public Teachers' Union, and its successor the South Australian Institute of Teachers (SAIT), used the *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, its official organ, to represent the views of teachers. In an aggressive and relentless campaign to ensure that the general public were made aware of the problems in schools, key figures from the Teachers' Union worked closely with journalists from the print media to provide information for a series of articles that ignited an ongoing media education debate throughout the 1950s. The Teachers' Union aimed to embarrass the incumbent Liberal government for its reliance on emergency courses of teacher training to relieve teacher shortages that could have been averted if the recommendations of the 1945 Education Inquiry Committee had been implemented earlier.

Alongside an investigation of the official documentation and the articles of public debate, this thesis explores the emergency scheme from the perspective of emergency teachers as well as Education Officers. Initially, emergency teacher training courses were open to mature age persons, both men and women, and while there was evidence that men were included, the majority of applicants were married women with children. The first twelve month course in 1948 attracted a number of men because it offered provisional classification status leading to full classification. The following shorter courses, however, did not offer provisional classification, only temporary unclassified assistant (TUA) status. While evidence suggests that men inquired about the courses, very few applied, because low wages, the temporary and unclassified status and the lack of opportunity for promotion acted as disincentives. Women, particularly those without partners, needing secure employment conducive to family life with comparable hours to those of their school age children were not deterred by these factors rejected by men, and applied in large numbers. In the latter stages of the emergency scheme, the twelve month training courses were advertised as available only to women.

The research was organised around five main questions.

1. How and why was the emergency teacher training system introduced?
2. How and why was it opposed by the Teachers' Union?
3. Who were the women who chose to become emergency teachers and why?
4. What were the experiences of the emergency teachers in their training and in their teaching in the schools?
5. What evaluation can be made of the emergency teacher training system in terms of its outcomes and its significance?

Recognising the Gender Dimension

Gender proved to be central to the research discourse to explain why the limited teacher training provisions of the emergency scheme were adopted. The Education Department's preference for married women with children as ideal candidates for the short courses of teacher training was examined against the societal belief of the time that women, as maternal nurturers of young children, possessed both the knowledge and experience that could circumvent lengthy and costly periods of teacher training for the Education Department. This assumption was evidenced in a 1955 newspaper article where the Minister of Education, Mr. Baden Pattinson, (to use the courtesy title of the time) was quoted as saying that women had 'the advantage of maturity' and that 'most had children of their own giving them an insight into child nature' (*The Advertiser*, 1955, July 6, p.16).

Figures discussed in Chapter Four indicate that the vast majority of the trainees in all emergency courses of teacher training were women. In addition, women emergency teachers came to make up over one third of the total teaching force during the 1950s and early 1960s. For these reasons

it was considered appropriate that this investigation be grounded in a feminist historical perspective which is outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN TEACHERS IN FEMINIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

In Chapter One it was argued that the years 1948 to 1962 were a critical period for state education in South Australia, largely due to the acute shortage of teachers. The response of the Liberal government at the time was encapsulated in the 1952 Annual Report of the Minister of Education.

The only possible solution at present is to employ a large number of women as temporary teachers ... the consequent upward trend in the proportion of unclassified teachers in the service is not a desirable one, but it seems unavoidable under present conditions and its effects are being closely watched (South Australia, Parliament, 1953, No.44, p.4).

Any consideration of the South Australian Education Department's solution to the acute shortage of teachers involves investigating the employment of mature age, mainly married women with minimal training, to fill the gaps. The standpoint adopted for this research is the perspective of the women who were employed as temporary teachers by the Department. Accordingly, the thesis is placed within the ideological perspectives of feminist history writing.

Women in Australian Historiography

Australian history before 1970 was written predominantly from a 'white', Anglo-Saxon, male perspective. This Anglo-androcentric history recorded important political and economic events by focusing on the lives and achievements of famous people, usually men of Anglo origin. According to Patricia Grimshaw, such history was a 'celebration of white male achievement' (1991, p.154). Mostly ignored were the day-to-day lives and experiences of 'ordinary' people, with scant regard given to issues of gender, race, and socio-economic background. Male historians, according to Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (1986), described events that were related to

their own subsequent perceptions of those events, rather than using the words which people present at these events would have used. Apart from mentioning a limited number of famous and or influential women, male historians did not seek to include the lives of ordinary women into written history. As Grimshaw (1991, p.154) contended, they saw ‘no reason to perceive women as a significant category for analysis, or as agents in the creation of the Australia they presented’.

Feminist writers after 1970, in their attempts to remedy the exclusion and invisibility of women in history, altered the way history was perceived and recorded, especially with regard to the lives and opinions of women as a marginalised group. They adopted the method of oral history to give voice to ‘ordinary people’, the ‘hoi polloi’, of which women constituted the largest group, those whose lives were dramatically affected by decisions made by famous and important male figures, sometimes with monumental and catastrophic results. As Grimshaw explains:

women were never unimportant or marginal from the perspective of their own lives; they became unimportant only through male historical constructs that ignored or trivialised their world and dismissed efforts by women outside academia to record a past for themselves (1985, p.55).

Australian historiography since the early 1970s has been challenged by young, well-educated feminist writers who placed women at the centre of their focus to create a feminist historiography and deconstruct the ideology of femininity, as a means of restoring women to history and history to women. To rewrite Australian history from women’s perspective, feminist historians ‘proceeded to forge an interpretation of the life experiences of Australian women, past and present, that stood in stark and hostile contrast to the prevailing models’ (Grimshaw, 1991, p.157).

Early feminist historians, such as Anne Summers (1975), in her groundbreaking feminist publication, Damned Whores and God’s Police, as well as Miriam Dixson (1976) in The Real Matilda, used the concepts of patriarchy and oppression to highlight feminist concerns of the

power struggle of women and their victimisation at the hands of men. Since 1975, however, feminist historical writing has tended to focus on the experiences of women, not so much as victims of oppression, but rather as active agents in historical processes and in shaping the society in which they lived and worked, while faced with material and ideological constraints.

Patriarchy, Oppression and Women's Active Agency

As past historiography was recorded from an androcentric perspective, feminist research has centred on such issues as patriarchy, gender and power relations in order to establish the extent of their impact on women. 'Patriarchy' was used to describe any form of male domination of social constructions of gender or power. Feminist academics have argued that gender should be incorporated into all feminist histories as critical to the understanding of the narratives of women.

Feminist historian Jill Matthews, preferred the term 'gender order' to better delineate the differences in gender inequity between societies and periods in history, and to 'challenge the practices of the historical discipline that have belittled and oppressed women, and to create the practices that allow women an autonomy and space for self-definition'. She differentiated between 'women's history' and 'feminist history', arguing that women's history, 'seeks to add women to the traditional concerns of historical investigation and writing; feminist history is that which seeks to change the very nature of traditional history by incorporating gender into all historical analysis and understanding' (Matthews, 1986, p.148). Joan Burstyn asserted that, 'historians of women will continue to construct narratives of women's history, sensitive to the ways that variables such as race, class, age, historical period, and geographic location may impact upon definitions of gender' (1990, p.5).

According to the Personal Narratives Group (1989), the importance of gendered human

experience is central to the radical implications of feminist theory and research. Thus feminist theory emerged from, and responded to, the lives of women that could be analysed according to their gender. It was this relationship between the individual and society, and the dynamics of the power relationship between men and women that resulted in the construction of a gendered self-identity. In a study by the Teachers Federation of Victoria (1986), women's oral histories were used to ascertain the experiences and concerns of the women, as well as establishing the commonality of women teachers' experiences of discrimination by virtue of their gender.

Feminist historian, Kathleen Weiler (1999), determined that the focus of women's history in the 1970s was based initially on women's oppression due to patriarchy, but this view began to change in the 1980s to women's resistance to patriarchy. It emerged that, although oppressive constraints hampered women in the achievement of their goals, women as active agents had always resisted these boundaries and circumvented constraints in order to change their lives and construct individual identities for themselves. It was possible to identify the strategies that women employed in their active or passive resistance to oppression and patriarchal domination.

In order to construct an accurate view of women's history, issues such as individual agency, social structure, and gender relations in social systems must be taken into account. The Personal Narratives Group claimed that 'women make their own lives (and life histories), but they do so under conditions not of their own choosing' (The Personal Narratives Group, 1989, p.5). They suggested that women's personal narratives revealed an apparent acceptance of the expectations and social norms of male domination, while concurrently revealing the strategies which women adopted to challenge those norms.

Norma Grieve and Patricia Grimshaw (1981, p.208) suggested that in the Australian context, 'women were active agents in the shaping of culture and society on the Australian frontier,

though they were circumscribed by the material and ideological constraints of their situation'. According to Margaret Allen, Mary Hutchison and Alison Mackinnon (1989, p.ix), women were considered 'victims of powerful forces', but were able to overcome and shape these forces to 'grasp opportunities open to them and work to create those opportunities if they do not exist'. Marjorie Theobald related patriarchal oppression to the teaching profession and the subjugation of women teachers, arguing that:

when the state colonised the family as teacher labour, it also colonised the subjectivity of the family, a crucial mechanism which allowed it in subsequent decades to translate the patriarchal authority of the father into the patriarchal authority of the state, constructing a teaching force which placed men in authority over women (Theobald, 1996, p.191).

Theobald believed that the study of women in education was an opportunity to explore the broader questions of the relationship between gender and power.

The view of women as active agents rather than victims is central to this investigation on emergency women teachers, who negotiated their path through gendered constraints to forge professional careers for themselves, as well as providing financial security for their family.

The Feminisation of Teaching

A considerable body of research by feminist historians reveals the extent to which women in Western societies were involved in the education of young children well before the introduction of state school systems. Nowhere was this more evident than in the proliferation of small 'dame' schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as in the establishment of middle-class private girls' schools, with a plethora of governesses and lady Principals who influenced the subsequent feminisation of the teaching profession. Single women taught humanities based subjects such as literature and language to female students, as well as the 'accomplishments' such

as music and drawing, while imparting social graces and refinements considered to be the essence of middle-class femininity. In the case of male students, however, their intensive and rigorous 'academic' education that enabled them to access higher education was the exclusive domain of male teachers. When increasing numbers of women seeking a wage began to teach in government schools, this move was accepted by society due to what Marjorie Theobald and R.J.W. Selleck (1990, p.38) referred to as 'the propriety of women entering the public sphere'. It was socially acceptable for women to be teachers, provided they taught girls the traditional 'feminine' subjects or taught in the infant grades.

From the inception of South Australia as a colony in 1836, women taught in order to supplement the family income, whether in their own homes, middle-class female academies, Catholic convents, or as governesses to private families. When stricter licensing measures were introduced by the State government to control teachers and schools, these discriminated against women, because those who had taught children previously in their own homes or in small schools, were only allowed to continue working as provisional teachers without license. The Education Act of 1875 effectively made these women employees of the State government which was instrumental in reinforcing the gendered stereotyping of the time.

While the teaching of young students and girls has always been seen as a feminised profession, the State's bureaucratisation of women's teaching labour lead ironically to an 'unprecedented female invasion of the public sphere of men' (Theobald, 1996, p.131). Kay Whitehead (1996) in researching women teachers in South Australia 1836-1906, concentrated on their marginalisation due to the expansion of the state school system. She demonstrated the ways in which women actively negotiated their teaching careers. Some women teachers, for example, were prepared to reject marriage to ensure that their teaching careers were not compromised.

From a more international perspective, recent work by Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Roman examined the phenomena of the feminisation of teaching during the twentieth century in their work on women teachers globally, particularly in Hispanic nations. They found that ‘when convinced that their maternal qualities make them irreplaceable agents to be put in charge of young children, women have been the essential element through which the State has achieved the expansion of public education over the past century’ (Cortina and San Roman, 2006, p.7). Their findings were useful in comparing views expressed by respondents about the role of women in teaching during the emergency teacher training period in South Australia.

Maternal Nurturance

Crucial to the acceptance of women in teaching is the gender construct of ‘femininity’, with the nurturing role of children regarded as central to women’s nature. The teaching of young children has long been regarded as a ‘natural’ feminine occupation and an extension of the domestic aspect of women’s work. Theobald (1996) claimed that intimacy with small children was regarded as the domain of women. Cortina and San Roman (2006, p.5) explained that women’s ‘entrance into teaching should be understood as a result of the glorification of the so-called feminine nature that made a woman a suitable candidate to be put in charge of young children in the role as social mother’. The term ‘social mother’ was used to highlight how the social function that women fulfilled in the home by caring for young children was often extended into the public sphere of teaching at school. Women’s assumed ‘feminine nature’ and ‘maternal qualities’ made them ideal candidates to be placed in charge of school children as a ‘substitute mother’.

According to June Purvis (1981, p.360), the ideology of femininity placed women at the heart of the family, as the ‘perfect wife and mother image’, evoking the ‘almost saintly virtues of love, patience, self denial, suffering and resignation’. She suggested that women were concentrated in

school teaching because child care was a dominant feature of women's domestic role. Similarly, Petra Munro considered that teaching has been seen as a 'natural extension' of women's presumed nurturing capacities. She found that, 'gender ideologies of teaching [were] embedded in notions such as 'women's true profession'... 'feminization of teaching' and the "professionalization" of teaching' as well as stereotypical images of schoolteachers as the spinster, school ma'am, and the 'mother-teacher' (Munro, 1998, p.3-4).

Noeline Kyle (1989) demonstrated that the work of women educators was viewed as an extension of their nurturing role in society and therefore undervalued and underpaid. Hilary De Lyon and Frances Widdowson Mignuolo expressed a similar view. The age-old perception of women as mothers and 'natural teachers' of young children, they claimed, 'preserved power relations in the interests of male teachers who benefit from the way women are socialized to enter, and cluster in, early life teaching, which has the lowest status and is the least well paid' (De Lyon and Mignuolo, 1989, p.xxiv). In this way gender helps to explain why women gravitated towards teaching positions in the lower grades of school, where their 'nurturing' role was seen as particularly appropriate. Studies from the United States, Munro (1998) and from Great Britain, Weiler (1999), found that women in the past had mainly been found as classroom teachers, particularly in the junior grades, and had not enjoyed the status or commanded the higher salaries of men who more often occupied positions of power as Principals and administrators.

The Employment of Women as Teachers

Social historians such as Ann Curthoys (1988) used Marxist derived theoretical frameworks which concentrated on the world of economic production to explain how the public sphere came to be dominated by men, with bourgeois women relegated to the private sphere of domesticity and working class women as unpaid workers in the private sphere as well as paid workers in the

public sphere. She asserted that women's history by itself did not give priority to the experiences of women or explain society in terms of gender order. The Marxist based interpretation of the sexual division of labour within the workplace, reflected in the gender divisions that existed in schools, has been used to highlight the ways in which women teachers were involved in unpaid work in the private sphere and paid work in the public sphere.

In their study of women teachers in Western Australia, Lynne Hunt and Janina Trotman found that teaching was a heavily feminised occupation, particularly in primary schools. This was dependent on the subject, school, grade and the gender of the students. Though the historical ideological stereotype of the impoverished single woman and the spinster teacher found in the novel Jane Eyre by Charlotte Bronte (1996) prevailed, they discovered, for example, that in the English speaking world during the nineteenth century, schools were run by married women and were often family enterprises. It was only when education systems became 'bureaucratised and rationalised, that married women were excluded from permanent employment' (Hunt and Trotman, 2002, p.272). They asserted that:

while the apparently 'natural' compatibility of feminine attributes and teachers' work is clearly a factor in the choices these women made, it should not be forgotten that the structure of opportunity was an important determinant. Women chose and continue to choose teaching not necessarily because it is women's work but because it is work, with security and relative prestige (Hunt and Trotman, 2002, p.274).

Because women were considered 'natural' teachers of young children, many were enticed to the socially sanctified, though poorly paid work of teaching, as it provided a much needed source of income for themselves and their families, particularly if they did not have male financial providers. Nancy Hoffman (1981, p.xvii/xxiii) found the reason why women sought teaching work in the nineteenth century was not due to their love of children, but rather because 'they needed the work to attain economic security and a modest social status'. Theobald (1996) in her

study of private school mistresses and governesses in nineteenth century Victoria, asserted that women turned to teaching because they needed the income. According to Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald (1991), historical studies of teaching in America and Britain substantiated the fact that material concerns, similar to those of male teachers, were the main reason for women's involvement in the teaching profession. As many professions were considered inappropriate and thus closed to women, there was little choice apart from teaching.

In Australia, feminine roles in the 1950s were centred in the private sphere of the home. Katie Holmes explained.

Careers for women were seen as a short term substitute for what was still regarded as their true calling: marriage and maternity. Middle-class women were expected to cease paid work when they got married, and magazines of the period ... assumed that married women were supported by their husbands and did not themselves engage in paid work (Holmes, 1995, p. 67).

This stereotypical image of the suburban middle class housewife promoted by the popular woman's magazine of the time, *The Australian Women's Weekly*, was, for many women, unrealistic because they were forced to work outside the home in order to survive.

Sue Middleton found teaching to be a 'secure' occupation.

A woman should always be able to support herself - before marriage, or in case she didn't marry (seen as a great misfortune), or if she was widowed. As a means of employment teaching would always be 'something to fall back on' in times of need (Middleton, 1992, p.28).

Another reason for entering teaching was that it offered women the opportunity to attain tertiary education that would otherwise not have been available to them. Rodman Webb (1985, p.78) pointed out that 'the education profession has offered its members an adequate and slowly increasing income, job security, and some degree of community respect'. A decade earlier, Dan Lortie (1975, p.35) suggested that, 'teaching is clearly white-collar, middle-class work, and as

such offers upward mobility for people in blue-collar or lower-class families'. Hunt and Trotman upheld this notion of social mobility. The choice of teaching endorsed the 'strategic orientation of women's career choices in a world in which they *had* [original emphasis] to earn an income. For many, teaching was the best avenue to financial security and also a means of social mobility' (Hunt and Trotman, 2002, p.273).

Many women found teaching attractive because the working hours matched those of their school age children and were compatible with their domestic obligations as wives and mothers. Patricia Sikes, Lynda Measor and Peter Woods (1985, p.1) defined teaching as a 'useful job from the point of view of pay, holidays and conditions of work, settling for a reasonable non-progressive position, with, perhaps, a major commitment in some other area of life – perhaps the family'. Family was seen, and still is even today, as the most important element in most married women's lives, with many considering employment to be secondary in importance. Some critics saw this as justifying allegations of what Lortie, in Kathleen Casey (1992, p.191), called women's 'lack of commitment'. Another criticism identified was that the 'sexualisation' of a woman through marriage was incompatible with the role of a woman teacher. Hunt and Trotman (2002, p.272) revealed a situation where a female Principal showed her disapproval of married women teachers by asking her staff, 'How you can stand in front if [sic] a class after you've slept with a *man* [original emphasis] the night before'.

Women Teachers as a Cheap Source of Labour

When the State became involved in 'universal' education, they inherited a feminised teaching profession. They had no qualms in employing women, because in comparison to men, they were a cheaper source of labour. Lortie reported that Butts and Cremin (1953) 'do not find the feminization of teaching mysterious; they see the cause as economic, since women could be hired

for considerably less than men' Lortie, (1975, p.8). This view is supported by Prentice and Theobald (1991, p.11) who found that 'school boards wanted to hire women teachers in order to save money – and they were explicit on the subject ... women themselves increasingly were in need of and welcomed paid employment outside the home'. This point is further corroborated by Cortina and San Roman who claimed that State governments were able to expand their educational services 'thanks to the definition of teaching as feminine, which permits the recruitment of women at relatively low cost in response to the demands of education' (Cortina and San Roman, 2006, p.7).

The Australian Commonwealth Public Service Act Section 49(2), in force from early nineteen hundred until 1966, required women employed by the Commonwealth public service to resign upon marriage. This so-called 'marriage bar' also affected State and Local Governments and, as teaching came under State Government jurisdiction, female teachers were forced to resign when they married, but could be re-employed as temporary teachers, losing entitlements and promotion opportunities. Although the term 'marriage bar' appears gender-neutral, it never applied to men who suffered no employment penalty on marriage.

According to Theobald, State Education Departments 'did not dispense with the services of married women entirely ... using their services as a reserve pool of cheap labour where nobody else could be found to staff the schools' (Theobald, 1996, p.172). Her comment indicates that Education Departments were not averse to 'bending the rules' when it suited them by employing married women teachers in a temporary capacity. Eddie Clarke discovered this to be the case while researching female teachers in Queensland State schools. He found that, after the Second World War, while public opinion supported the belief that all occupations for females before marriage were a temporary measure, married women teachers continued to be employed 'as an

expedient forced on the Department as a result of a shortage of teachers' (Clarke, 1985, p.41).

Similar situations occurred in other states in Australia.

According to Donna Dwyer, the 'marriage bar' in Victorian State schools made possible the enforced

gendered division of labour [due to] powerful public servants, a highly centralised bureaucracy and an ideology hostile to married women working. This was to prove an ideal formula for establishing a reserve army of very cheap, temporary and desperate female labour (Dwyer, 2002, p.10).

The 'marriage bar' rankled with married women teachers because of its negative impact on their careers. They were heavily penalised in comparison to men, as well as single women, as the interruption to their career path affected their prospects for promotion offering higher levels of pay, as well as long service leave and superannuation. Generally, married women as temporary teachers remained on the bottom rungs of teacher career advancement which equated with lower pay levels and minimal prestige. What this meant for the government was that a large section of the teaching force could be employed at reduced rates of pay, resulting in considerable savings in wage costs. As the majority of emergency teachers in the study were married women, they were subjected to these restrictions while employed by the South Australian Education Department. Cortina and San Roman summed up the situation, in that the needs of the State to extend universal schooling across a nation resulted in the utilisation of women as a cheaper source of labor.

The achievements made by the State in expanding its educational services have been obtained thanks to the definition of teaching as feminine, which permits the recruitment of women at relatively low cost in response to the demands of education (Cortina and San Roman, 2006, p.7).

Studying the Lives of Women Teachers

In Ivor Goodson's opinion, studying teachers' lives would 'never become mainstream, for such study seeks to understand and to give voice to an occupational group that have been historically marginalized' (Goodson, 1992, p.15). However, feminist education historians have made significant contributions by collecting the life histories of women teachers and studying their work and careers. As Grimshaw (1991, p.163) indicated, education historians' research into women teachers and their professional careers have contributed greatly to the area of understanding how 'women manipulated ideologies of femininity to find a legitimate place in public life'. In a British study, Weiler claimed that, feminist historians 'shifted their focus to include studies of women's resistance to the dominant order' and that this shaped 'feminist history and the history of women teachers which has moved to complex levels of analysis of women teachers' work in relation to the state and economy' (Weiler, 1999, p.44).

Munro found that women in the teaching profession were 'valorized' for nurturing in a patriarchal society which simultaneously oppressed them. She discusses the hegemonic ideologies of teaching as 'women's true profession' and how women's stories revealed how they gave meaning to their lives and developed their sense of identity as teachers (Munro, 1998, p.113). Munro wanted to give voice to their stories of agency and resistance even though they were covert, finding that gender was not a central theme in women's interviews because they said they did not feel they were treated differently because of their gender which she construed to be an implicit part of women's lives.

In an Australian study of twentieth century women teachers, Theobald, (1998, p.31) outlined her challenge 'to tell a story of women's education through the lives of women in the past, but to invest their stories with the wider significance which transforms them into theoretical

knowledge'. Earlier works by Theobald (1985, 1993, 1996) on the lives of women teachers, particularly in nineteenth century Australia, and their struggles with the forces of patriarchal bureaucratisation controlling women's teaching labour, set the framework for understanding the issues faced by women in their teaching careers.

Prentice and Theobald, in an earlier study, found that 'historians have recently begun to examine teachers' history through the eyes of its female subjects', with more recent studies demonstrating the influence of recent feminist historiography, an understanding of women on their own terms, rather than from the point of view of men who 'sought to define or influence women's lives' (Prentice and Theobald, 1991, p.14). They found that much more research on teachers' resistance was needed to show how individuals and groups of women who taught constructed their lives, and how they battled 'against the various structures and ideologies that constrained them' (Prentice and Theobald, 1991, p.15). They concluded that:

while an analysis of the class, ethnic, and educational backgrounds of teachers will shed further light on who taught school, it is also important to further our understanding of what teachers actually did in the classroom ... it is essential to treat teaching as work and the history of teaching as labour history (Prentice and Theobald, 1991, p.24).

In Australia a number of studies on single sex private and Catholic schools in Victoria and South Australia used narratives from staff and students as the basis of their research. Christine Trimmingham Jack (1997a), in her PhD thesis collected interviews to ascertain the experiences of teachers and children in Kerever Park Catholic School. Stephanie Burley (1992) wrote about South Australian Catholic girls' secondary schooling, focusing on the Dominican Sisters and Sisters of Mercy as teachers. In her Ph.D thesis (2003) she concentrated on the intersection of class, gender and religion in the history of Catholic convent schooling in South Australia 1880-2000.

A valuable contribution to the oral histories of women teachers is the Claremont Cameos in which Hunt and Trotman (2002) documented the lives of women graduates from Claremont Teachers' College in Western Australia. They found that the individual stories of the women's lives as teachers were not only part of educational history in Western Australia, but also illustrated aspects of social development and change in the role of women in twentieth century Australia. For example, a bone of contention in the stories of many women graduates was the 'marriage bar' of the 1895 Elementary Education Act in Western Australia, rescinded only in the mid 1960s. Its sexist regulations resulted in what was described as 'systemic discrimination' against women teachers. However, their stories demonstrate 'an active resistance to the official gender narratives embedded in Education Department policies' (Hunt and Trotman, 2002, p.270). A study by Dwyer (2002) about married women teachers in Victoria echoed the same concerns.

The Present Study

This study of 'pressure cooker' teachers endeavored to find out the stories of some of the women who were employed as emergency teachers, as well as some of the Education Officers who supervised them, over the period 1948 to 1962. Their teaching and learning experiences were then analysed from the perspectives of their own understanding.

The analysis of these stories focused on the human agency of the women respondents in their decision to become emergency teachers, and in the ways they negotiated their careers, balanced their family and teaching responsibilities, and constructed their identities as teachers and women. The respondents expressed their opinions on a number of key issues considered in this chapter. They discussed their views of women as natural teachers, in the light of their role in socialising and nurturing young children; their official status as emergency women teachers; the level of their acceptance within the teaching profession; their opportunities for advancement; and the

impact of their teaching careers on their economic well-being, their personal self respect and their social status. Their views and comments are presented in detail in Chapters Five to Nine.

The method of oral history and oral memoirs in the humanistic sociological tradition (Smolicz, 1979; 1999) was followed in collecting and analysing the narratives of the women emergency teachers. This is elaborated in the next chapter, along with the other sources of data used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODS FOR INVESTIGATING
THE EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING SCHEME

Juxtaposing Three Sets of Data

This investigation of the emergency teacher scheme in South Australia is based on the juxtaposition of three sets of data. The first set of data includes the official documentation of the Education Department, Parliamentary Papers containing the Annual Reports of the Minister of Education, *The Education Gazette* and the Education Inquiry Committee Report of 1945, to substantiate the processes and procedures in initiating and maintaining the emergency scheme in South Australia.

The second set of data was found in the monthly publication of the S.A. Teachers' Union, and its successor, the S.A. Institute of Teachers (SAIT). The *S.A. Teachers' Journal* contained articles, reports, submissions and letters of officials and members to keep educationalists informed of the problems which schools faced in South Australia. Additionally, reports in *The News*, *The Advertiser* and the *Sunday Mail* were included, since the Teachers' Union used the print media to promote their concerns and criticisms of the Education Department's response to the teacher shortage. These articles brought educational issues to the forefront of public scrutiny and assisted the Union's agitation for increased funding for schools and for a more effective recruitment and teacher training policy.

Third, the views of the emergency teachers and Education Officers who were such an integral part of the emergency scheme were canvassed. They offered an alternative source to documented evidence as valid in its own way as written records. The addition of the oral memoirs of the

people who had actually experienced the practical day to day workings of the scheme provides a better understanding of what schools were like in this period of South Australian educational history.

Archival Sources

The first two sets of data are based on the historical method of finding relevant, contemporary documents, assembling the information given therein and analysing the views expressed. Sourcing official documentation pertinent to the emergency scheme was a difficult task. Materials relating specifically to the topic were not easily accessible or even available. It was necessary to seek information from a number of areas and collate them in order to get a clearer picture of what actually happened.

The South Australian Education Department, as a primary source, offered little in the way of official documentation because the emergency scheme was more an *ad hoc* arrangement than any officially sanctioned plan on their part. This is explained in more detail in future chapters. The Department's resource area was not a functional unit and only two useful documents were found. One document had no given title, was undated and unnumbered and has been referred to in this study as the 'Education Department Information Handbook'. It appears comparable to a document cited by Thiele (1975, p.241) as the 'Information Handbook of the Educational Department'. A search of State Records unearthed two boxes of restricted materials that included the Education Ministers' scrap books (which Thiele (1975, p.241) referred to as 'the Ministers' newspaper cuttings books') containing pasted media articles and advertisements, accompanied by handwritten dates and names of the newspaper. There were also two Diaries of General Correspondence of the Director General of Education, listing, in chronological order, letters sent to him with the accompanying date and reference number. Many of these letters were from or

pertaining to applicants of emergency courses, but as restricted materials, they could not be copied.

The University of Adelaide Barr Smith Library and the State Library of South Australia held copies of South Australian Parliamentary Papers, which contained the Annual Reports of the Minister of Education, as well as the Education Inquiry Committee Report of 1945. All of these were valuable sources of the State Government's position on emergency courses. In addition, several of the emergency teachers provided examples of official Departmental correspondence, letters and certificates relating to their teaching careers, as well as photographs, articles and memorabilia relating to training courses and their participants.

The Education Gazette, the monthly communication of the State Education Department was sourced at the State Library as well as microfiche copies of the three current South Australian newspapers of the time, *The News*, *The Advertiser* and the *Sunday Mail*. The South Australian Institute of Teachers Library had copies of the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* from 1945 to 1965 in its rare book collection, and these were available to photocopy.

Additional secondary sources of information on teacher training and emergency courses came from the theses of Masters (1970), Hyams (1972) and Tabor (1979), as well as several publications on the history of South Australian education, for example, by Mares (1958) and Thiele (1975).

Personal Sources

The official sources and documents provided little or no evidence of the human perspective of the emergency scheme. Exactly who were the emergency teachers, why did they seek to train as teachers, what were their experiences of the training courses, their subsequent teaching careers in

State schools and contribution to education in this state? Such questions could only be answered by the people involved. The addition of the human dimension to the official sources of information on the emergency scheme enabled the presentation of a multifaceted inquiry into a specific period of South Australian educational history. By citing the actual words of the participants in the study, the researcher gave voice to so-called 'ordinary' people as they described events that had such an impact on their lives.

The origins of this study in the experience of the researcher are worth explaining personally. My interest in emergency teachers evolved from a Masters project 'Women's Lives 1920-1990: Their Experience of Family, Education and Work in the Construction of Identity' (Jadwiga Jewry, 1998) in which the lives of older women were investigated with the use of interviews. One participant mentioned that, apart from working as a clerk, she had also been, in her words, a 'pressure cooker' teacher. Her description of teaching experiences piqued my curiosity, as I had been a practising teacher within the Education Department for a number of years. Moreover, as a student taught by emergency teachers, I was able to recall the teachers and schools of that era. It was her suggestion that I do an investigative study to find out why mature age women, whose backgrounds consisted mainly of domesticity and work in the administrative, retail and industrial sectors, became teachers under the scheme. She became the first person to be interviewed in the investigation of the emergency teacher training scheme.

Initially, the intention was to interview only women who had done emergency training courses. However, during the process it became apparent that including Education Officers, both women and men, who had been instrumental in training emergency teachers or worked with them in schools, would offer vital information as well as alternative views on the system and its participants. Their knowledge and perspective of the emergency scheme was an invaluable part

of the study. They were generous with their time in commenting on the various aspects of the emergency scheme and were able to name former colleagues who might have had differing views and experiences. They also provided additional resources, relevant information and where these could be located.

In all, a total of fifty eight people were interviewed individually. Thirty six of whom were women who had been trained and appointed as emergency teachers. The remaining twenty two were Education Officers who had dealt with emergency teachers during this period. This group included seven men. More details of the respondents' background and the interview process are provided in later sections of this chapter. At this point, however, it is appropriate to explain and justify the oral history/oral memoir approach that was adopted to collect data from those involved in the emergency teacher scheme.

The Uses of Oral History

Historians throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries based their writings on documentary sources legitimised by Western paradigms of historiography derived from research approaches in the natural sciences. Oral sources of knowledge, including the use of memory that had long been used by generations of people in handing down their history and culture, were disregarded by historians, according to Beth Robertson (1994), because western historical academic traditions relied solely on supposed objectivity which demanded corroborating evidence for serious analysis. After the Second World War, oral sources began to re-emerge, but in a new way, as a valuable method acknowledged by social historians in balancing archival sources to further historical knowledge, and create a more accurate and balanced social history perspective. Paul Thompson (1990, p.6) asserted that oral evidence provided new perspectives and new fields of inquiry for history, as well as 'a more realistic and fair reconstruction of the

past, a challenge to the established account'. In particular, he contended that oral history 'helped us to see some of the errors in the abundant government documentation and statistics' (Thompson, 1990, p.74).

Oral history has been used to create records that can be preserved. Sometimes this method supplements data from other sources, while at other times it provides the only evidence available for understanding the social dimensions of a period in history. For example, oral records have been able to 'describe the impact that important events had on ordinary people through their own words rather than through government documentation and statistics' (Robertson, 1994, p.3).

Valerie Yow considered that recording oral memoirs for research helped to give:

voice to different levels of socio-economic groups, not just the well to do. It also reveals information that does not get into public record and fleshes out changes in society and details of people's lives and the reasons behind many actions and reactions (Yow, 1994, p.8).

According to Carol Gilligan (1982, p.11) the method of oral history enables all groups, to 'have a right to speak for themselves in their own voice, and have that voice accepted as authentic and legitimate'. While Hunt and Trotman maintained that:

traditional histories mostly describe the more extraordinary and well-documented circumstances of political and economic events. In contrast, the ordinary circumstances of daily social life have succored some extraordinary people whose stories have been neglected (Hunt and Trotman, 2002, p.19).

The neglect of ordinary social life has often been explained by the way life experiences and the perceptions of many academic historians have been limited by the fact that they were university educated, 'white' upper class, Anglo-Saxon men. The different insights that can come from a researcher of a different social background is well illustrated by the case of David Hill, former managing director of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) who migrated to Australia

as a Fairbridge Farm boy in the 1950s. He became involved in the Fairbridge Farm School Heritage Project fifty years later. In the course of compiling a television documentary on the topic, Hill recognised that it was the children's own stories, filmed for the documentary, rather than facts about the institution, which represented the most important and telling historical data.

He explained:

During the interviewing process I realised that while a lot had been written and said about Fairbridge, the stories of the children who lived there have never been told – and the picture their stories paint is very different and much more disturbing than the records of academics and historians. It was then that I decided to write a book about Fairbridge from the point of view of those who lived there (Hill, 2007, p. xvii).

Amia Lieblich and Ruthellen Josselson (1994, p.59) claimed that 'the life story itself, seen as a social construct in its own right, has increasingly become the focus of social-scientific research'. The major criticism raised by conventional historians about such data is the supposed fallibility of the life story in terms of truthfulness and objectivity. However, the Personal Narratives Group has maintained that all autobiographic memory is true.

When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they *are* [their emphasis] revealing truths. These truths don't reveal the past "as it actually was", aspiring to a standard of objectivity. They give us instead the truths of our experiences. Unlike the reassuring Truth of the scientific ideal, the truths of personal narratives are neither open to proof nor self-evident (Personal Narratives Group, 1989, p.261).

Oral historians have done much to legitimise personal memory as a valuable source for the reconstruction of the past, by identifying the necessity of balancing the subjective and the objective. When used in this way, oral history can be substantiated to a certain degree from other sources. At the same time, it provides a valuable source of new knowledge about the past as well as different interpretive perspectives. According to Linda Shopes, by recording the voices of 'ordinary people', social historians have provided information about everyday life and gained

insights that are simply unavailable from more traditional sources. ‘Oral histories also eloquently make the case for the active agency of individuals whose lives have been lived within deeply constraining circumstances’ (Shopes, 2002, p.3).

From the perspective of social history, relying on memory to accurately describe what happened in the past is not as important as recounting a dominant memory, which has been retained through life and time. In the present study, the teaching experiences of the women interviewed influenced the way they defined themselves and others, and it was more important to clarify how their teaching experiences affected them individually rather than to determine the accuracy of the details they remembered. It was especially important to gather such personal data while there were still sufficient individuals able to contribute meaningfully to the study. It was fortunate that the emergency teachers and Education Officers interviewed were still mentally alert, considering their age. Many have since declined in health or passed away and a resource of inestimable worth in understanding South Australian social and educational history of the post-war period has been lost forever – except for their contributions to this study.

Women’s Oral Histories

The previous chapter on feminist historiography established the advantages of oral history as a tool in understanding gender constructions as they impacted on women’s lives and their sense of identity. As Margaret Nelson explains:

numerous studies have shown that there is a gap between what we can discover when we rely on published accounts of some historical event and what we discover when we ask questions of the on-site participants of those same events. This gap looms larger when we are looking at women’s history because of the private nature of so much of women’s lives. Public history often ignores minority views. But women’s lives are further hidden because important information is overlooked, consciously avoided, or distorted (Nelson, 1992, p.168).

Hilary Graham (1983) argued that the male bias within sociology and the misogynist nature of sociological theory were reflected in research methods which excluded data from women and insisted on a detached approach to the analysis of objective data. In her view, qualitative methods were better suited to researching women's lives. She indicates that data on women's lives about their housework, childbearing, paid work and voluntary work could be collected (Ann Oakley, 1974; Hilary Graham, 1983). Qualitative research methods enabled women to speak about their particular experiences, and thus provide evidence on the frequently invisible and undercounted aspects of women's lives.

Oakley established an intimate and non-hierarchical relationship with her respondents so that she was seen more as a friend than a data collector, but found that 'a balance must then be struck between the warmth required to generate "rapport" and the detachment necessary to see the interviewee as an object under surveillance' (Oakley, 1981b, p.33). Her work also recognised that gender and class needed to be acknowledged as important issues in any analysis of data collected from women about their relationships, experiences, working lives and identity.

Tape recordings of women's voices have proved extremely valuable in providing data to research 'ordinary' women's lives. Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai explained the interviewing techniques they developed in their feminist oral history research and showed how these related to women's individual and collective voices. They regarded oral interviews as particularly valuable in uncovering a range of women's perspectives, some 'framed in concepts and values that reflect men's dominant position in the culture', while others were 'informed by the more immediate realities of a woman's personal experience' (Gluck and Patai, 1991, p.11). Women's stories reflected the views of society in their day, in that many did not feel they were discriminated against on the basis of gender.

As an emergency teacher stated:

[discrimination on the basis of gender] *not in my day, no, because we just sort of accepted it. I think we were just brought up like that. We did accept it in my day. I feel differently now, with no doubt, but not then. I can't say that I noticed it particularly, really, as I said we just accepted it (PC19).*

As the Personal Narrative Group (1989, p.22) found, 'many women's personal narratives unfold within the framework of an apparent acceptance of social norms and expectations but nevertheless describe strategies and activities that challenge those same norms'.

In relation to the analysis of personal narratives, Linda Wagner-Martin maintained that biographers of women

need to understand the way their culture views women, the patterns in their lives, women's roles, and women's narratives. Knowledge of the culture of the women being investigated, as well as the researchers' own, was necessary to build a bridge back into history, so that readers can understand why certain behaviours then were approved or disapproved (Wagner-Martin, 1994, p.29).

The present research is located within current debates in the historiography of women teachers. Theobald and Prentice (1991) in their research on women teacher's lives highlighted gender and power as problematic in educational institutions. According to Dwyer (2002, p.5), their work 'foreshadowed the need to ground analysis of women teacher's lives in the material detail of their circumstances'. This became a major focus in analysing the interview data from those who had been emergency teachers in South Australia in the 1950s.

The Memoir Method of Humanistic Sociology

In this particular study, the method of collecting oral interviews used in social and feminist history, has been integrated with a similar memoir approach (involving either written or oral

memoirs) developed in humanistic sociology. Pioneered by Florian Znaniecki (1969) and furthered by Smolicz (1979) and Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe (1981; 1986), the humanistic sociological method of memoir analysis lent itself well to an investigation of how and why participants became involved in the emergency teacher training scheme and their evaluation of it.

Znaniecki (1882-1958) was considered the father of humanistic sociology which viewed individuals as human agents in their social milieu. Their actions, views and attitudes could not be divorced from the realities of their social and cultural context. Znaniecki's famous work in conjunction with William Thomas, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958), used family letters, personal documents and memoirs as data. According to the methodological note, the facts in these accounts can be divided into two types. First, concrete facts give factual information about the respondents, such as age, gender, residence, education and occupation, which are easily collected and verified. These facts are used in conjunction with cultural facts which reveal the personal attitudes, thoughts and feelings of individuals towards specific social and cultural phenomena (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; Secombe and Joseph Zajda, 1999).

The humanistic sociological researcher interprets these cultural data with the humanistic coefficient, in order to understand the phenomena being investigated from the perspective of the participants. Specific areas of interest in this study are the attitudes which respondents held towards family, education and work values. Their individual and collective responses to their involvement in the phenomenon of emergency teacher training in a particular period in South Australian educational history are important to this investigation.

The Participants

One of the challenges in this part of the research was making contact with possible participants. *The Education Gazette* from 1945 onwards proved particularly useful for searching out emergency teachers to interview, as all State schools were listed, accompanied by the names of staff members and their classification status. It was easy to ascertain who the emergency teachers were, because of their temporary unclassified assistant status (TUA). At the time of the present study, most of the women emergency teachers ranged from their late seventies to nineties in age, and most would have been widowed. The next step was to search for their married surnames and their personal initials in the Telstra White Pages, and 'cold calls' were made to establish if they had been emergency teachers. As explained in Chapter Nine, the enquiries were better received when the term 'pressure cooker' teachers was used. In most cases, the queries were well accepted and the majority of women were happy to participate. Their only concern was that the passage of time might have diminished their memories to the extent that they would not be able to contribute meaningfully to the study. However, during the interviews it became apparent that though fifty years had passed, most of the women did in fact remember, and often with clarity and detail. For many elderly people, their longer term memory is more easily recalled than short term memory. Many respondents were able to describe their courses, list subjects, and even name their lecturers and fellow students. Some women possessed documents, articles and photos which they allowed me to photocopy. Several women passed on the names and contact numbers of friends who had done emergency courses, thereby increasing the number of participants. The majority of the women interviewed were happy to take part in the study because their teaching experiences overall had been positive ones.

This research concentrates on their stories in order to investigate the emergency teacher training courses. Of the fifty eight respondents who took part in the study, thirty six had been primary or junior primary emergency teachers in metropolitan Adelaide. From official documents it was apparent that the overriding concern of the State government was to conduct teacher training courses targeted specifically for the primary and junior primary areas where there was the most need and in the metropolitan area where the population was the greatest. However, there were trainees in country schools, but they appear to have taken part in short observation courses with little or no academic or professional content. A twelve month training course had been proposed for country regions but did not proceed for logistical reasons.

The participants included one secondary emergency teacher whose previous working background had been in administration and after seeking employment as a teacher, was sent to observe at the local school for approximately three months before teaching commercial subjects. She later re-married, moved to the country with her Headmaster husband and taught at the local primary school.

All of the emergency teachers interviewed had been married with children, apart from one young single woman who remained unmarried and achieved promotion. One of the emergency teachers met her future husband, while both were doing the three month course. He was one of two men in the course dominated by women. She was able to provide information on his experiences as an emergency teacher from a male perspective (see Chapter Six).

Of the thirty six emergency teachers, one woman had done the first twelve month 'special teacher-training course' in 1948, and became the group lecturer of the last primary course. Thirteen women and one man had done the short courses of training, one for five months, six for three months, while seven had completed one month of observation as their training. There were

seventeen women who had done the subsequent twelve month courses from 1955 to 1962, twelve who had completed the primary course and five the infant course. The remaining three were wives of teachers who had not done any specified course of training. They had been approached by the Department to teach junior grades in small rural schools alongside their husbands who provided their sole source of training and supervision. When they moved to the metropolitan area they were automatically appointed to teach in primary schools.

While all twenty two of the Education Officers interviewed had started their careers as teachers, rapid promotion meant they had achieved leadership positions that ranged from Principals, Inspectors, Superintendents and even Director General. Two were trained teachers who had been forced to resign because of the 'marriage bar', but were later re-employed by the Department and subsequently promoted. One had been a primary teacher and was promoted to Principal, while the other was a secondary trained domestic arts teacher with a daughter at the local primary school who was offered a teaching position. She was my grade five teacher whom I personally remember as a kind, motherly person and her classroom as a peaceful yet industrious environment.

Two emergency teachers, who were contacted, refused to participate because they had previously been involved in surveys by secondary students, which they considered to be unproductive. Both abruptly ended the telephone conversation, not giving the opportunity for any explanation of the research. Three former European migrants (who were not included in this study) were pleased to speak at length on the telephone about their teaching experiences, but insisted that their comments not be used. This was somewhat understandable as they had previously lived under Communist regimes, where comments or criticism of Government policy would have had severe repercussions for them and their families; this sort of fear is not easy to dispel. There was also

one woman (not included in this study) who said in a guarded manner that for her teaching had been a short-lived, unpleasant experience. Unfortunately, she would not elaborate and hence this study was deprived of a respondent who could have provided an alternate perspective.

This research did not seek to include any respondents who had been students of emergency teachers. As a child in country and metropolitan South Australian primary schools in the nineteen fifties and early sixties, I had myself been taught by emergency teachers which gave me first hand experience of them as teachers as well as valuable insights into the emergency scheme. This helped to establish the main issues, decide on the themes for analysis, and direct the appropriate course for the research. Friends and colleagues assisted in the process by discussing their own experiences with emergency teachers. However, the views of former students, though valuable in their own right, were not canvassed for the purposes of this study, as the main thrust of the research was to investigate the emergency scheme from the point of view of the emergency teachers and Education Officers.

The Interview Process and Transcription

Most of the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes to allow for a more relaxed and informal approach, which proved to be conducive to speaking with ease and frankness at length over a wide range of topics. It has been observed that, 'the performance element in oral remembering made for a more intensely emotional experience', and one which 'revealed more, partly because the speaking voice is less private than the written' (Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, 1994, p.22). Several interviews were done via the telephone; while still valuable, they were not as detailed or informative as those done face to face.

The questions were carefully chosen to reveal current social attitudes that prevailed at the time to assist in establishing the actual experiences and outcomes for the women. Factual data on family background, natal and conjugal family, as well as levels of education and work history were sought. This placed women in the appropriate social and economic context which proved essential in the analysis of data to discover commonalities as well as differences in the background and experiences of the women. The questions asked of the Education Officers were phrased somewhat differently to those of the emergency teachers, but still relevant to the central themes of the study. A copy of the questions used as a focus of the interviews is included as Appendix A.

The open-ended questions generated a substantial amount of data for the researcher, as the respondents talked at length of their life stories as well as teaching experiences. As the elderly respondents had relatively few visitors, apart from friends and family, they appreciated an attentive audience prepared to listen closely to what they had to say and who valued their comments. This often resulted in the respondents diverging from the topic and relating stories of their general life experiences. Therefore, it was necessary to ensure that the respondents remained focused on the research issues.

The average length of interviews ranged from between two and four hours, although, several interviews extended to six hours, with two beyond that. Periodically the tape recorder was paused to respect the privacy of the respondents, who opening up to a sympathetic listener, related experiences of a more personal nature. When the interviews ended, light refreshments were usually offered with the participants feeling comfortable enough with the interviewer to share reminiscences, and stories of their past, generally happy, but sometimes sad. These revealed much more about the respondents, the way their earlier lives had contributed to their decision to

take up teaching and how it impacted on their lives. Several respondents expressed an interest in reading the completed research and have remained in contact.

The privacy and confidentiality of the interview process were maintained in accordance with University of Adelaide Guidelines. The forms provided were fully explained before the interview commenced to ensure that the participants understood the nature of the research and could acknowledge their rights in the process. Their signature officially authorised their acceptance to take part in the research. Upon request, copies of tape recordings and transcripts were made available to the respondents. As the interviews are considered valuable records of social and educational history, the original copies of the audiotapes will be donated to the State Library or State Archives upon completion of the research.

Tape recorders were used to record the interviews on to audiotapes and, due to the length of the interviews, occasionally several audiotapes were used. Ninety minute audiotapes were chosen because they did not need to be changed frequently and therefore potentially disrupt the flow of conversation. These tapes remain as the original copies. They were copied to Dictaphone tapes and transcribed wholly by the researcher. This was deliberately done because the character of the speech and the words and phrases with all their nuances provided a level of personal meaning which went beyond the written transcriptions of the interview. If the services of a professional transcriber had been used, these speech patterns and some terms might not have been understood and therefore incorrectly transcribed, thus affecting the quality of the research. Transcribing the tapes proved to be an ideal opportunity for the researcher to commence the process of analysis as close attention to the taped interviews, often replayed while transcribing, revealed and reinforced important facts which were arranged in column chart form as the basis of analysis. There were occasional telephone calls and follow-up sessions to clarify certain statements made by the

participants.

For the purposes of analysis and presentation of data, participants were designated 'PC' identifying them as pressure cooker (emergency) teachers or 'EO' as Education Officers and were given a number to indicate their chronological position in the interview process. This ensured that the privacy of the individual was respected, and that the identity of the participant remained confidential for the purposes of the research.

The interview data was analysed using the concrete/cultural fact distinction of Smolicz and Secombe (1981; 1986; 1989). Concrete data ascertaining the participant's background was used to illuminate their social and cultural context. The cultural data reflecting the thoughts, feelings and evaluations of the respondents relating to how they came to be involved in the emergency teacher training scheme, their experiences, and subsequent outcomes, were analysed by identifying the key elements, issues and themes found upon close reading of the transcripts.

The respondents' descriptions of their individual and collective experiences provided an entertaining as well as informative account of the lives of women emergency teachers. Together they also described in quite vivid ways what South Australian state schools were like during this period in history. As far as possible, the presentation of the interview data has used the women's own words directly, but the information given and the opinions expressed have been arranged in a clear and systematic manner for analysis of the key issues.

The Advantages of Two Methods

In this research, the emergency women teachers' views and experiences were compared and contrasted with those of the Education Officers who had personal and professional dealings with them. The interview data was juxtaposed with official Government documentation and

Departmental records, as well as the observations and comments of educational bodies, in particular the S.A. Teachers' Union and SAIT. In this way, the research not only investigated what actually transpired during a particular period in South Australian educational history, but incorporated the human perspective of those individuals employed by the South Australian Education Department as emergency teachers or Education Officers.

The use of public archival sources alone usually means focussing on the dominant perspective of those in positions of power. Relying on personal interview statements from individuals who belong to a subordinate group has often been regarded as unreliable and biased. Nelson, however, has argued that 'when the two methodologies are combined, we can obtain important insights which help us answer questions that should stand at the centre of inquiries about the meaning of schoolteaching in the lives of its participants' (Nelson, 1992, p.185). She suggests that 'the most important category of differences between what we learn when we rely on published sources and what we learn when we rely on the voices of participants has to do with how we interpret the evidence' (Nelson, 1992, p.178).

This research demonstrates that what was learnt from oral history/oral memoir interviews both challenges and complements information gained from official sources to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the post-war era in South Australian educational history.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT'S EMERGENCY SCHEME
AND TEACHERS' RESPONSE

The Post-War Teacher Shortage

The post-war teacher shortage crisis experienced in South Australia, as well as other Commonwealth states was caused by a number of factors. The low birth rate of the Depression years had provided insufficient numbers of teachers to teach the children following the high birth rate years of post World War II. R. M. McDonnell, W. C. Radford, and P. M. Staurenghi (1956) argued that this was exacerbated by the fact that comparatively teaching was not as well paid an occupation as the more lucrative positions in industry and commerce that enticed young people (see Appendix H). Hyams (1979, p.106) contended that, 'restoring pre-war employment and recruitment was patently inadequate in view of the impending surge of school enrolments as a result of a rising national birth rate and the introduction of schemes of large-scale immigration from Britain and Europe'. As Allen Barcan (1980, p.405) also explained, 'rising enrolments produced educational demands which State governments had difficulty in meeting. The supply of adequately trained teachers was a special problem'.

Under the division of powers at Federation in 1901, Australian states were responsible for education at primary and secondary levels. Miller (1986, p.213) asserted that in the post-war period all Australian public schools found themselves in a difficult position because of State Governments' 'frugal educational funding'. South Australia fared the worst because its parsimonious approach towards education funding made it the lowest spending state on education, per head of population, of all Australian states, including Tasmania. According to an undated and unnumbered Education Department Information Handbook found in the

Department's archives, the net expenditure on South Australian Education Department Schools (excluding Buildings, Repairs and Sites) was 1,773,586 pounds in 1948 (cost per head of mean population, 2 pounds, 13 shillings and 8 pence) and in 1960, 10,407,867 pounds (cost per head of mean population, 11 pounds 0 shillings and 4 pence) (see Appendix B). Mares used these figures to support the claim that the corresponding figure for Tasmania in 1948 was 3 pounds and 4 shillings cost per head of mean population. He added that in South Australia

the difficulties were further increased by the extraordinary rise in the birth-rate from the lowest in the Commonwealth, 14.14 per thousand in 1935, to the highest, 25.25 in 1947. The increase in school population has been higher in this state than anywhere else in Australia (Mares, 1958, unnumbered pages).

The prognosis for South Australian schools was dire.

The South Australian Education Department had a relatively small pool of teachers who had proved adequate to service State schools before World War II. According to statistics from the Education Department Information Handbook, the numbers of full-time teachers employed by the Department in 1927 were 2,569, increasing marginally to 2,699 by 1948 (see Appendix C). Correspondingly, primary school pupil numbers were 65,122 by 1948, almost doubling in the space of eight years to 116,164 in 1956. By 1960 the figure increased to 132,859 (see Appendix D). As teacher numbers had remained relatively static over the twenty year period until 1948, they needed to increase significantly to cope with higher student enrolments in State schools in the next fifteen years. In 1947 the number of temporary teachers (mainly women, but including a few men) was 323, a figure which rose rapidly to 1,753 in 1956 (see Appendix C). By 1962 total teacher numbers had increased to 6,851, with 2,515 temporary teachers representing 36.7% of the total teaching staff (South Australia, Parliament, 1963, No.44, p.5). This was largely due to the emergency measures to be discussed in this chapter.

South Australia was in the worst position of all Australian States to weather the education crisis in that the Liberal Government's pragmatic Premier, Thomas Playford, sought to move from a rural based economy and directed funds towards expanding the State's industrial base. As Miller (1986, p.261) claimed, the education crisis 'was aggravated by Liberal government's policy of subsidising industry and economising on social services. Strict economies were reserved for the public sector and for the period of compulsory schooling'. The rapid expansion of new industries necessitated a larger workforce. Therefore the State government embarked on a campaign to attract British and European migrants, colloquially referred to as 'factory fodder', to come with their young families and work in them. The result was that the years 1949 to 1951 recorded the largest number of people migrating to South Australia. Mr. C.R. Gargett, the President of the S.A. Public Schools Committees Association, in his address to a conference in Canberra on the subject "Education a National Responsibility" reported that, 'South Australia in the past decade has made terrific advances in all fields of industry and commerce and this coupled with the large influx of migrants has strained to the utmost the Educational facilities of the State' (Gargett, 1958, p.13).

The overall result was that South Australia was to 'experience the largest increase in numbers of young children entering schools' as well as being 'the worst prepared' (Hyams, 1972, p.173). The percentage increase of total pupil numbers from 1947 to 1958 was 111.0%: the highest being South Australia, with Victoria the second highest at 76.3% and Queensland the lowest at 56.0% (see Appendix D).

The main consensus amongst education historians was that prior to the Second World War, teachers in South Australia were relatively poorly trained and qualified. According to the 1944 Report of the Minister of Education, apart from secondary and a few infant and primary school

trainees, ‘the university has not taken any part in the professional training of teachers’ (South Australia, Parliament, 1945, No. 44, p.23). Most infant and primary school courses were of two years duration at the Teachers’ College, with virtually no opportunity for university studies unless as matriculated students they pursued these after completing their courses. The lack of tertiary academic content and qualifications made professionalism difficult to achieve. As Miller pointed out, ‘teachers found it difficult to gain any control of entry into teaching or even reverse the trend towards dilution of qualifications for candidates for training – and thus achieve one of the fundamental powers of other professional groups’ (Miller, 1986, p.249).

According to Hyams (1977), the majority of female teachers, although represented by the Women Teachers’ Guild, were passive and generally unwilling to challenge a bureaucratic Education Department. The all male South Australian Public School Teachers’ Union was much more active, but weakened in its negotiating ability to improve the working conditions of teachers by the gender fragmentation of female colleagues. However, both Unions voiced strong condemnation of the Department’s attempts to solve the staffing crisis by introducing short emergency courses, as they regarded them as manifestly inadequate for teacher preparation. While they stressed the need for a minimum training period of two years, they were aware this was problematic because the Teachers’ College was understaffed and unable to provide this level of training.

Approaches to Educational Funding in South Australia

From its inception as a colony in 1836, the South Australia government had experienced numerous financial setbacks and economic crises leading to periods of near bankruptcy. Major events in the twentieth century such as the Great Depression and the two World Wars impacted greatly on monies available for essential government works, let alone social services, the result

being that funding for education was consistently compromised for almost a century. Finding sufficient financial resources for the provision of compulsory universal education for all children, as well as the training and recruitment of sufficient number of teachers to teach them, had been an ongoing challenge for successive governments.

The Report of the Minister of Education in 1946 showed that 'total expenditure upon education ... amounted to 1,707,276 [pounds], an increase of 48 per cent upon the total expenditure five years previously' (South Australia, Parliament, 1947, No.44, p.3). However, in his report in 1962, the Minister stated that from the 'total State revenue expenditure of 88,595,763 [pounds], Education received 18,326,704 [pounds]' (South Australia, Parliament, 1963, No.44, p.7). These figures show that education funding increased gradually at first, but markedly in the years leading up to 1962. If the State government had provided more funds for education during and immediately after the war years, the problems encountered, such as accommodation, shortage of materials and teacher supply would not have been so pressing. As Mares (1958, unnumbered pages) summarised, 'at the root of it all is money ... if money had been provided more generously in the years that followed the end of the war, the situation would not be so desperate now'.

Over the years since the passing of the Education Act of 1875, under the auspices of the Director General John Hartley, education in South Australia had become institutionalised into a rigid, highly centralised bureaucratic system that offered uniform schooling for all children. The Education Department had effectively become the employer of all State school teachers, as well as controlling their recruitment, training, classification and conditions of employment. In effect, the overall control of State education enabled governments to exercise an economic expediency in relation to education and teacher preparation which Hyams (1972, *passim*) refers to as

'pragmatism', 'parsimony' and even 'cheapness'. He cited the South Australian Education Department's continued use of apprenticeship teaching schemes, such as monitors, pupil teachers and junior teachers to staff schools. 'For much of the 100 years from 1850, teacher preparation courses were remarkable for their brevity' (Hyams, 1972, p.136). McGuire (1999, p.v) proposed that, 'the overuse of junior teachers in place of trained staff led to complaints of the exploitation of the junior teachers and harm to both them and the children they taught'. Hyams (1979, p.38) argued that the Education Department had always been 'pre-occupied with concerns of quantity, by supplying teachers as speedily and as cheaply as possible to meet the demands of an expanding school system'. The result was a poorly educated, minimally qualified and uniform teaching force. The consequences of this parsimonious approach towards public education funding by the State government prevailed until the 1960s.

Educational historians McDonnell, Radford and Staurenghi were of the opinion that the only solution to the teacher shortage problem in South Australia was to take drastic measures such as employing temporary teachers and recruiting personnel through 'emergency training schemes'.

They outlined that:

in 1949 an emergency scheme was inaugurated to train fifty women who had had no previous teaching experience. The course consisted of four weeks' intensive training, after which they were appointed as temporary unclassified teachers. In 1950, forty-one women and two men attended another emergency course. The course has been repeated once or twice each year since (McDonnell, Radford, and Staurenghi, 1956, p.187).

Rupert Best (1958, p.331) claimed that, ‘the situation has been eased largely by the employment of women with status as “temporary teachers”, of whom at present there are about 1,900. Many are women with suitable qualifications who have been given a short course of intensive training for the work’. Barcan provided statistics to support this trend, reporting that, ‘by 1952 temporary teachers made up 25 per cent of the State teaching service. By 1959, 39 per cent of teachers in the State service were temporary teachers’ (Barcan, 1980, p.314).

The South Australian government’s utilisation of the economically expedient emergency teacher training scheme offering limited training was consistent with funding policies of preceding decades. Mares (1958) suggested that more could have been done to address the problems of overcrowding and under-staffing if methods of recruitment had been improved, the status of teachers elevated and their salaries increased to a level which attracted more university graduates. Certainly there is evidence that the government had been warned of the impending teacher shortage early in the war years.

The Education Inquiry Committee 1942-1945

In the early 1940s the Commonwealth Office of Education produced tables forecasting future pupil enrolments for all States in Australia and predicting long term trends in education. These revealed that, up to 1946, the patterns of school enrolments would remain constant, taking into account various factors, but that by 1953, teacher requirements were expected to increase greatly. The South Australian Public Teachers’ Union was well aware of these projections of substantial increases in student numbers and declining teacher numbers, as well as their low levels of training, pay and conditions. They had published the figures in the September issue of the 1949 *S.A. Teachers’ Journal*. As early as 21 November 1942, the Minister of Education was presented with a statement from the Teachers’ Union requesting that a select committee be appointed to

inquire into the South Australian educational system and examine key issues affecting education in the State, in particular, teacher training and recruitment (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.3).

This request resulted in the State Government's appointment of the Education Inquiry Committee, made up of leading South Australian educationalists who presented their First Report on May 16 1945. It was a comprehensive and detailed document containing a number of recommendations, the first of which related to teacher recruitment and training, and included a warning of the predicted severe teacher shortage. 'No more pressing problems confront the administrative officers of the department than how to secure a sufficient quantity of recruits, and how to ensure their sufficient quality' (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.9). The Committee made recommendations more forcefully than those made previously by the South Australian Public Teachers' Union.

That the South Australian Government knew of the projections of future teacher needs is revealed in the 1947 Annual Report of the Minister of Education.

As in other parts of the world this State has to face a period of greatly increased expenditure to meet the lag of the war years, the big increase in school population in the next few years and the consequent need for greater accommodation and more teachers (South Australia, Parliament, 1948, No.44, p.3).

However, according to Thiele (1975, p.219), little was done to address the problem because the Education Department was 'too slow-moving, too ponderous in its decision-making'. At the height of the crisis, Mares (1958, unnumbered pages) had commented that change in the Education Department came slowly because its 'bureaucratic rigidity' caused 'a good deal of inertia'.

The Education Inquiry Committee Report recommended the recruitment of quality teacher trainees by raising pay, conditions and the status of teaching, in order to counter direct competition from commerce and industry, offering higher incomes and prospects to young people. The Committee's major concern was to secure a sufficient quantity of teachers without compromising quality.

The more urgent the need for quantity the greater the menace to quality. There are two temptations - to accept recruits of insufficient attainments and capacity, and to give them an insufficient training. Either is hurtful to the education of our children: the conjunction of both is doubly so (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.9).

The Education Inquiry Committee's condemnation of emergency measures as a means of alleviating the problem of teacher shortages was apparent.

We have no faith in the sort of emergency measures for recruitment which aim to secure quantity at all costs. It would be better to retain the services of temporary teachers, and to provide an inducement to enroll [sic] others, than to employ permanently men and women of poor capacity and a limited training (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.10).

The Committee further warned that emergency recruitment measures were not only detrimental to young children, but had repercussions for inadequately trained teachers.

The admission of recruits with low attainments to a short course of training fills the immediate need, but has ill effects throughout the teaching life of those admitted (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.34).

The *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, the official organ of the S.A. Public Teachers' Union, which addressed and commented on issues pertinent to education, schooling and teachers to all its members, printed the key findings of the Education Inquiry Committee's First Progress Report on July 12, 1945.

In this way the Union highlighted the serious nature of the teacher shortage, but warned that it was:

no economy [to] hastily recruit people insufficiently equipped for training and hastily to crowd them through a short course of training. It would be unjust to the men and women selected and trained under such circumstances. It would also be unjust to the teaching service, which would have to undergo such a dilution. The ultimate condemnation is that it would not be in the best interests of the children of this State (S.A. Public Teachers' Union, 1945, June 12, pp.15-16).

In a later article under the heading, 'A Critical Position: Continued Lack of Teachers. What is being Done?' the Teachers' Union complained that 'these definite recommendations were presented to the Minister three months ago, but no action has been taken. Nothing has happened to improve the situation' (S.A. Public Teachers' Union, 1945, September 10, p.5).

The degree, to which these warnings from both the Education Inquiry Committee and the Teachers' Union were heeded by the Education Department, becomes apparent in the following discussion of the measures adopted.

Initial Measures Taken by the Education Department

In defence of the Education Department's position, the Minister of Education, Mr. Rudall, in his Report for 1947 announced a number of measures he referred to as 'special steps' to increase the number of teaching staff. Those who had recently retired, as well as trained women teachers forced to resign in accordance with the 'marriage bar', were to be re-employed as temporary teachers. Additionally, trained teachers from the United Kingdom were to be recruited. Within South Australia a state-wide recruitment drive of secondary schools was to be undertaken by a team of teachers and Inspectors to encourage secondary students to take up teaching as a career. In addition, 'a special adult training course of one year' was to be introduced (South Australia, Parliament, 1948, No.44, p.3).

Subsequently, the Director of Education, Mr. Mander-Jones, announced details of the 'Special Teacher-Training Scheme' to commence in 1948. This was to be a twelve month primary teacher training course for mature age people. When the details of this first emergency course were gazetted, the Education Department appeared to be somewhat optimistic in envisaging that applicants would have a 'Leaving Certificate [Year 11] or higher academic qualifications'. However, a proviso was added in case this could not be reached. 'It is thought that men and women of older years will have qualities which may well counter-balance the lack of academic qualifications' (*The Education Gazette*, 1947, September 12, unnumbered supplement).

On successful completion of the course, trainees were to be appointed to schools with provisional classification which, with further study, could lead to a Teachers' Certificate and full classification. This was similar to the one year 'A' course that had been in use for over fifty years for academically less able students prepared to teach in small rural schools. A similar 'special' course was proposed for 1949, and these were continued yearly until 1952. The official minimum entry requirement for these courses was stated as five Intermediate (Year 10) subjects (*The Education Gazette*, 1948, October 15, p.185).

However, it became apparent that none of the above measures would provide a sufficient increase in immediate teacher numbers to deal with what Thiele (1975, p.208) described as the 'tidal wave' of pupils threatening to overwhelm the Education Department. Drastic measures were needed to provide adequate junior primary and primary teachers for the large numbers of children enrolling in schools at the time. Recommendations and warnings from The Education Inquiry Committee were set aside in the haste to provide teachers, particularly for the new intakes of children in schools.

The result was that in 1949, the Minister of Education introduced short observation courses, the nature of which he outlined to Parliament.

To maintain adequate staffs [sic] for the growing school population is no easy matter ... As an experiment applications were invited in the middle of 1949 for 50 women not previously trained as teachers to undergo a month's intensive training in schools for appointment as temporary unclassified teachers. Many of these women have shown an admirable aptitude for the work of teaching and they are developing usefully under the guidance of experienced teachers (South Australia, Parliament, 1950, No.44, p.2).

The 'intensive training' consisted of one month's observation in schools and was conducted from 1949 to 1951. To attract recruits, courses were widely advertised in the media as available to women and single men over 21 years of age. Predominantly women applied, but evidence suggests that several men did also. Trainees were paid an allowance of five pounds per week for the duration of their course and on completion were usually appointed to schools closest to their homes as temporary unclassified assistants. As with the earlier one year courses, full classification could be conferred after further successful study. Those admitted to the courses were formally required to have five Intermediate subjects, but this could be waived by having other suitable attributes, for example, experience and involvement in dealing with children, such as Girl Guides, teaching Sunday school, music or elocution, or perhaps more importantly, being a mother experienced in rearing her own children.

In practice, the trainees of the first short courses were almost all mature age married women who were sent, for approximately four weeks, to their local school where they observed and conducted lessons under the guidance of a trained and experienced classroom teacher. They were then given a class of their own to teach within the school. Their training was essentially of a practical nature with little or no academic or professional studies included. It was consistent with Hyams' (1972) claim that teacher training in South Australia had historically highlighted the practical aspects of learning on the job, rather than the academic and cultural enhancement of teachers.

Criticism and Response

Criticism of the Education Department's emergency measures by other education stakeholders focused on the inadequate length of the training courses and the Department's preference for women trainees who often had inadequate qualifications.

The Teachers' Union strongly criticised the emergency courses introduced in 1949. It argued that such short courses of teacher training were inappropriate because they could not provide 'an adequate period of training' (S.A. Public Teachers' Union, 1949, October, p.1). The 1949 Conference of the Union unanimously carried a motion that 'the Union make the strongest possible representations to the public, the Government, and the Education Department in the matter of the recruitment of teachers' (S.A. Public Teachers' Union, 1949, October, p.8). The 1944 McNair Report on the recruitment and training of teachers, as well as an Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) publication titled, 'Children Need Teachers', were presented to the Minister of Education by the Union in 1949. In addition, the Teachers' Union published cartoons in the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* alluding to the critical shortage of teachers and their poor levels of pay and conditions. None of these efforts were able to stop the short emergency courses proceeding over the years 1949 to 1951.

It could be argued, however, that the Union's constant criticism of the Education Department helped to ensure that emergency teacher training periods were gradually increased threefold in the following years. In 1952, emergency courses were extended to one term, or approximately three months duration. While still of a practical nature, they did include some academic content with lectures provided at the Teachers' College or other venues and were augmented by observation lessons and teaching practice in demonstration schools. As in the previous one month courses, the trainees were predominantly women, but evidence suggests that there were several men among them (There is further discussion of this in Chapter Five).

The Union was not the only educational body concerned by the lack of training in emergency courses. A spokesman for the Teachers' College also criticised the training of teachers in 'short-term courses'. He claimed that 'this is the only State in which this system applies' and referred to the undesirable outcomes of low levels of training. 'If the students are good by nature, they would be so much better if properly trained. If they are not good, they are pretty terrible' (*The Advertiser*, 1953, January 6, p.4). Such a range of actual behaviour is discussed in Chapter Nine.

Despite these ongoing criticisms, the Government did not waver in its stance on the use of emergency courses, as demonstrated in the 1952 Report of the Minister of Education.

The only possible solution at present is to employ a large number of women as temporary teachers ... the consequent upward trend in the proportion of unclassified teachers in the service is not a desirable one, but it seems unavoidable under present conditions and its effects are being closely watched (South Australia, Parliament, 1953, No.44, p.4).

The Department justified the emergency scheme on the grounds of the prevailing assumption that women were nurturers and natural teachers of young children, and as a result did not require high educational qualifications. The Education Inquiry Committee Report had warned that the assumption that young children did not need highly trained teachers was held by members of the

general public, as well as some education officials within the Department.

There is a tendency to suppose that teachers who work with younger children need not be so well educated as those who work with older boys and girls, and can therefore be trained in a relatively short period of time (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.16).

The assumption that mature women could function effectively as teachers by virtue of their nature and experience with young children was reflected not only in the shortness of the training offered to them but also in the tendency to waive the minimum level of educational qualifications required of applicants. Changes in the wording of the advertisements over the years, as well as Ministerial statements, illustrate this. The special one year training course advertised under Special Notices in *The Education Gazette* stated that, 'it is desirable, but not essential, that applicants should have a Leaving Certificate or higher academic qualifications'. This statement was qualified by another. 'It is thought that men and women of older years will have qualities which may well counterbalance the lack of academic qualifications. Experience and maturity may be regarded to some extent as equivalent of academic standard' (*The Education Gazette*, 1948, October 15, p.185).

While five Intermediate subjects remained the official educational requirement for all emergency courses from 1949 to 1951, the Minister of Education, Mr. Rudall, was quoted in a 1951 newspaper article as saying that, 'experience and maturity were to some extent equivalent to academic standing and a pass in the intermediate or leaving examinations would not be a necessary qualification' (*The Advertiser*, 1951, July 6, p.4). In 1952, an advertisement for emergency courses under the heading 'Special Course of Training' stated that, 'Applicants will be interviewed and age and experience will be taken into account as well as academic qualifications and training, if any' (*The News*, 1952, January 16, p.9). In 1953 and 1954, advertisements were less precise in relation to required education levels. 'Only applicants who

have had secondary education will be considered' (*The Advertiser*, 1953, July 7, p.14; 1954, January 28, p.19). Given such statements, it is not surprising that women with little or no secondary education were admitted to these courses (see Chapter Five).

In 1955 when twelve month courses replaced the shorter ones (to be discussed in a later section), advertisements placed greater emphasis on educational requirements. 'Only applicants who have passed Intermediate or higher subjects or who have had at least three years of secondary education will be considered' (*The Advertiser*, 1955, January 19, p.19). However, in 1956, the wording reverted to the 1954 requirements. 'Applicants will be selected for the course after interview on the basis of experience, aptitude, personality and academic qualifications' (*The News*, 1956, May 15, p.15). By 1960, the Minister of Education, Mr. Pattinson, was able to state that for the sixth special one year primary school training course the 55 women were 'the most highly selective we have had' because they all had 'qualifications at least to Intermediate standard. Several have studied at a university' (*The News*, 1960, June 22, p.5). By implication the qualifications of those accepted in earlier years had not been of this standard.

Later historians had been very critical of this aspect of the emergency scheme. Some were quite disparaging of the quality of people accepted.

One claimed that:

in order to cope with increased enrolments of the 1950s and 1960s the Education Department was forced to employ as temporary teachers anyone who walked off the streets and had something in the way of qualifications, however meager (Hyams, 1972, p.173).

Another agreed with this assessment.

In South Australia, older persons have been admitted to short courses of training ... without them necessarily having suitable basic qualifications in general education. Besides these formal ways

of getting recruits to teaching, each state employs persons trained elsewhere - and some who have had no training elsewhere! (Turner, 1977, p.107).

More generally, Hyams (1979, p.81), argued that, 'everywhere in Australia officialdom subscribed to the belief that a brief and simple education was sufficient for the teachers of younger children'. Other educationalists were concerned by this attitude.

The view is still widely held that the preparation of teachers for the infants and primary school is less important than of those intending to teach at the high school level, that the younger the pupil the shorter the period of education needed by the teacher' (Richardson and Bowen, 1967, p.205).

Bassett (1977, p.123) claimed that, 'no pedagogical expertise can pre-empt the need for our teachers to be well educated people', while Barcan (1977, p.150) agreed that the most important single factor in the teaching service was 'the supply of teachers, the quality of teachers, the dedication of teachers'.

The implications of the Department policy were pointed out by Mares. Given that the percentage of unclassified teachers in 1956 was over 20% of the total teaching staff, he considered that it would be 'difficult to raise the status of teachers if the present "emergency" measure of injecting large numbers into the profession after a brief training at practising schools is long continued' (Mares, 1958, unnumbered pages).

Issues of Terminology

At this juncture it may be helpful to consider in more depth some of the names given to the courses, as well as to the applicants who completed them. One of the words most frequently used was 'temporary'. Those who completed the short courses were to be appointed as 'temporary unclassified assistants' (South Australia, Parliament, 1950, No.44, p.2). The month long courses were initially referred to as 'temporary short courses of training' or 'special short courses for

temporary teachers'. From 1952 to 1955, advertisements were headed 'Temporary Teachers' Special Course of Training'. Both the courses and the teachers they produced were considered temporary, as opposed to permanent, in the organisational practice of the Department. They were temporary in the sense that they would cease when sufficient numbers of young qualified teachers exited Teachers' College.

One of the emergency teacher respondents recalled her interview by an Education Department official, who explained the temporary nature of the teaching positions.

It was made very clear to us that it was a temporary job. It was very clear that we were only going to be there until they'd trained enough of their own teachers. When we went to the interview I was told that it was just a temporary job. They didn't know how long it would be for, but that they were training the young teachers and when they'd got enough, they wouldn't want us anymore (PC5).

It is interesting to note that from 1956 to 1960 the word 'temporary' was dropped from the course name, so that they were called simply 'Special Courses of Training for Teachers'.

It is also necessary to explain how the term 'emergency' has been used in conjunction with the courses and their participants. The expression 'emergency course of training' was first used by the Education Inquiry Committee (1945, p.10) in reference to the English model of a one year course for mature age persons, similar to the one adopted by the South Australian Education Department in 1947. The South Australian Public Teachers' Union began to use the terms 'emergency course of training' and 'emergency training scheme' as well as 'short courses of training' to describe the measures used by the Department to recruit more teachers (S.A. Public Teachers' Union, 1947, October, p.10).

Following the amalgamation of the teacher unions, the South Australian Institute of Teachers continued this usage, as was evident in the report that the Minister of Education, Mr. Rudall, had

been asked by the Union, how many persons had ‘entered the Education Department under the emergency teacher training scheme’ (SAIT, 1951, October, p.7). From the mid 1950s, with the advent of the twelve month courses, the term ‘emergency training’ was used by Education Officers, as well as Teachers’ Union officials, such as W. T. Westgarth (1956, p.17) when responding to criticism of the twelve month courses.

Educational historians, Mares (1958), McDonnell (1966) and Barcan (1980), later used the terms ‘emergency courses’ and ‘emergency measures’ to describe the Education Department’s short courses of teacher training. Thiele (1975, p.213) described them as ‘emergency training schemes’. This could be seen to reflect the title of the very first emergency course of training gazetted in 1948 - the ‘Special Teacher-Training Scheme’ (*The Education Gazette*, 1948, October 15, p.185). The term ‘scheme’ could be taken to suggest that there was a long term coordinated plan of the Education Department. In reality, it appears to have been more of an *ad hoc* approach, as year by year decisions were made to introduce courses as needs dictated.

Concurrently, in a somewhat derogatory manner, education officials, teachers and the general public used the colloquial expression ‘pressure cooker’ for the short courses of teacher training and referred to the participants as ‘pressure cookers’. In an article for *The News*, journalist Ted Smith, used the headline ‘Pressure Cooker Teachers Are Not the Right Answer’ to criticise the Education Department’s training policy (Smith, 1956b, p.25).

The trainees in these courses were well aware of the expression ‘pressure cookers’. Those who had completed the twelve month courses found it particularly offensive. They believed the pressure cookers were the women who had done the much shorter courses of training. Throughout the interviews, respondents used the expression when describing the emergency courses and their experiences as teachers. In the initial contact with the women, they were often

puzzled by the term emergency teacher, but when asked if they had been pressure cooker teachers, immediately responded. The use of these terms is elaborated further, from the women's perspective, in Chapter Eight.

The Protests of the 1953 SAIT Conference

In 1951 teachers made a move to strengthen their position in influencing government policy and public opinion. The separate men and women's unions amalgamated to form the South Australian Institute of Teachers (SAIT), which held its inaugural meeting at Bonython Hall in the University of Adelaide on 17 May 1951, with Mr. Raggatt elected as the first president. The Second Annual Conference of SAIT held on May 18, 1953 was pivotal to the Union's campaign to discredit the Department's continued use of emergency courses. To this effect, the minutes of the SAIT Grievance Committee were printed in its entirety in the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* June 1953.

Mr. O'Connell, a member of the Grievance Committee, concluded that:

it was the cumulative effect of the neglect of the Department in previous years which led to this state of affairs. I do not think we can object to the adoption of suitable temporary measures to meet the crisis in education ... it is another thing when unsuitable temporary measures tend to become permanent policy, and that is what is occurring today. In the other States there has been a progressive stepping-up in the requirements of people entering the profession. There has not been the same stepping-up here. We are continuing to engage people who in many cases have little or no qualifications. Such a temporary policy to meet a particular situation should not be perpetuated (SAIT, 1953, June, p.19).

Mr. Davis, Vice-President of the Men's Branch of SAIT, forcibly expressed his views to the Grievance Committee.

We [teachers in schools] spend much time training people for three months and we call them all sorts of names, pressure cookers for instance – but how can we hope to produce a good, solid teacher in three months when the minimum basic requirement is two years' proper training in the

Training College? We are diluting our profession. Is that fair to our profession? Is it fair to our children? Do the parents know? They don't know what is going on. In many cases their children are in the care of people who have not been properly trained. We want the best brains in the teaching profession that the community can supply, but are we getting them? The answer is - no! Plumbers know better than we do. They will not have unskilled plumbers in the trade (SAIT, 1953, June, p.18).

Mr. Carmichael, future president of SAIT, spoke at length to the Grievance Committee on the need for better training of teachers. 'Anyone can become a teacher, and I strongly resent it. I think it is one of the greatest grievances we have. We want to bring this matter before the eyes of the public and advertise it abroad'. He went on to mention that it took '500 [pounds] to train students in the college for one year', while the Department could 'get teachers much more cheaply by sending someone with the Qualifying Certificate to a primary school for 12 weeks at five [pounds] a week. In this way they can train a teacher for 60 [pounds]' (SAIT, 1953, June, p.18). The SAIT Grievance Committee in May 1953 carried the motion put forward by Mr. Haynes that, 'the state of emergency which has produced the Trainee Teacher has existed too long – and that no more short course trainees should be taken in' (SAIT, 1953, June, p.21).

However, another member of the Committee, Mr. Gill, believed that despite the rhetoric little or no change would be effected.

I do not think we have any chance of changing the Government for that is almost completely impossible, but we have a chance of doing something with public opinion. I suggest that this committee be given power, if we get a rebuff from the Government, to embark on a publicity campaign through the press and our own journal (SAIT, 1953, June, p.21).

Mr. Gill believed it was appropriate to 'impart to the public the necessity for altering the pressure cooker system of training teachers' given that, 'thousands of outside people do not know whether the lady who comes along to the school to teach their children is a trained teacher' (SAIT, 1953, June, p.21). His suggestion that the Committee embark on a publicity campaign through

newspapers and the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* was accepted and the Grievance Committee carried the motion proposed by Mr. Gill in May 1953.

In the months following the conference, the Teachers' Union kept up the momentum of criticism. In the *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, under the heading 'Minister refuses to hear Teachers!' SAIT's condemnation was unequivocal.

Many post-war problems were foreseen by teachers, the Minister was advised of them, of possible solutions, and of the need for sound planning. But teachers' efforts have proved unavailing. That which affects children most is the present policy of recruiting and training teachers. Other States of the Commonwealth and of New Zealand have had their problems in this respect, but, to solve them, none have resorted to the extreme measures adopted in South Australia. It appears that economy is the main consideration here, and that the welfare of the children is of but secondary importance (SAIT, 1953, July, p.1).

This judgment was reflected in subsequent correspondence. In the SAIT Journal for August 1953, under the heading 'Continued Shortage of Teachers', the Editor stated in reply to a letter printed in the *Berri Community News* that as little as '30 pounds is enough to spend on people who are entrusted with the care of the bodies, minds and spirits of the community's children' (SAIT, 1953, August, p.1). By September 1953 the Union received additional support from Adelaide Teachers' College students in their petition to the Minister of Education, Mr. J. Rudall. The text of the petition was printed by SAIT.

It should not have been necessary to hold the short courses. We feel that the policy of having short courses of training, or no training at all, is shortsighted in that it unnecessarily lowers the standards of the profession, and is detrimental to education. These short course trainees bring no new impetus of ideas to the teaching profession (SAIT, 1953, September, p.1).

In November it was reported in *The Advertiser* that Mrs. T.T. Colquhoun, past president of the S.A. Public Schools Committee, believed that 'the short term course has been introduced supposedly as a stop-gap arrangement to overcome a post-war shortage of teachers, but there

were signs that “pressure cooking” had become a regular policy’ (*The Advertiser*, 1953, November 11, p.13).

In reviewing the events of these years, Hyams acknowledged the influence of the Teachers’ Union which:

constantly campaigned against government recruitment policies and practices which staffed schools with inadequately qualified persons. SAIT was specifically hostile to the Education Department’s device of pushing recruits to primary schools through the very brief and aptly named ‘Short Course’ and actually urged its members not to assist in training such recruits in the schools. Further indignation was voiced over the alleged employment of numbers of persons recruited into the service but unable to speak English sufficiently well to be understood by their pupils (Hyams, 1992, p.72).

The Media Debate 1953

Until the early 1950s the Teachers’ Union had reluctantly accepted the short emergency courses because they recognised ‘their usage was the most expeditious way to increase teacher numbers at a time when staffing levels were critically low’ (McDonnell, 1956, p.208). But by 1953, SAIT’s protests centred on the Department’s continued reliance on short courses rather than developing a long term strategy to provide sufficient numbers of appropriately qualified and trained teachers. The emergency courses continued however, because according to the 1954 Report of the Education Minister, ‘the Department is still experiencing difficulty in finding recruits for training for appointments on the permanent staff. The continued recruitment of temporary teachers has saved the situation’ (South Australia, Parliament, 1955, No.44, p.4).

The 1953 SAIT Grievance Committee’s determination to mount a publicity campaign to attack the Government on education issues and particularly the emergency teacher training scheme, was apparent in an article published in *The News* in May under the heading, ‘Department getting

education cheaply'. Excerpts from Mr. Davis's speech to the Grievance Committee were published in the daily press before it appeared in the SAIT Journal in June 1953. Mr. Davis claimed that 'education was not getting a fair deal. It's time we woke up to this position and advertised it abroad' (*The News*, 1953, May 18, p.7).

Articles highlighting the problems in schools, which appeared in newspapers, showed clearly that SAIT officials had provided the press with relevant information and statistics to inform the public of the educational problems faced by the State. The detailed information in the articles, as well as the reference to key SAIT officials, is evidence of their source. Because 'the general plea for augmented public funding to overcome the recruitment and training crisis of the 1950s' had been virtually ignored, SAIT 'opted instead for the alternative of putting some pressure on the government by cultivating public opinion' (Hyam, 1992, p.73). Articles on educational issues and teaching standards began to appear in the print media. Concerned over the volume of letters sent from members of the public to the Editor of *The Advertiser*, the Education Department decided to respond. They were not aware that worse was yet to come.

Mr. McDonald, the Deputy Director of Education outlined that:

the Education Department does not usually enter into such controversy, but the statements have been so marked by ignorance of the facts that the following considered article has been prepared with the co-operation of the department officers so that the facts may be seen in their proper perspective (*The Advertiser*, 1953, July 20, p.2).

While at the same time the Department continued to advertise emergency courses in the 'Situations Vacant' section of *The Advertiser* newspaper. An advertisement appeared in July 1953 under the heading, 'Temporary Teachers Special Course of Training' for a period of four and a half months from 3 August 1953 to 17 December, 1953, (*The Advertiser*, 1953, July 7, p.14). A week later a reader sent a letter to the Editor criticising the advertisement. Under the

heading 'Low Standard in Schools', she reported that:

advertisements now appearing are calling for temporary teachers to help overcome the grave shortage of teachers. These, with little or no idea of discipline and management, will be sent out to flounder with a class of 40 to 60 children, and will be more of a menace than a solution to the problem ("Old School", Clare, *The Advertiser*, 1953, July 14, p.4).

Another reader queried, 'Do Adelaide parents realize that most infant schoolteachers are untrained?' (Mrs. J. Wilson, Unley, *The Advertiser*, 1953, August 11, p.13).

In the same month, an article with the heading 'Protest Against Half Trained Teachers' reported that a meeting of Yorke Peninsula teachers on August 11, 1953 had 'expressed alarm at the increasing use of semi-trained teachers by the Education Department. Over three-quarters of the staff of some big schools, are "temporary", or trained by short "pressure-cooked" methods' (*The Advertiser*, 1953, August 12, p.10). In response, three days later a letter sent by Mr. G. Bourne of Queenstown to the Editor criticised the teachers of Yorke Peninsula. 'They should come out from their ivory tower'. He praised untrained teachers, the majority of whom were mothers 'following in the footsteps of Montessori and other great teachers'. It was his view that:

with the understanding and sympathetic help given by the Headmasters and mistresses, the temporary untrained teachers have won respect of most metropolitan parents. Intellectual snobbery and derisive terms as applied to these teachers does not become members of the greatest profession (*The Advertiser*, 1953, August 15, p.4).

In reply to Mr. Bourne's letter, Mr. C.L. Moss, Head Teacher of the Maitland Area School clarified the position of the Yorke Peninsula teachers.

It was not our intention to deprecate the efforts of the "temporary untrained (!) [sic] teachers". Rather it was more that they were arguing the case of the South Australian Institute of Teachers. When the teacher shortage became acute a few years ago, the South Australian Institute of Teachers (SAIT) reluctantly agreed to the introduction of the short course trainee scheme as a temporary expedient. Recently the SAIT protested that the circumstances which brought the short

course trainee scheme into being had been allowed to exist for too long ... other States have not had to resort to the employment of untrained teachers (*The Advertiser*, 1953, August 20, p.4).

Letters critical of the use of emergency teachers continued to be published.

In the interests of our children, the Government should begin at once the process of gradually eliminating them, and replacing them with fully trained teachers. If there is passive resistance to these teachers, it is not personal, but a form of protest against the unnecessary prolonging of this system of training ('Trained', Anzac Highway, *The Advertiser*, 1953, August 28, p.4).

However, several letters were written in support of emergency teachers.

I am sickened by constant reference to the undesirability of temporary unclassified assistants in our schools. These people entered the profession in good faith and are not being given the thanks or encouragement they deserve. If undesirables have crept in, surely this is the fault of those who trained them? (Grateful Mother, Rosewater Gardens, *The News*, 1953, September 1, p.13).

A similar letter of support was published a year later.

I wish to record my appreciation of the wisdom and practical value of the present practice of the Education Department in using the services of married women as teachers in the State schools, particularly in the primary grades. The Department is to be commended for the way in which the school staff problem has been handed [sic] by the employment and training of married women as teachers (Mrs. A. Brookman, Meadows, *The Advertiser*, 1954, October 25, p.30).

Over a three day period from November 24 to 26 1953, journalist Gil Wahlquist, provided with information from SAIT, wrote three articles on the crisis of the State's education system in *The News*. In his first article, he commented that, 'a large part of the work in our metropolitan primary and infant schools (for that is where the unclassified people teach) is done by people not properly trained for the job' (Wahlquist, 1953a, p.15). He used the June 1949 figures from the Commonwealth Office of Education on predicted teacher requirements up to 1953, which had been printed in the *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, (1949, September 20, p.11) to demonstrate that the Department had known of the great need for more teachers, yet had not provided the necessary

finance to properly train the extra staff needed.

In his second article on November 25 under the heading 'Stopgap Methods Will Not Do', Wahlquist elaborated further. 'Unclassified people are a stopgap - a cheap way of getting teachers quickly – a hasty remedy for a situation caused by lack of planning three or four years ago' (Wahlquist, 1953b, p.15).

His third article on November 26 supported SAIT's argument that the number of students at Teachers' College was low because trainees were not paid enough. He used Western Australia as an example of a state which had not 'countenanced the short-course "pressure-cooking" of teachers allowed in SA. They are keeping up standards and teacher numbers' (Wahlquist, 1953c, p.17). According to Wahlquist, Western Australia's strategy of offering higher inducements, such as paying trainee teachers more, had resulted in 800 students being enrolled in Teachers' College, double the figure in South Australia.

The series of articles excited much interest from the public and *The News* published a number of their responses in 'Letters to the Editor'. In defence of her position as a teacher of young children, a lengthy reply was received from one of the 'untrained teachers' referred to by Wahlquist. 'Am I a danger to their little minds? Am I something basically bad, but who must be accepted because of circumstances?' She believed that she 'as a mother, know more about them than do men or single women' ('Trainee Teacher', Norwood, *The News*, 1953, December 12, p.11).

SAIT, realising the power of print media to influence public perception, worked closely in alliance with them to maintain pressure on the Government to change its policy on emergency courses. They gained the support of the editor of *The News* whose editorial comment in the December edition expressed concern over the use of untrained teachers as a 'special tragedy' in

that ‘young children, aged five to seven, in their first and formative years at school, are guided, and in some cases not guided, by the people with no training in educational theory or method’ (*The News*, 1953, December 12, p.4). These comments raised concerns that had previously been expressed by educationalists that the early formative years of children’s education in comparison to the higher levels were seen by some Departmental officials as not as important and could be taught by teachers with a minimum of training.

The Extension of Short Courses to One Year

The intense media campaign of 1953 appeared to achieve its objective of shaming the Education Department over its continued use of short emergency courses. The one term, or three months’ school-based courses held over 1952 and 1953 were replaced in the second half of 1953 and 1954 by ‘about 5 months in practical training at approved schools, with assembly for lectures and demonstrations’ (Education Department Information Handbook, Appendix G). In practice these courses usually lasted four to four and a half months, taking into account two weeks of school holidays. Nevertheless, they represented a period of preparation at least four times longer than the original month of emergency training.

By 1955, as a result of the emergency scheme, the number of temporary teachers had increased to 1,612, a figure representing almost 40% of the total teaching force of 4,294 individuals (Appendix C). This eased the teacher shortage situation to the extent that the Minister of Education was able to announce the introduction of twelve month structured primary and infant courses to commence in the middle of the school year. They were advertised in the print media in May 1955, as commencing in July for women applicants only, of whom approximately 120 were accepted. These courses, while not the two years of training desired by SAIT, were begrudgingly considered more acceptable than previous shorter courses.

The Principal of Adelaide Teachers' College, Dr. Harry Penny, assigned two teachers as 'group lecturers' for the new 'Ae' and 'Ce' courses, as they were known. The 'e' denoted the course as being 'emergency' only and not one conducted at the Teachers' College because there was no room available for them. They were held at Flinders Street Practising School for primary trainees and Gilles Street Practising School for infant trainees. A group lecturer was in charge of each course and responsible for approximately fifty women (several dropped out of the courses in the first few weeks). Lectures were held at the respective schools or at a number of venues in the city, including the Teachers' College. Miss Phyllis Golding was assigned the 'Ae' primary course at Flinders Street Practising School where she was a senior demonstration assistant, and Miss Freida Nichtelein, Infant Mistress at Brighton Primary School, took charge of the 'Ce' infant course at Gilles Street School.

SAIT criticised the fact that for the 120 women applicants selected, only two group lecturers had been provided which showed that not only was there a shortage of teachers in schools, but also lecturers at Adelaide Teachers' College. The 1955 Report of the Minister of Education revealed the shortage of space as well. 'The present Teachers' College has practically reached the limit of possible expansion ... approval has been given for the establishment of a second college' (South Australia, Parliament, 1956, No.44, p.4). Consequently Wattle Park Teachers' College opened in 1957.

Discussing the new twelve month courses, the Minister of Education, Mr. Pattinson, said that, 'the trainees would receive a course of theoretical and practical training under the supervision of the acting Principal of the Teachers' College (Mr. D. A. David)' (*The Advertiser*, 1955, July 6, p.9). Lecturers from the Teachers' College would provide instruction on a wide range of subjects such as English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Method, Hygiene, Music, Nature study, Child

study, Speech and Physical education, Social studies, Needlework and Arts and crafts. Twelve weeks of teaching practice in various metropolitan demonstration schools were also included. These courses thus represented a substantial improvement on the shorter emergency courses in terms of background knowledge and school experience.

It is important to note that concurrent two and three year courses for primary and junior primary students continued to operate in Adelaide Teachers' College at the same time as the emergency courses. In conjunction with the 'Ae' and 'Ce' emergency courses, the Education Department also introduced the 'Ax' (primary) and the 'Cx' (junior primary) training courses. These were one year training courses held at Adelaide Teachers' College for young women under 21 years of age to gain qualifications as infant and lower primary teachers. Additionally, the Junior Teacher Scheme was retained until the 1960s, despite the 1945 Education Inquiry Committee's recommendation that it be abolished. These various options of training ensured that teacher numbers slowly increased to meet the demand.

By August 1955 under the heading 'Problems in Recruitment', SAIT was able to declare that 'the Institute notes with satisfaction that the Department has at last agreed to abandon the very short course of training of teachers in schools' (SAIT, 1955, August, p.1). While SAIT felt the introduction of the twelve month 'Ae' and 'Ce' courses to be 'a great improvement' over the preceding shorter courses, they did not lose sight of their goal of a minimum period of two years as a training requirement for all teachers. They continued their alliance with the print media to pressure the Education Department to end emergency courses.

In practice, the 'Ae' and 'Ce' courses functioned somewhat differently from the way they were advertised. After having completed only half of their training by the end of the year, trainees were usually offered teaching positions to fill vacancies occurring in Departmental schools at the

beginning of the following school year. Paid an allowance of 305 pounds per annum to train, it is not surprising that many of the women, keen to circumvent what they considered an onerous course and begin earning teachers' wages, gladly accepted the chance to teach. This trend was reported in *The News* which claimed that many of the 120 'temporaries' undergoing courses would 'never complete the distance', but would 'be pushed out to fill teaching gaps' long before they had completed their course (Smith, 1956b, p.25). This discrepancy could explain in part the fact that some researchers, including Tabor (1979), referred to the third group of emergency courses as being six months in duration, when in fact, the Education Department advertised the 1952 to 1953 courses as four and a half to five months in duration and the 'Ae' and 'Ce' courses as twelve months.

The Renewed Media Debate 1956

1956 was the year of a state government election in South Australia. The Liberal Party had long been in office and was determined to hold off a challenge from the Labor Party. It provided the impetus for the Education Department to counter negative publicity generated from SAIT's media campaign. In order to improve its public image, the Education Department provided the media with a series of 'good news' stories immediately before the state election. They released figures of a successful recruitment drive for teachers that had produced 'record enrolments' at Teachers' College (*The Advertiser*, 1956, February 8, p.3). Furthermore, it was announced that three more assistant lecturers had been appointed to cope with the record numbers of students in College (*The News*, 1956, February 9, p.6).

The 'good news' continued with a report in *The News* that the South Australian government was to spend more than a million pounds a year for the next three years on school buildings (*The News*, 1956, February 17, p.5). In addition, an article about British teachers taking up

appointments in South Australian schools appeared in *The Advertiser* (1956, February 13, p.2) while the *Sunday Mail* reported, 'Teachers Average 30 Pupils Each'. In this article, Mr. Pattinson, the Minister of Education, was quoted as saying, 'the numbers of full-time teachers had almost doubled in the past 20 years ... the past 7 years had brought 400 more permanent teachers and 1,100 more temporary teachers' (*Sunday Mail*, 1956, February 12, p.7). While the figures were designed to impress the general public, they revealed that the increase in teacher numbers was made up predominantly of emergency teachers from the short courses of teacher training which had been so strongly criticised by SAIT.

To counter the Education Department's 'good news' articles, Mr. D.R. Carmichael, President of SAIT, authorised an advertisement in *The Advertiser* two weeks later both blaming and warning parents for their lack of concern. He claimed that 'but for this apathy governments would not have dared to pursue so niggardly a policy in the matter of education'. While cautioning parents not to be taken in by the figures quoted by the Government, he warned that, 'worst of all, many schools are inadequately staffed. Don't allow this situation to be concealed from you by a smoke-screen of statistics' (Carmichael, 1956a, p.5).

In the battle to change the Education Department's policy on emergency courses, SAIT also gained the support of the Labor Party, whose members realised that supporting SAIT's campaign on education issues would gain it valuable electoral votes from concerned members of the public in the forthcoming election. In an election advertisement, Labor stated that it 'supports wholeheartedly the demand for a better deal for schools' and promised to address important educational issues, particularly the lack of trained teachers, stating that, 'through lack of Government planning, this State is faced with an acute shortage of properly trained teachers. A situation which, unless prompt drastic action is taken, will get progressively worse and lead to

truly chaotic conditions' (*The Advertiser*, 1956, February 29, p.19).

In the lead up to the State election held on March 3 1956, the incumbent Liberal Government placed several political advertisements in the print media. One entitled, 'South Australia in the Midst of Unprecedented Prosperity because the Playford Government Looks Ahead!' was repeated numerous times in the daily newspapers. Among the list of many achievements which the government extolled, education ranked high. It was claimed that:

since 1947 the number of children from 5-15 years has increased by 64% in South Australia (only 43% for all Australia) and the careful planning of the Playford Government has resulted in the provision of schools and teachers for all of them. By 1958 there will be 150,000 school children in South Australia and plans to provide full educational facilities for them are already well advanced (*The Advertiser*, 1956, March 1, p.13).

The Labor Party, however, disputed the Liberal government's assertions that there were adequate teachers for the increased numbers of pupils. In an article published in *The News*, Mr. Don Dunstan, a social reformer and future Premier of South Australia, insisted that the claims were 'misleading', in that, 'most of the teachers forming the increase in staff were unclassified. The number of unclassified temporary teachers in the SA Education Department had increased from 63 in 1945 to 692 in 1954' (*The News*, 1956, March 2, p.6). The apparent inconsistency between Dunstan's figures and those of the Minister may be explained by Dunstan's more exact terminology.

After the Liberal government was returned to office, the President of SAIT, despairing of ever changing the government's position on emergency courses, complained in an article in the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* titled, 'Staff Situation is Worsening' of the 'high class-loading and dilution of the service with insufficiently trained personnel - for years we have been patching patches. When will it be realised that the present system only creates a vicious circle? The system is neither

economical nor good for education' (SAIT, 1956, June, p.5).

Over the following months, SAIT endeavored to keep the debate on the educational situation in South Australia in the public forum. Three articles by journalist, Ted Smith, entitled 'Crisis in SA Education' appeared in *The News* in 1956 from August 29 to 31. Basing his articles on information provided by SAIT and the annual Reports of the Minister of Education in the Parliamentary Papers, Smith stressed that the State school system was in a 'muffled crisis' and had been that way since the end of the Second World War. Increasing the inadequate supply of teachers with temporary staff taken from what he referred to as 'the ranks of suburban housewives', was inappropriate (Smith, 1956a, p.21). The second article claimed that 'the Education Department's chief short-range weapons against the advancing pupil numbers are the "pressure cookers"' (Smith, 1956b, p.25). In his third article, Smith stated that allowances for Teachers' College students and pay for teachers should be increased in order to attract and keep teachers in the system (Smith, 1956c, p.19).

Smith's second article prompted the earlier mentioned article by Westgarth, a member of the SAIT Journal Committee, as well as Master of Method at Gilles Street Practising School, where the 'Ce' course was held. He refuted the notion that twelve month courses were similar to previous shorter courses. The intensive nature of the course and its equivalence to the one year courses at Teachers' College meant that it was far removed from earlier short courses. 'Only the ignorant could justly label those who complete the present course, pressure cookers' (Westgarth, 1956, p.16). This point of view was reiterated by a number of emergency teachers from the twelve month courses and is discussed further in following chapters.

Smith's series of articles attracted a number of comments from readers, with several published in the Letters to the Editor section in *The News* under the heading 'Readers' Open Forum on Crisis

in SA Education' (*The News*, 1956, September 5, p.33). One reader with the pseudonym 'Brother' was critical of the Department, querying, 'when the Education Department itself puts so little value on training, how can it attract the genuine trainee to its very depleted ranks?' Another criticised Smith.

The description "pressure cooker" teachers is degrading. The temporary teachers are to be praised for their valuable work. How many trained teachers would have had mental breakdowns had it not been for the help given by temporary teachers? (Karli Chutz, North Adelaide, *The News*, 1956, September 5, p.33).

The comments did not abate and continued to be published in Letters to the Editor under the heading 'More Readers' Views on Education'. A.S. Tothill (*The News*, 1956, September 13, p.27) responded, 'our children are not getting the best of deals in their overcrowded schools ... it would be better still if the teacher shortage was rectified'.

After the furore caused by Smith's articles in *The News*, there was a respite in the intense media campaign waged by SAIT with only occasional articles on education issues appearing over the next few years.

The Ending of an Era

The Education Minister declared in his Annual Report at the end of 1956 that:

the total number of full-time teachers employed at the end of the school year was 4,294 of whom 57.3 per cent were women. The majority of these women, 63.4 per cent, were employed as temporary teachers of whom almost exactly half were certificated or classified, and the remainder were unclassified (South Australia, Parliament, 1957, No.44, p.5).

A year later the Minister's Report expressed concerns made previously.

although the total number of unclassified teachers, permanent and temporary, remains higher than is considered desirable – for each of the last three years it has been approximately 22 per

cent – it is satisfactory to note that a considerable number of these teachers acquire classified status by passing the prescribed examinations (South Australia, Parliament, 1958, No.44, p.5).

However, he went on to say:

it has again been necessary to hold special short courses of training for women desiring appointments as Temporary Unclassified Assistants. Of the hundred women who undertook the course, which commenced in July 1956, 81 completed it and received appointments in 1957. In July 1957 50 women commenced a course of training for primary school work at Flinders Street Practising School. At the end of the year there were 95 women still attending these courses (South Australia, Parliament, 1958, No.44, p.6).

In following years, the Minister of Education when providing statistics of the numbers of temporary teachers within the Department, made no mention of unclassified teachers at all, possibly in an attempt to downplay the significant numbers of teachers employed or training in ‘special’ courses. Though some unclassified teachers did go on to do further study to gain teacher classification, the emergency teachers themselves suggested in Chapter Six that it was not the majority.

SAIT criticism was renewed in the July 1958 edition of the *S.A. Teachers’ Journal*. An article, ‘The Diary of a Teacher’ claimed that twelve month trained temporary teachers were analogous to or comparable to ‘a milkman diluting his milk with water’. This attracted the ire of several readers, one of whom commented, ‘to liken us to “water” instead of milk and to state that the Dept.[sic]- and worse still - the children will suffer if left to our care is an insult’ (SAIT, 1958, July, p.7). However, Union criticism was tempered by the fact that the Education Department had recognised the need for a ‘vigorous recruitment scheme for the supply of teachers for the future and if anticipated results are achieved, teaching numbers will rise with a corresponding reduction of the percentage of unclassified teachers’ (SAIT, 1958, July, p.15).

By June 1959, the President of the S.A. Institute of Teachers, Mr. Davis, stated in the President's Address for the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* that, 'the time is now ripe to abandon emergency courses and soon to look towards a three-year course' (Davis, 1959, p.15). This was based on the understanding that the Recruitment and Training Branch of the Department was vigorously pursuing a recruitment drive for secondary students to enter Teachers' College, the success of which heralded the end of the emergency scheme. This positive attitude was also apparent when the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* congratulated Mr. Albert Jones on his appointment as Superintendent of Teacher Recruitment and Training in December 1959. A year later SAIT's new President, Mr. Golding, said that the appointment of Mr. Jones 'together with a vigorous recruiting campaign, have shown that there is a very definite understanding [by the Education Department] of the need for both more and better trained teachers' (SAIT, 1960, February, p.14). This optimism for the future marked the end of SAIT's media campaign.

In June 1960, *The News* reported that the Education Minister, Mr. Pattinson, had declared that at the end of June 1960 another 'special' one year primary school training course was to commence 'to provide staff for the influx of about 4,000 new children at the mid-year enrolments'. He went on to say that the group of 55 women were 'the most highly selective we have had' because they all had 'qualifications at least to Intermediate standard'. More importantly he announced that 'there would be no special course this year for training adult women for teaching infant classes as it was considered the number of outgoing students - about 120 - from the infant courses at Adelaide Teachers' College would meet next year's demands' (*The News*, 1960, June 22, p.5). This sounded the death knell of the emergency courses, and nothing noteworthy about them was reported in the newspapers in the coming years.

The number of secondary students entering Teachers' College for training, particularly in the junior primary and primary areas, resulted in increased numbers of trained, permanent and classified teachers being appointed to schools. The Superintendent of the Recruitment and Training Branch, Mr. Albert Jones, had provided figures for the Education Minister that showed trainees in Teachers' Colleges had markedly increased from 1950 when there were a 'total of 679 in training, to 3,676 in 1961' (South Australia, Parliament, 1962, No.44, p.5). Moreover, primary school student numbers which had increased from 61,979 in 1947, to 126,185 in 1958, peaked in 1962 to 138,225 (South Australia, Parliament, 1963, No.44, p.7). The progression of these students to secondary schools meant that the emergency scheme that trained teachers in the primary and junior primary sector was no longer needed.

The twelve month 'Ce' infant courses ceased in 1960, and final 'Ae' primary course which had commenced in mid 1961 concluded in mid 1962. In the Report of the Minister of Education in 1963, Mr. Baden Pattinson, officially declared the end of the emergency scheme. 'It has been found possible to discontinue the holding of "emergency" training courses which were necessary for many years in order to obtain teachers for our primary and infant schools' (South Australia, Parliament, 1964, No.44, p.7). Furthermore, no measures to increase teacher numbers were retained. Even the scheme to attract trained teachers from the United Kingdom, an ongoing process since 1947, ceased. As the Minister explained, 'The scheme whereby the Agent-General for South Australia in London interviewed applicants for employment as teachers in the Department came to an end in December 1962' (South Australia, Parliament, 1964, No.44, p.7).

It is worth noting that no emergency courses for teaching at secondary level were ever organised, gazetted, or advertised. However, there is evidence that the Department employed people with work experience but no educational qualifications or training, in the areas of Domestic Arts, Arts

and Crafts, Technical Studies and Commercial subjects. This also applied to academic subjects in some cases, but to a lesser degree. Men and women with a B.A. or B.Sc. degree, but no educational training, were admitted directly into teaching. For the one secondary teacher included in this research, her training consisted of several weeks' observation at the local school. This seems to have been an individual arrangement made, possibly between the Principal and Inspector, rather than an official publicly advertised course.

As emergency courses ceased, issues of teacher shortage and quality were barely mentioned in the *S.A. Teachers' Journal*. For its part, SAIT turned its attention to other important issues for its members such as expanding the Teachers' College, increasing salaries and superannuation. These were important concerns for both men and women. In the case of women, important gains were made in the next decade, mainly as a result of union pressure. Debates by SAIT specific to permanency for married women (SAIT, 1958, September, p.15) and promotion (SAIT, 1959, June, p.14) resulted in their implementation. The deletion of Regulation 10 of Part XXIV of Education Department Regulations in 1972 (*The Education Gazette*, 1972, November 22, p.341) marked the end of the temporary status of all married women teachers, including emergency teachers, and secured professional status for all women in the Education Department.

The extent of the contribution made by emergency courses to teaching staff in schools is revealed by statistics from the Education Department Information Handbook. These show that in 1947 there had been 2,651 full-time teachers. This figure had increased by only 601 in 1951, but leapt in bounds yearly until 1960, when there was a total of 5,868 full-time teachers, more than double the 1947 total (see Appendix C). As many as 3,897 of these were in primary schools according to the 1960 Report of the Minister of Education (South Australia, Parliament, 1961, No.44, p.5). When the Minister of Education reported the emergency scheme had ceased in 1962, total teacher

numbers were 6,851 of which 4,360 were primary teachers. Temporary teachers, of which women represented the largest portion, totaled 2,515 and represented 36.7% of the total primary staff (South Australia, Parliament, 1963, No.44, p.5). Compared to preceding years, the figures do not vary significantly. Temporary teachers were still a substantial section of the total teaching force in South Australian public schools.

While this proportion of temporary and unclassified teachers could not be considered a wholly satisfactory outcome for the Department, it provided financial benefits. The female temporary unclassified assistants were paid at a much lower rate than female classified assistants whose salaries were again lower in comparison to men. These discrepancies can be illustrated from figures which are available for the year 1953, during which the average salary for classified men on full time permanent staff in primary schools ranged from 730 pounds per annum in their first year of adult service, to 1,030 pounds in their thirteenth year. The average salary for the classified women on full time permanent staff in primary schools was 572 pounds in their first year of adult service up to 872 pounds in their thirteenth year. For the unclassified assistants (no men were mentioned) in primary schools, the average salary for women ranged from 469 pounds in their first year of service of adult service to 667 pounds in their eighth year. By 1961 the salary for unclassified assistants in primary schools ranged from 690 pounds in their first year of adult service to 896 pounds in their eighth year (see Appendix E).

These figures demonstrate that the employment of large numbers of temporary women teachers, both classified and, in particular, those who were unclassified, enabled the South Australian Government to make large savings in wage costs. The emergency courses had proved to be a cost effective and successful short term strategy for the Education Department to combat the teacher shortage problem.

The Women's Perspective

This chapter provides a chronological overview of the emergency teacher training courses from their introduction in 1948, their subsequent operation and modification and their eventual phasing out by 1962. The Government's 1945 Education Inquiry Report to the Minister of Education, Annual Reports of the Minister of Education to Parliament and internal Departmental documents, as well as *The Education Gazette* from the Education Department, provides the official perspective on the emergency teacher training scheme. The more critical public response to this policy was highlighted in reports of the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* and newspaper articles in *The News*, *The Advertiser* and the *Sunday Mail*.

Both these sources largely ignore the perspective of those who took the opportunity to become teachers under the emergency provisions. The following chapters investigate the emergency teacher training scheme from the perspective of the women who formed the overwhelming majority of those who were employed in this capacity.

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA I:
AN OPPORTUNITY TOO GOOD TO MISS

The Nature of the Opportunity

This chapter is the first of five that will concentrate on the recollections of women participants in the emergency scheme, telling the story from their direct experience and recollections. These chapters canvass the women's experiences as applicants, trainees and teachers, as well as their views on the success or otherwise of the emergency scheme. Chapter Five presents an analysis of the interview data in relation to two key questions:

1. Why did the women apply to become pressure cooker teachers?
2. How were they selected?

In regards to the first question, one Education Officer summed up the most commonly expressed response.

It was a golden opportunity when they saw this advertisement (EO4).

A number of the women interviewed (PC7, PC15, PC16, PC18 and PC21), indicated that they recognised immediately the opportunity that the emergency scheme offered them.

I would say the deciding factor was that the opportunity is there. He who hesitates is lost (PC21).

For others, including PC10, PC17 and PC22, recognition of what an opportunity it was came only with hindsight.

I look back now, and appreciate that I had the opportunity to do what I did (PC33).

To understand the full significance of this opportunity for these women, it is necessary to remember the post-war social context. After the Second World War industrial development and a surging economy, combined with mass migration, made possible opportunities for work and improved living conditions, thus generating greater optimism for the future. A large number of women who had occupied male orientated jobs during the war, returned to their previous work or the domestic sphere when servicemen returned to civilian life. As indicated in Chapter Two, the popular magazine of the time, *The Australian Women's Weekly*, portrayed the image of married women as 'perfect wives', domesticated creatures surrounded by numerous modern appliances to make household duties easier and allow more time to be devoted to their husbands and children. For many women, this view of domesticity was a distortion and mythology, which did not reflect their reality.

During and immediately after the war years, many servicemen formed relationships and started families, their children being referred to as 'baby boomers'. What has not been generally known and became apparent only through discussion with the women respondents, was that a significant number of these marriages irretrievably broke down, leaving many women as deserted wives and divorcees, who would today be referred to as 'single mothers'. There were also married women whose husbands had died, suffered ill health from war service, or had substance abuse problems. Since they were unable to provide adequate financial support for their families, their wives needed to seek work to provide for or supplement the family income. Also, migrant women sought additional income to establish their families in a new country. Since social services were not yet widely available, such women were forced to find work in the administrative, retail or the industrial sectors. This usually meant long hours with few holidays. Access to reliable child care was problematic and most women turned to their extended families, friends, or even neighbours to help care for their children while they worked. The South Australian Education Department's

emergency teacher training scheme in the 1950s proved a very attractive proposition for these women, providing the perfect opportunity to secure work and a much needed income without the need for child care. This was the major concern for the participants of this study.

Motives for Becoming Pressure Cooker Teachers

An interview question posed to the participants of the emergency teacher training courses sought to establish their reasons for taking up teaching. The categories of reasons discussed below were not mutually exclusive, as many respondents mentioned more than one.

In the opinion of one Education Officer, there were many different reasons for women wanting to become emergency teachers.

It varied. It varied. One wanted new carpets; one wanted to put her children through college. Some wanted to get into teaching because they thought it would be a good job to get into. So they had a variety of reasons (EO5).

Another Education Officer summed up what she believed were the main reasons for many women. The comment reflects aspects that have been discussed previously.

I found that there were very similar motives for going into teaching. Firstly it was a good, secure, reasonably well paid job. It coincided with the school hours of their own children. A number were deserted wives or widows who needed to find work, and obviously if they did something like secretarial work, it was long hours and their kids would be latch-key kids, and they didn't want that. And then they saw this ad for teacher training and they jumped to get it. So a lot of them would not necessarily take it for the love of children, or the interest in teaching (EO11).

The majority of respondents voiced similar concerns about of the need to secure paid work to support themselves and their children or to supplement their husband's wage.

Quite a few of us quietly were looking around at least to supplement an income (PC14).

Education Officers, including EO5, EO7 and EO8, corroborated this. The women's different circumstances, which had led to their need to earn an income, are discussed below.

Deserted, divorced or widowed women

Deserted, divorced and widowed women with dependent children, no family assistance and little or no income, found themselves in dire straits. Several women spoke of their personal anguish at the break-up of their marriage, the pain still evident though many years had passed. These comments have not been included to respect their privacy.

Responses from PC14, PC15, PC19 and PC22 were similar to the one below.

It was difficult with the little fellow. I had worries knowing that I had to go off and work to try and get some money just to feed and clothe him. I was not getting any maintenance at all and my living conditions were not as happy as I would like them to be (PC16).

As word of the availability of teaching positions spread, an Officer in the staffing section of the Education Department at the time, found himself dealing with increasingly larger numbers of desperate women clamouring for jobs.

People came in off the streets for jobs in tears because their husbands had deserted them (EO14).

Widows experienced similar financial problems as divorcees and deserted wives, struggling to support their children.

I had to work, that's all there was to it, I had to work. I didn't care what. I wanted to get the job. My motivation was that I had to live! I had a war widow's pension that I lived on. I used to rob Peter to pay Paul (PC2).

One respondent described her plight after her husband died, leaving her with a small child. She had married young, and with minimal schooling, only found poorly paid menial work.

I was left with not much in the way of a career and a little boy to support. I did a stint of house keeping. I mean what do you do if you've not been trained for anything? You see back then, you didn't get the sort of help you get now. I mean even to get a widow's pension, I had to wait for a certain length of time you know, and if I hadn't had relatives, I don't know what would have happened to us. We were at the mercy of the elements. I hadn't had training to do office work or anything like that, so I did sewing for a shop at one stage, but that was not terribly lucrative. I mean you don't get a heck of lot when you're sewing for a shop. It's sort of like factory work and so I was very glad that I was able to get in, for which I was forever grateful (PC6).

Married women assisting with inadequate family incomes

Well, for the first time we had some money (PC33).

Some women's husbands were not able to adequately support the family due to unemployment, low wages, or substance abuse that wreaked havoc on the financial stability of the family.

We got into financial difficulties and in order to make ends meet we needed to have more income and so we decided I'd have to take on some sort of work. Financially we had to have some more money and I had to do something, and I just felt it was the easiest way for me to do it. It would be the most convenient and the most appropriate with three young children (PC17).

Several respondents in difficult marriages led separate lives from their husbands. The following respondent received housekeeping money begrudgingly from her husband and teaching made her financially independent of him.

I thought it was magnificent to have some money. I never had any money of my own and now I have (PC11).

Married women with chronically ill husbands

Several women mentioned the chronic ill health of their husbands, many of whom were ex-service men. They lived with the ever present worry that their husbands might die prematurely, leaving them without adequate means of support.

Three other respondents (PC13, PC16 and PC21) spoke of situations similar to the one described below.

Actually, my local doctor said to me, because my husband had blackouts; had his first heart attack when he was 32 or 33. He said, "Do something for yourself, because one day you might be on your own". I suppose that was always in my mind. I'll do this teaching, in case something happens to my husband (PC1).

Newly arrived migrants

Women who migrated to Australia from other countries mentioned the importance of finding work as soon as possible to establish their family in a new country. This was particularly the case for migrants from Great Britain who because of their command of the English language and confidence in their ability to communicate effectively did not hesitate to take up teaching. It is worth noting that in this study a considerable proportion of the respondents in this study were immigrants from Great Britain. There were a number of respondents, including PC4 and PC10, who put the view most clearly indicated below.

We came out to Australia and needed to find work to get the family established and buy a house (PC28).

A British migrant recalled a chance meeting that was the turning point of her life.

I met an English lady on a bus who said, “Well, I’m going in to the Education Department. They’re starting this new scheme and they’re taking people on who haven’t taught, but they’re going to put them into schools and sort of pick up as much as they can. I’m going to try and get into this scheme. Why don’t you come in with me? You won’t lose anything”. I thought, “Why not?” (PC12).

Married women wanting a better lifestyle

A number of respondents without such family difficulties wanted additional incomes to enjoy a more affluent lifestyle. Respondents PC7, PC8, PC20 and PC32 voiced similar opinions to the ones below.

Cream on the cake. Of course there was more money in the family itself, as my husband earned enough (PC9).

It enabled us to bring up three teenage girls, give them all the opportunities where they learnt musical instruments and sporting things we would take them to. We couldn’t have done it on my husband’s salary (PC17).

They wanted to send their children to private schools, and you know that kind of thing (EO18).

Oh, it was nice to buy wall to wall carpets and if you could go to work then you could probably have all kinds of nice things in the house that you would not have had otherwise; to keep up with the Joneses (EO7).

Eliminating the need for child care

The principle reason that teaching was so attractive to mature age women with children, regardless of their marital status, was that working hours and holidays corresponded with those of their school age children. To be home when the children came home and most importantly to be with them during the school holidays while on paid leave was particularly attractive. This

virtually eliminated the need for child care. No other work could provide hours so conducive to family life and was the overwhelming response of the women interviewed.

It was a nice job because you could be at home when the children came home, and you could be having the school holidays when the children were having the school holidays. A secure job to work 9 to 4, and to be home when the children came home from school (EO7).

It was the easiest way for me to manage with three children. I could be away while they were at school in the same hours. I knew that over the years I would be with my children, because the hours and holidays would be the most convenient and the most appropriate with three young children (PC17).

I would never have done anything else because I would never be away when the children came home, and I would be with them for all holidays. I would never have considered not being with them (PC11).

These views were shared by PC4, PC9, PC14, PC19, PC22, PC30, and PC31.

Two respondents were adamant that teaching took second place to their children.

I'm afraid my main thing was children. My thought was children. I hate to say it, but teaching was a secondary thing to me. Always if anything had to be left, it would be teaching. Home and children were first. Yes, I'm old fashioned that way. If it interfered with the family, I wouldn't have done it (PC25).

The idea was that should anything happen, you know if the kids were sick or something like that, then I was the one who'd throw the job in, I mean obviously because it was just temporary (PC5).

These comments reflect what Lortie referred to as women's 'lack of commitment' which was discussed in Chapter Two. However, this is a very common socialised attitude for women.

For two respondents (PC3 and PC13) taking up teaching depended on convincing their husbands that they could combine work with the care of their children.

I said to him, "I'll be leaving with the children in the morning, and I'll be coming home with them. They wouldn't be alone" (PC13).

Even though they preferred not to, some women had no choice but to place their children in care while they worked. Two respondents, PC5 and PC17, were fortunate to have neighbours willing to care for their children.

I didn't like the idea of leaving her very much, but next door to us lived a couple who had never had any children and were very fond of my girls. She said, "Oh I'd love to look after her", so she looked after her for two years. She was marvelous (EO17).

School holidays were a major concern for many women as they needed to arrange adequate supervision for their children. Respondents PC2, PC4, PC5, PC6, PC8, PC12, PC16, and PC22 expressed views similar to the one below.

I was a receptionist in one of the big hospitals here, but I found it rather hard as the children got to school going age. The school holidays were a problem. I was very lucky I lived with my parents and they were wonderful to me, but school holidays were a problem with the two girls having to be kept busy and not worrying Nana and Poppa. I needed the money and I needed a job where I could be with my girls. Having only three weeks holiday with my job and my girls on holidays five or six weeks through the Christmas period or more, well it just suited me (PC19).

When the safety of her son was jeopardised, the following respondent decided to leave her office job and go into teaching.

And when schools were having holidays, so would my child be, and we would be able to be together and I'd be able to look after him and keep an eye on him too. I wanted him to feel that he had some kind of security of home life if I was there for him, because there had been a couple of things that happened when he was growing up. At that time it was all the television business when they were all playing cowboys and Indians and were hanging people from the trees, which somebody had tried to do with him. I had come home one day and found the burn marks around his neck and I thought, well, I can't be away from my child any more (PC16).

Satisfying unfulfilled aspirations

I suppose I'd satisfied my own inner something (PC1).

The majority of women interviewed grew up in the Depression years between the two World Wars, a time when women's lives were constrained socially and legally. Several women expressed a deep sense of regret at not having had the opportunity to construct their own identities as individuals. Only later in life were they able to articulate the importance of achieving personal ambitions and doing more with their lives. One respondent felt this keenly after marriage and motherhood. Three other respondents, PC3, PC18 and PC33, expressed similar views.

Yes, that was the molding of our lives in those days. We were supposed to settle down and do as we were told, but a few of us, I suppose, well we must have been bits of rebels. And yet I never thought I was a rebel, I just knew what I wanted, I wanted more. I had to do it myself. I thought I have to achieve something. I was getting sort of frustrated because I wasn't doing something, or I never achieved something. I felt teaching was enrichment or something that I'd achieved (PC3).

Unfulfilled ambitions for teaching

A number of women indicated in their comments that they had always wanted to be teachers.

I always thought they were people who came into the job because they were 'frustrated teachers'. They had never had the opportunity to do the training. They'd wanted to be teachers but for some reason they hadn't completed high school. Their parents couldn't afford it. You know all those sorts of things came into it (EO18).

Education Officers were contemporaries of the emergency teachers and many had experienced similar financial hardships during the Depression years. They were sympathetic to those women who were denied the chance to access higher education and the opportunity to become teachers,

and were genuinely pleased to see them finally realise their dream. Education Officers including EO3, EO5, EO6, EO7, and EO16 expressed similar views to the one below.

They were mostly, I'd say over 90%, very dedicated women who went into teaching, not just for the money they were getting, but because they'd always wanted to be a teacher and hadn't had an opportunity to be one (EO3).

For women from working class backgrounds in the pre-war period, higher education had been unthinkable because of the financial hardship for their families. Universities at that time required full fees for courses to be paid up-front which these women would have found hard to obtain.

For many in those days it was for financial reasons. It was during the Depression, and they had to go out and earn something to help with the family finances, and a lot of them who might otherwise [have] done quite well had no opportunity to go into high school. A lot of them, as soon as they were 14, left school. Very few looked beyond that except those from professional families where there was that particular encouragement (PC22).

Two respondents PC32 and PC35 commented that any money their parents had available for education was for the boys in the family, as they would be the “breadwinners”, while further education for girls was wasted as their future lay in marriage and children.

I wanted to be a teacher badly, but Mum couldn't afford it. I grizzled about it, but my parents couldn't afford it and the boys got the first preference. “You're only a girl and the boys need a good education” (PC32).

One respondent found a way around this.

I always wanted to be a teacher, but of course I had to leave school early and wasn't able to, and so I did the next best thing and married a teacher (PC6).

Many women had been channeled into clerical work which was considered a suitable occupation for females. This view was shared by respondents PC16, PC17, PC26 and PC36.

I think I always wanted to be a teacher, but everybody else that I was at school with was leaving and going into office work, and that's what I did. I think I sort of wanted to teach, but you know I'd done a commercial course and everyone else was getting a job in an office, and I did what everyone else did (PC36).

The following respondent did not question the attitudes prevalent towards females in society at the time.

I've never ever, even at school, been told that there was an opportunity for me to go in teaching. I mean we weren't encouraged into anything at all (PC4).

One respondent wanted to be a teacher, but was prevented from doing so by the necessity of caring for her mother and working on the family farm.

That was my aim really, from girlhood on. I always wanted to be a teacher. It was something I spoke of when I was 12 or 13 when I worked on the farm. I always wanted to be a teacher, but I was needed on the farm because my mother wasn't well. I was the only girl on the farm to help my mother. I've always had this in the back of my mind so it didn't take much encouragement (PC7).

For several respondents, PC1, PC3, PC7 and PC16, becoming a teacher was the culmination of a 'childhood dream'.

It was just a childhood dream I think. I always sort of wanted to be a teacher. It was a childhood ambition that hadn't been reached and I thought it was my one big opportunity to do it, even if I didn't make a success of it (PC1).

Some women reflected on childhood games playing 'teachers'. This was a significant indication that they had always fostered the desire to teach.

A lot of my play as a child was being a teacher (PC9).

Escaping the restrictions of domesticity

Several respondents, PC9, PC18, PC20 and PC25, felt that domestic duties and caring for young children were not emotionally or intellectually satisfying. They needed the stimulus of interests outside the home and believed a career would facilitate contact with like-minded people and provide them with new experiences.

It was boring. I wanted to do other things. I didn't want to make beds and sweep the floors. My husband and I talked about it earlier, and we both decided that it was no use my staying home. I would only be bored to tears. I had to go back into a career of some sort (PC9).

One respondent believed that she could not justify remaining at home without other interests to occupy her time because of her intelligence and education.

I had enough education, enough experience, to know it wasn't any good at my age just sitting down twiddling my thumbs. Well, to give me an outlet for my energy and an income (PC14).

In particular, British migrants upon arrival, found themselves living in hostels where there was little to do after their husband went to work and the older children went to school. Their boredom sharpened the desire to find work.

When I first came over here we were in the hostel and I said, "Well, I'm not hanging around here". Well, it was awful really to be hanging around there all day doing nothing, only children running amok (PC4).

The following respondent poignantly describes the sense of isolation she felt in a new housing estate after the family had left for the day.

I was up there in a new house with very few people around. I could stand on my back verandah and I could see cars going up the Main North Road, and on the front verandah I could see the train. I had vacant blocks either side of me. I was really finding it hard to fill the time in, to give me something to do, to get me out of that lonely house. Anything to find something to do! (PC13).

The need for social contact

Some women isolated at home felt the need to be out in the world meeting and possibly forming relationships with other people. For the following respondent, work allowed her the opportunity to mix with other people, especially like-minded women.

Meeting women and other people. Mainly stretching out of the home (PC9).

One respondent bemoaned the fact that teaching was not the ideal place to meet eligible men, as primary schools were staffed predominantly with women. Also teaching duties restricted her opportunities to seek meaningful relationships.

I don't think teaching is the ideal for being out in the world, frankly. You feel restricted in your circle. You are restricted first of all in your classroom with your pupils, then you are restricted to the staff whom you met very briefly in the staff room at lunchtime. And you had your house to run, and when you took up your studies to get your qualifications, that took up a lot of your time. It entered into your social life. Would I have met people if I had done another job? I don't know whether I might in business fields. I found that both my husband and son made their permanent friends that lasted their lifetime from college days, both of them, but a widow doesn't have that opportunity, in those days (PC18).

For another it was the reverse situation. When her marriage ended in an acrimonious divorce, she deliberately chose to teach in infant schools. She did this in the knowledge that they were dominated by women and thus she could avoid having any dealings with men.

I said I'd definitely wanted to be infant school teaching and when asked why, I said, "Well, I had a bad experience with a man and I don't want to be mixed up with men any more" (PC14).

From the number and range of comments made above, we can deduce that there were varied reasons as to why the women chose to pursue a teaching career on offer from the South Australian Education Department.

Attracting Applicants to the Emergency Courses

When the teacher shortage peaked in South Australia during the 1950s, the Education Department was forced to take desperate measures in order to adequately staff schools with burgeoning classes. The result, in many instances, was to take on anyone willing to teach. As one respondent said:

We walked in off the street and were made teachers (PC1).

The tactics used to procure teachers prompted Education Officers to express their concerns about the relative ease with which some people became teachers.

That was the joke of saying that they got teachers. You'd go down the street and say, "Oh would you like to be a teacher? Well, come and start Monday". That was a sort of a joke, but they were that easy (EO22).

There is evidence to suggest that the Department even used contentious practices to obtain teachers, such as employing former students previously expelled from Teachers' College.

They didn't have properly trained teachers in the school because these women, who were thrown out of Teachers' College for incompetence after teaching practice or failing everything, went to Flinders Street and were hired on the spot (EO1).

The desperation for teachers was also evident in the tactics employed by some schools, particularly those in outlying suburbs. The following extract describes one extreme strategy used with newly arrived immigrants.

It was always in the paper when the boats were coming into Outer Harbour, and someone was dispatched to meet the boat because we needed another teacher. "Do you want a job? You're new to the country, you need money" and all this. I know we got Mrs. S. that way. I think her husband put his foot down and said she was going to have at least a fortnight to settle in before she started working (PC13).

From the recollections of respondents, it was apparent that various methods were used to attract women into emergency teaching. The following sections discuss some of the ways and means by which the women came to apply for the teaching opportunities on offer.

Advertisements

The Department's official approach was to advertise the emergency courses of teacher training for interested persons on the radio or in the print media. This advertising brought a flood of inquiries from women. The majority of respondents, PC1, PC2, PC4, PC9, PC14, PC15, PC17, PC25, PC28, PC29 and PC35, made similar observations to the following report.

It was everywhere on the wireless. It was in the paper. They were calling for people to take up teaching, because they just did not have enough teachers (PC2).

The following respondent describes the content of the advertisements.

Well, they had in the papers about the shortage of teachers. "If you feel you could teach, or you would like to teach and you have done so and so, and to what stage did you get in your education, Intermediate or Leaving certificate. Were you in the Girl Guides or a Sunday school teacher? Have you had any experience with children and if you have children of your own" (PC3).

Friends, acquaintances, or word of mouth

Two respondents, including PC16, recalled members of their family drawing their attention to the advertisements.

My mother sent me this cutting out of the paper asking for people to nominate for one month's training to become temporary teachers. So, I filled it in and sent it back, and I had a letter from the Department to come in and meet with Mr. Leach, which I did (PC36).

Several respondents, PC2, PC8, PC15 and PC35, heard of the emergency courses from friends or

acquaintances that had seen or heard the advertisements.

A friend of mine talked me into going. She said, "Well, why don't you get into the Education Department, they are calling for teachers". And so I applied to do that and I got in (PC2).

Occasionally the emergency courses were just brought up in general conversation.

I'd heard of the, I'll say pressure cooker course, just in general talking with people. I applied and then I was accepted to do it (PC19).

The local church or community were others sources of information.

I probably heard about the courses through my network of community and church activities (PC27).

One respondent was encouraged by an acquaintance who had previously done the course.

I'd heard about this from someone I knew. I happened to get on the same bus she was on, and she told me that she was teaching. She said, "You know, you'd like this". She said that it was so convenient for her. She liked the actual work and she had children. I thought it might be a good idea, so anyway I applied (PC5).

Former teachers

Teachers who had been required to resign due to the marriage-bar, wives of teachers and teachers who had retired, were keenly sought by Principals to staff their schools. Even though they might not have taught for many years, their training, skills and experience were still highly regarded. They were particularly useful because they did not require any training or supervision.

Yes, I remember that happening, that people who had been teachers were contacted to see if they were willing to come back. That must have been a terrible situation for Principals to be in (PC35).

Returning teachers, regardless of the level of their initial training were generally placed in junior primary classes, where there was the greatest need. One former teacher recalled a Principal begging her to teach. After returning to teaching, she eventually became a Principal and experienced her own staffing problems.

The Principal rang me in tears. She had been told I was a teacher, and she begged me to come and teach at her school. When I became a Principal I was still having to find teachers for myself. If I could find a teacher I could have them. They'd say, "What's her name, where is she?" and they'd send out the appropriate papers. They'd been teachers, but they'd retired or they'd given up because they had a family. I rang up and said, "Look, can I get this teacher?" (EO18).

A former secondary teacher took a temporary position at the local primary school to replace a sick teacher, but it became a continuing position.

I was a housewife on the Mother's Committee, and they learnt I had been teaching. The Headmaster asked would I consider coming in for a few weeks until the teacher came out of hospital, and I thought, well I can do that. Unfortunately he died, so they asked me would I stay on for the term. When I finished the term in '54 I had contact from the Education Department in the school holidays, would I consider coming back full time as a temporary assistant. And that's how I began primary teaching (PC17).

Retired teachers, commonly known as 're-treads', were re-employed as temporary teachers.

Some of the older ones when they retired still went back teaching to help out in the schools because they were so short (PC24).

Wives of teachers

In small rural schools, wives of teachers would often teach the youngest children, take the girls for needlework classes and clean the school with little or no remuneration for their services. Their knowledge of school routines and teaching practices made them valuable assets for the Education Department. One Education Officer recalled the practice amongst his contemporaries.

I know that a number of my colleagues, who were in one teacher schools, recruited their wives as teachers. Now what training their wives had, I don't know. I would imagine it was none. It was the training they got after dinner at night, before they did the washing or put the kids to bed. And the wife taught alongside her husband and they made a jolly good fist of it. He set the policy for the school, controlled all the kids as best he could, and ran the school council, met the parents, protected his wife, and between them, they got on with it. He'd look after the kids for sports lessons, from grade 1 to grade 7 and she went home and did a quick clean of her house [laughter] (EO10).

Respondents PC6, PC11, PC20, PC24 and PC33 indicated that this was how they became teachers.

The Department asked us if we were prepared to take the school. I would be able to teach there, grades one, two and three. It was a two-teacher school and so we went there in 1957. I guess I asked a lot of questions, and my husband was there if I needed help, put it that way (PC33).

The wife of one Education Officer, however, refused to teach.

My wife was a 'kept woman'. At one school where I was teaching they were short of a teacher and the Inspector suggested I employ her to replace a teacher, but she refused and never worked, but stayed home and raised the children (EO20).

Several respondents had teacher husbands who were aware of the teacher shortage. They encouraged their wives to apply for the emergency courses and with their assistance the women were accepted.

They wanted teachers. They were short of teachers, so my husband rang me up from his school and said, "The Department wants to know if you will come in and start the course now", so I started (PC7).

Acquaintance with Education Officials

Several respondents, including PC6, PC18, PC19 and PC20, explained that they were acquainted with Education Officials, who encouraged and assisted them to apply for the courses.

I remember one Inspector and I knew him quite well actually. He really thought that I should take it, and said, "Oh, there's plenty that are a lot worse than you that are doing it", or words to that effect (PC14).

One Inspector recalled being approached in country towns by former teachers wanting to go back to teaching or by people wanting to change careers.

I was inspecting and I met a linesman from the Electricity Trust. He badly wanted to be a teacher. A nice presentable young fellow with a young family, and I arranged for him to go to school. He started off not well educated, but some years later when I was in the Education Department office, this fellow came up to me and said, "I passed four university subjects and I won't come and see you until I've got a BA degree". And there was a woman I used to play tennis with. She trained in Teachers' College with me and wanted to go back teaching. I said, "Right, you're trained, you can go back" (EO2).

Mothers involved in schools

Mothers who were actively involved in the school their children attended, volunteered to teach Religious Instruction, hear children read, work in the school office, or help in the canteen, as well as members of the Mothers' clubs, were considered ideal candidates to take up teaching positions available within the school.

Anyone who had been involved in schools was asked to help out (PC24).

Well, some of them were involved in the parent clubs and school committees and had welfare meetings, and were classroom visitors. It might have whetted their appetite that this is what I'd like to do. They might have just been waiting for this opportunity (EO22).

Two other respondents, PC9 and PC34, expressed similar views.

One parent with children attending the local school had been teaching Religious Instruction in a voluntary capacity. She explained how she became the teacher for the new mid-year intake.

The Headmistress approached me about being a teacher. They had a new intake coming, and there were no teachers available, and the office had told them, "Well, if you can find one you can have it". I had been going over there once a week with the Religious Instruction class. Well, she said to me, "I'll put my cards on the table. I need a teacher". She said, "If you can handle that many children with that subject [Religious Education], you should be able to cope" (PC13).

An Education Officer recalled one Principal's persuasiveness in securing a teacher.

The Head called her and asked her to come to the school. He said, "Look, either you come over or there's no teacher at all, none at all". So she went over and took the class straight away. She didn't do any training at all. She had only reached grade seven, I think (EO22).

Several respondents, PC6, PC10 and PC21 whose children attended the local school, became aware of emergency courses from other parents.

My children went to the school, and I heard they were looking for teachers from one of the parents. I went to the school and they sent me into Flinders Street to be interviewed (PC21).

One respondent learned from her daughter that the Principal had asked the children at school if they knew of anyone in their family who might be interested in taking up teaching.

My youngest child came racing home from school all excitement and said, "Mummy, would you like to be a teacher for a little bit? Our Headmaster's come around and said they're desperate for teachers to help out with teaching because they haven't enough teachers. Would you? You could do that". I thought for a little while, of course I could hold the fort. I could bone up on Australian history and give a history lesson. Discipline would be no bother to me with the children, and I could teach English and Spelling and Dictation. Yes, well I'll go and see him. So I went and saw the Headmaster and he said he would be very grateful. He would make an appointment for me with the Minister for Education (PC11).

An Education Officer described how the school cleaner became a teacher.

I know of a case of a woman who was the school cleaner, an intelligent and understanding woman. She'd appear every day to sweep the schools out, but once a month on Wednesday she'd turn up as the president of the welfare club, so she was interested in the school. When this course came along, "Can I be one?" "Yes, you can be one". So she stopped being the cleaner and became a teacher (EO10).

Selecting the Most Suitable Applicants

The majority of candidates applying for emergency courses were interviewed by a Selection Committee consisting of the Deputy Director of Education as Chairman, the Superintendent of Primary Schools and the Superintendent of Rural Schools. The Selection Committee convened in the Education Department building in Flinders Street and made recommendations on all applications. From comments made in the interviews, it is clear that after they were interviewed by one of the members, on the basis of educational qualifications, experience with children and personal attributes, applicants were selected to do the emergency courses. A number of respondents recalled being interviewed by a charming and well mannered man in the Department who introduced himself as Mr. Leach. He must have made quite an impression on the women because many years later they still remembered his name.

The name Mr. Leach also occurs in several documents consulted for this research. For over thirty years William Valentine Leach was an administrator within the Department. As an Inspector and later Superintendent of Primary Schools, Mr. Leach commanded loyalty and respect, while still affectionately regarded as a friend to both teachers and Education Officials. That he was held in such high regard within the Education Department was apparent when the Minister of Education, in his Report to Parliament, announced his death in October 1956, stating that 'the Department suffered a severe loss by the death' (South Australia, Parliament, 1957, No.44, p.4). The S.A.

Institute of Teachers past president, Mr. Carmichael, paid tribute to him, describing him as combining, 'unostentatious efficiency with sympathetic understanding'. He mentioned that *The Advertiser* had referred to his passing as 'a serious loss to education in South Australia' (Carmichael, 1956b, p.15). His efforts to ensure that suitable applicants were selected into courses contributed to the success of the emergency scheme for the Department.

The following respondent's father had been a personal friend of Mr. Leach since youth and therefore she knew him and his family well. He alerted her to the emergency courses, encouraging her to apply.

Bill Leach was the 'Boss Cocky' of the Department at that stage. I think he finished up as a Director. He was an Inspector. I went to school with his daughter. We knew him personally. He and Dad were very good friends. They'd been at High School and University together. He knew every teacher in the Department, if not personally, he knew of them. I told him I had to do something and explained my circumstances. I knew nothing about this business, so he told me about this three month course, what was involved, where I would observe, how it was done. He set me on the track (PC22).

Another respondent described her meeting with an interviewing officer in the Department, who she later found out was Mr. Leach. She gave an insight into his approach to applicants interviewed for the emergency scheme.

I met this very nice gentleman, and he said to me, "Would you like to get into the scheme?" I said, "Well, look I don't know anything about teaching". He said, "Well, what we're doing is we're collecting people that we think might like to go into a school. But what we do is put you into a school, and if you don't like it and you think it's not for you, just come into the office and let us know. You're not obliged to continue the course unless you feel you like it". So I put my name down for some infant schools in the area. I didn't hear anything for about a month, I suppose, and then one morning I got this letter to report to the infant school. I thought to myself, "I must be potty". And the boys kept saying, "Well, why you don't you try mother?" I thought, why not, there's nothing to lose (PC12).

Mr. Leach was not only a friendly, courteous gentleman, but, according to the following respondent, an astute judge of character.

We were interviewed in Flinders Street by Mr. Leach. I think he was feeling to see what you wanted and he went into my university studies. Mr. Leach convinced me that the background I had suited me really for High School, but I just felt I couldn't face up to other teenage children with the two I had to look after at home. I thought teaching must be very nerve racking in high school. Well, he convinced me that the background I had was not as suitable for infant work as it was for older children, and I think he was right, looking back on it (PC14).

A respondent, who was single and twenty five years old at the time, remembered Mr. Leach trying to persuade her to join the two year 'C' course at Teachers' College instead of the emergency course. Later she appreciated the wisdom of his advice.

He said, "You know, you're younger than most of the people who have applied for these courses. Have you ever thought about going to Teachers' College?" I said, "Well, I couldn't live on that salary I'd get in Teachers' College", and he said, "I can follow that, and thank you very much". It was only about a week and I had a letter saying, "You are asked to report at Gilles Street School at 9 am" and that was all we were told until we got there. We were told then that five people had dropped out of this initial one month's course and we were going to get one month's training. Later I was very conscious of the fact that I hadn't been to Teachers' College. I had no methodology and I didn't know that teaching was a science until I became a demonstration assistant (PC36).

The following respondent could not recall who interviewed her because she was so nervous.

I can't remember who it was interviewing me, but it was whoever was in charge of the Education Department. Oh, it was a bit nerve racking. I just told them what I had done and why I wanted to be a teacher, and then a short time later I had a letter to say I'd been accepted and I was to report to Flinders Street Practising School on a certain day, and to bring a pencil and a ruler and a notepad or something (PC3).

Selection Criteria Applied

As the Criticism and Response section of Chapter Four indicated, the selection criteria did not depend solely on the applicants' academic qualifications. While advertisements for the emergency courses specified the education level sought for selection, many of the women interviewed fell short of these requirements. The Department's urgency to fill the courses meant that other qualities determined to be suitable for teachers were considered. The wording in the advertisements for the various courses changed over the years according to the Department's needs and the types of applicants it sought to attract, as was discussed in Chapter Four. Though the initial expectations of the Department Officials were high, they were realistic enough not to discourage people from applying.

This situation was confirmed by one of the respondents, who despite her minimal educational qualifications, was accepted by the interviewing officer.

I went into the office in Flinders Street, I think. I seem to remember discussing something about my lack of education. I was quite surprised when I eventually got the letter of acceptance (PC6).

Another respondent with minimal secondary education was also accepted by the interviewing officer who appears to have been Mr. Leach.

I kept the appointment and found this most charming gentleman. He was delightful. Well, he inquired about my background of education, and I'd only had a short time at High School, and hadn't any special qualifications and that didn't sound very good at all. But I explained that my guardian had educated me himself from then on, and I felt it was pretty comprehensive in anything to do with English. But I wouldn't be able to teach Maths to anybody because I doubt whether I had passed a Maths exam in my life [laughter]. He laughed, but he took notes apparently, and in a few days I received a notice to present myself to the infant school (PC11).

It seems that applicants, including PC21, with an Intermediate Certificate were eagerly accepted.

Some women had only been up to grade seven, and because I had an Intermediate Certificate and I had taught at Sunday school, so they thought I was a grab [laughter] (PC1).

Two respondents, PC1 and PC9, believed that as a number of applicants had only a rudimentary education, their level of education guaranteed them a place in the course.

I was interviewed after I'd sent in the application. He said that I had the most qualifications of anyone he had seen that day, you know, so they were starting to scrape the bottom of the barrel a bit, because I had Leaving. So I knew when I went to the interview that I would certainly get accepted (PC9).

It was not uncommon for applicants to misrepresent their educational qualifications to ensure their selection for the courses. In some cases, migrants, when asked to produce evidence of their qualifications, said they had been lost or destroyed during the Blitz and aerial bombings of the war years. The Department was not in any position to embark on a time consuming search to establish the validity of professional qualifications because of the need to get as many applicants through the courses. This meant quite often that they had to accept the statements at face value. During the study, I was informed by two respondents that they knew of migrant women who had deliberately falsified their qualifications to secure teaching work. One English migrant with minimal education claimed to be a trained and experienced teacher in England and was immediately appointed to a school.

Another respondent, who was also an English migrant, had been genuinely unable to produce documentary evidence of her educational qualifications, but was nevertheless accepted.

I must have gone in for an interview and I think there must have been 60 of us. They said that certain qualifications are necessary, something like that would have been in the advert. I

couldn't even show them any school certificates of my years of schooling. Well, I didn't have anything from when we came here. We didn't carry things like that with us (PC4).

One respondent from one of the last twelve month courses recalled that she was required to do an Intelligence Quotient (IQ) test. This would suggest that by that stage the Department did attempt to test the applicants' intelligence for course suitability.

I think it was like an IQ test. It wasn't like an exam where I went and sat with a lot of people as far as I can remember. I can vaguely remember sitting down to write some things, so I'm pretty sure it was like an IQ test or sort of aptitude test, or something of that nature, because I already had my qualifications, my school report which I was able to show him. Of 250 applicants, 50 had been chosen for the course, so that is quite a feather in my cap and I was pleased because I really wanted to do it (PC17).

Discussions with a number of the women made it clear that although certain levels of education were required, they were asked about other factors that demonstrated suitability for teaching, such as experience with children. This was confirmed by a comment from one of the Education Officers.

If you can stand there and give the children discipline, you know, tell a good story, having taught in a Sunday school, having musical skills, they are all factors that were important (EO19).

The following respondent mentioned the attributes that she thought made her suited to teaching.

Different people used to say to me, "You would be good with the little children, why don't you do a teaching course?" I thought about it and decided that I would. So I applied. I was with the Guides, and then we had a group in the church. Music, which I've had a lot of in my life, and I have quite a good singing voice, and with the little children, that's an asset (PC19).

Teaching Sunday school was mentioned by a number of respondents as proving past experience with young children.

I used to take Sunday school class. I used to go to the Girls' Friendly Society and I had a boys' club at one stage. You had to have experience with children to be able to do it at all. Well, the Sunday school and everything, stood in my stead (PC8).

Respondents PC3, PC12 and PC30 believed that possessing skills such as music or an involvement with the Girl Guides, or as a swimming instructor of children, were attributes in their favour.

I had done music and been involved with the Girl Guides and Brownies. I was a swimming instructor and very involved with children, and the fellow just looked at what your strengths were (PC31).

One respondent attributed her initial rejection to not having had the experience with children that others may have had.

I wasn't accepted. I hadn't the background for it. I hadn't a big family, I hadn't had experience with children like some of the women with three or four kids, and some of them had been in the Girl Guides or Sunday school teachers. Well, they asked for what experience you had handling children (PC18).

It was clear from the women's comments that, the selection process criteria related to practical experiences as maternal "nurturers" or in teaching young children were given as much, if not more weight, than the level of schooling achieved by the applicants.

The Next Step

There were a number of ways of entering teaching in this period and many reasons for doing so. Respondents related different stories as what had motivated them to apply, how they accessed the courses and how they were actually accepted as teachers. Yet it is important also to recognise the common themes running through their responses. The next chapter analyses their comments concerning the different training courses they were given before being appointed to schools.

CHAPTER SIX
ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA II:
EMERGENCY TEACHER TRAINING COURSES 1948 - 1962

A Chronological Overview

This chapter attempts to describe the nature of the emergency courses which the women undertook, by using the participants' often lengthy and detailed recollections. This information was vital as no official documentation on the actual content of the courses seemed to exist. Several respondents offered descriptions of their courses, listing their subjects and occasionally naming their lecturers. Since there was consistency across their responses, their accounts can be accepted as providing an authentic and accurate portrayal of course organisation and content. Education Officials were also able to validate the recollections of emergency teachers, as regards the subjects included, particularly in the twelve month courses.

The following discussion is presented chronologically, from 1948 to 1962, following the sequence of courses of varied lengths outlined in Chapter Four. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the women's experiences as adult learners in order to focus on the problems many women faced in adjusting to formal learning years after leaving school, their struggle to cope with learning new subjects, particularly Child Psychology, and the stress of completing assignments in the knowledge that the financial well-being of their family depended on them. Their anecdotes reveal the constant pressure they were under in their efforts to combine study with domestic duties and family commitments. Several respondents, however, did further study to gain classification and their Teachers' Certificate as they appreciated the need to learn more of the theory and methodology of education.

‘Special Teacher Training Scheme’ in 1948

During this study I was fortunate to interview a woman who had not only completed the very first Special Teacher Training Course at Adelaide Teachers’ College in 1948, but went on to become the group lecturer of the final primary ‘Ae’ emergency course in 1961. She offered valuable insights and information on the 1948 ‘special’ course, as well as the later ‘Ae’ emergency course (discussed later).

We went to the Adelaide Teachers’ College when Dr Schulz was Principal. It was a course of mature age students. We did Principles of Teaching and Educational Psychology with Dr. Schulz, and Ralph Martin was our group lecturer. We had to do Principles 2 after we had gone out into the schools, and then we got our Teachers’ Certificate after a year’s service. No, we weren’t bonded, and that was a bone of contention with some of the other students, and also because we were mature age students, our allowances of five pounds a week were greater than theirs. There were 35 or 40 all mature age men and women, a very mixed bunch, an ordinary mixture. We all did the same basic course of teaching. We did practical teaching with an observation lesson once a week. Our group went mainly to Flinders Street, which was all primary, Gilles Street was primary and junior primary, and Sturt Street one afternoon a week where there were combination groups all in one class. We just watched. We also watched some of our group take lessons, criticism lessons we used to call them. [Laughter] We had to write copious lesson notes as to what we were going to do. I can think of one or two students who found it difficult to cope (PC35).

These courses continued for several years, but as the Department could ill afford the time to train emergency teachers for a whole year to provide sufficient numbers of teachers to address the teacher shortage, the alternative was to introduce short observation courses.

One Month Observation in Schools 1949-1951

By the late 1940s, the teacher shortage situation was critical and the search was on for persons willing to teach. In some schools, scant regard was paid to the Department’s stipulation of four

weeks observation training, with many trainees receiving only several days or two to three weeks. Training was conducted entirely within the schools, with the actual length of the course dependent on the needs of the school and availability of suitable applicants, as determined by the Principal.

They just sat in on a teacher for two or three weeks and then they were given a class (EO18).

Two Education Officers queried whether just observation of a classroom teacher could be considered appropriate training.

Yes, if you could call it training. They just went in for observation. I think it was only about three weeks or something. They were so desperate. No, they couldn't do it for a term. They were too desperate for teachers (EO22).

One respondent gave an insightful portrayal of the extent of training she received.

I was told to report to school. They said that I could come on Monday and observe, and I thought I was just going to observe to see whether I was suitable for the course. So I observed for the first week and took notes on the lessons. The Headmaster got me to prepare a lesson, and then the following week he said, "You can try teaching the composite class". He observed and helped me with the teaching. Then the next week I was left to teach and he was next door and came in and out. The next week the Inspector came and I thought it was just to see that I was suitable to do the course. He said, "You take year two", and then in the afternoon he said, "Take year three". So I did, and at the end of the day he said, "Alright, you can start Monday". I was horrified. I thought I couldn't possibly do it, you know. I knew that I wasn't ready for it, but he must have thought I was ready for it (PC21).

Several respondents recalled the hostility from Principals and demonstration teachers towards them upon their arrival. Instead of the trained staff they had been expecting, they found themselves required to train the women who had been sent as emergency teachers.

I didn't ever train, that's the whole point. I went through these children and mothers waiting with crying children and was shown to a large office, and there was a heavy woman on the phone. She

was the Headmistress, and she looked up and said, "Here she is now", and she asked me what school I had come from. I said I have never taught at a school, and the look of horror and fury on her face. Then she turned back to the phone and said, "I asked for a teacher, and they've sent me" ... and she looked me up and down, "this!" I could feel myself almost melting through the floor with embarrassment. I was absolutely useless to her of course, and she was so angry. She slammed down the phone and looked at me and said, "Well, I don't know what we're going to do with you". She had crying new admittance children and mothers, and she said, "Well, you'd better go in with whoever was taking the babies and observe". So I went in there and I felt so nothing. For two days I watched her, and on the third day when I rolled up, I was on my own with them. She was home with laryngitis, and to my absolute horror I was in this room with these babies. Well, the Headmistress came in about half an hour later and the children were throwing cushions at each other, and I couldn't control these little ones and it was a big class. She pushed me out of the way and had order there within half a minute. Those children were sitting up and I felt so useless and she sent me then to sharpening pens. And the upshot of that was that I was transferred to another school to observe a wonderful teacher. I spent about a month observing her and was given a class of little grade ones (PC11).

Another respondent recalled the four day's training she had from the Headmistress of the local school.

I went down to the school and there was a bit of a tartar of a Headmistress there. But mind you, she was very efficient at her job and she ran that school like a ship, and everybody was terrified of her, including me. She kept me in her office for about four days explaining everything to me, how the school was run, and I thought, "Oh well, if I survive her, I'll survive anything" [laughter] (PC12).

The following respondent found that the classroom teacher to whom she had been assigned was a hard taskmaster.

She was a hard teacher. There were lesson notes to be written up and observation notes for the first week, and then the second week I was allowed to be let loose for the supervision of these children. I did one week in the kindergarten, one week in grade one and one week in grade two. I had to write up lesson notes and they had to be on her desk 9 o'clock every morning, and she would write at the bottom of it. I used to be told on the Friday, "Now, on Monday I expect on my desk 'phonic flash cards' which are strung along the chalkboard", and so I had to spend every

weekend making those. It was hard, but my attitude was, because she was a very hard taskmaster, "You're not going to beat me". I soldiered on and I got there (PC13).

For one respondent, the initial training period of one month was extended to three months, because she had to wait for the intake of new students in mid year. Compared to the five other women doing the course at the school, she considered herself lucky to have had the additional training period.

We were appointed to a home school to do the month's training and we sat in on lessons each morning and took notes. Of course, I had no idea what we were looking at or listening to. You know it was just a completely different world. At the end of the month I didn't know very much more than when I started, except that I was very lucky with the girl supervisor. She was very nice to me, and she'd stop and explain what she was doing. It was strictly observation, taking notes of what they were doing, and I can remember giving two lessons. One was to read stories to the kiddies and the other one was a phonic lesson, and I forgot to ask the children to sound the words. I didn't have to take a class until the following intake, so I had three months going around that school and looking at some of the best teachers in the State, and by the time I had to take a class I knew what I was doing. I was very lucky. Those other women went straight in front of a class (PC36).

Another woman compared her one month's training with the three month course her friend did.

In the course I was doing, we got willy-nilly put into the classroom. The next group that my friend went in was more structured. They were taken around schools in a group and actually shown a class being taught. See, I didn't get that, I only went in with a teacher. I was very fortunate to get a nice teacher, and it was the infant class, the young ones, because I thought infant school would suit me better. She really was gentle in her manner and gave me a lot of help as far as notes were concerned. And then [the Headmistress] thought it was time to go on to the other teachers. They gave me so many lessons to do, and I had to prepare notes for them. Sometimes the Headmistress would come in and just sit there, and she put in a report on what she thought (PC12).

A number of schools used the trainees as relief teachers, sometimes for extended periods when observation teachers were absent. Principals probably justified the practice as providing trainees

with valuable experience, rather than as a means of serving the immediate needs of the school.

One teacher went down with the flu or something and I found myself with her class. I thought to myself, "Oh hell, what am I going to do?" But the Headmistress did say to me, "If you can't cope, just send a child to me and I'll come in and help you". But I thought no, she had a program there and everything prepared more or less, and she was only away for about a week, and I managed. It wasn't easy. I sat up some nights till about 12 o'clock carefully writing out my next lesson so that I wouldn't forget any of it (PC12).

The same respondent explained her strategy to ingratiate herself with the Headmistress.

I got on all right with the Headmistress when she discovered I didn't mind running over to the shop and getting her lunch and a few things like that. I also did playground duty when I didn't have to, and made the tea when I didn't have to, and things like that [laughter]. And we got along all right eventually, but she was a bit of a tartar, there was no doubt about it [laughter] (PC12).

A friend of this respondent, in a similar course, ended up acting as a secretary, because the Headmistress found her more useful in that position than as a teacher.

My friend ended up as secretary to the Headmistress because she was found to be very good at office work. Yes, didn't give her a chance to teach (PC12).

Three Month Courses 1952-1953

By 1952, continual condemnation by the Teachers' Union of the one month courses resulted in the Department lengthening them to three months or approximately one school term. These courses consisted of the first month devoted entirely to observation within the base school, while the next two months combined two days in the base school with three days observation at various Demonstration schools, as well as attending a structured program of lectures at Adelaide Teachers' College.

One Education Officer explained.

They were under the close supervision of the Head of the school and spent time in different classrooms and took classes under supervision. They spent a day at Teachers' College to learn different aspects of teaching (EO13).

One of the emergency teacher respondents, however, recalled that most of her time was spent doing observation in the school rather than attending lectures. She described how one experience with an observation teacher made her so nervous that she considered resigning.

As regards to the course, I don't remember a great deal about it, being a half century ago, but we didn't go to very many lectures from what I remember. It was mainly practical teaching. I only went at the end of 1952, and after three months I had a class of my own. I became very nervous because I was giving the lesson and this teacher turned his chair towards me so he could watch me closely, and that was the end of me. I was quite upset after that and went to the Headmaster and said, "No, I can't do it, it's no good", but he said, "That's only the beginning" (PC8).

The following respondent describes what she remembered about the three month course.

We sat in and the teacher gave a written lesson and then we'd go off to something else. That was how we were trained, yes, on the job really. We were in a group and they would say, "You group, you go to Teachers' College on such and such a day for three days". We attended Teachers' College for about a month or so. If you passed, you got a school. We were tested with different Inspectors, and you got a mark about it. I think I got a mark out of ten. Then they reckoned I was ready. Written exams no, well, the work you did was what you had done in the classroom, your presentation and all (PC10).

Women in the three month courses shared similar experiences to those who had done a month's observation or less, in that they were often not welcomed by the Principal of the school to which they had been sent.

They told me to report to the school and when I got there I went in to see the Headmaster who was busy selling books to the children. You could say that he wasn't particularly happy having me there, and he said, "Go and look around". The classes were about 50 and there were about

600 or 700 there. See, you were attached to a school. You had your base school. Three days of the week I had to go to other schools to observe and that was my learning. If somebody was away, then they would ask me if I wanted to look after the class. I was stationed at the school for two days (PC4).

A second respondent explained that she was glad to be out of her base school for three days of the week at demonstration lessons and lectures, because the Headmaster was unpleasant to her.

We were appointed to a school and worked there with teachers, and going into lectures on particular days for a term. That would have been in 1952. The lectures were most useful. We went to college, but also to various schools. There was a fairly large group, at least 20. I don't remember any men, I can only remember females. We used to have to prepare very elaborate lesson notes in those days and I quite often referred to them. I was attached first to a grade three teacher with 53 little boys [laughter]. I don't think I would have stayed at that school, if I hadn't done lectures. I would have left because of the atmosphere. The Headmaster was most unpleasant to me (PC25).

In contrast, one respondent considered the Headmaster as more a nuisance factor because his jovial nature unsettled her classes.

I know the course started in September, for the final term of the year, September to December. I don't think for the first few weeks I did anything actually except watch and listen; general observation. Then in October we started our little trek around, and that was the first time the whole group came together. This is where I met my husband. I remember walking in the first morning and the double portable was chock-a-block full. The whole room was full and there were two men stuck in the middle [elaborated on below]. There must have been 50 and 60 of us. Every day we went to different schools. A couple of days we might go to the Teachers' College for special lectures on this or that, like administration, crime and punishment, discipline, things like that. We also did physical education. We did a lot of folk dancing and it was all demonstrated and we performed. I happened to love that and I could have done that all day. In the last month of the term we were expected to take certain lessons, and you'd prepare it and do all the usual things in front of the teacher. Sometimes the Headmaster would come in, but sometimes he'd lurk outside. You hated him coming into the room. He was one of these round tubby, jovial men, and he'd come in and beam and make funny jokes, and the kids would crack

themselves up, and then of course he'd walk out and you'd be left with them. I was appointed to that school (PC22).

The above respondent did the three month course in 1953 during which she met her future husband who was a European migrant and one of only two men in the course. The information she provided about him was the only information found on male trainees in the emergency courses. His story is told here as an aside to the main argument.

He arrived in 1950 with what he stood up in. He just had a suitcase and had to go wherever he was told. They sent him to Adelaide. He worked for the E.&W.S. a couple of years with the pneumatic drill and spreading cement. While he was there, they had to do compulsory English classes taken by a senior woman teacher in the Department. She discovered that he had been trained as a teacher and said to him, "Why don't you go and find out? Go to the Department", which he did. He saw Inspector Fitzgerald, that's how he got into this group when they discovered his background. He didn't have any certificates to show, all his qualifications and so on, because they'd all been lost in Europe of course, but he was sent to a school (PC22).

Apparently his secondary education was equivalent to a Leaving Certificate, and he completed a two year primary teaching course in his own country, but before being appointed as a teacher, was drafted into the army as an interpreter because he could speak several languages. When he completed the three month course in 1952, he was sent to a country school as a temporary unclassified assistant (his appointment to the school and classification status was verified in *The Education Gazette*). As a single man he was treated differently to women emergency teachers, either married or single, who were not required to do country service. He returned to the city in 1960, married, and was appointed to a primary school where he taught mainly grade six and seven boys. In his final years of service he was a language teacher until his retirement in 1980 aged sixty.

Five Month Courses 1953-1955

In 1953, the three month emergency courses were lengthened, although their basic structure was retained. These courses usually proved to be no more than four and a half months in length because they were conducted over two terms with school holidays intervening. Two such courses were held during that year, resulting in 6 men and 109 women being appointed as Temporary Unclassified Teachers.

I went to the infant school to do the course which was very pressure cooker [laughter], mostly with the teacher in grade two. We met up with others that were doing a similar course, and it was a group thing at these various demonstration schools, rather than colleges. It was a matter of taking notes and things like that. So it would have been maybe 10, 15 lectures by various people with specific subjects like Phys. Ed., rather than general teaching and discipline, and all those sorts of things. Looking back on it, it was fairly superficial as far as the kind of training. It was in 1954, and the course I did was apparently the last one. After that they did a twelve month one. I'm not too sure what it involved, but a lot more obviously than we did (PC6).

Twelve Month Courses 1955-1962

As explained in Chapter Four, constant pressure by the Teachers' Union to increase emergency teacher training to more appropriate lengths, resulted in the Department introducing twelve month courses in 1955. Two courses, the 'Ae' (primary) and 'Ce' (infant), available to mature age women only, ran concurrently. These courses were highly regarded by the majority of respondents because they considered them as being on par with the 'A' or 'Cx' one year Teachers' College courses for young women under 21 years of age already in existence.

The first group lecturer of the 'Ae' course considered that previous criticisms of the short training courses as being disadvantageous to trainees, did not apply to the year long training.

I think that it was unfair in many ways to women who were taken in to do, say, very short teaching experience with no help from the Teachers' College, but I think these ['Ae'] women fared better because they had a different course. They were like the one year courses. I would say that they were a success as far as I know (EO5).

Another Education Officer compared the one year emergency courses to the 'A' year long primary course and the 'Cx' infant (junior primary) one year course for young female students to whom she had lectured at Teachers' College.

Alright, a year was too short, but then the first group of students I had at college were one year students, the 'Cx'. There was also a course for the primary teachers, a one year course, the 'A' course (EO6).

'Ae' Primary Courses 1955-1962

In July 1955, the first twelve month 'Ae' primary emergency course commenced at Flinders Street Practising School, with Phyllis Golding as group lecturer in charge of approximately fifty women. She had completed the twelve month 'A' course at Adelaide Teachers' College years earlier, but with further study had rapidly been promoted. Towards the end of the year, with six months left of the course, trainees were offered teaching appointments for the following school year, which the majority accepted. One of the few trainees, who refused the offer and finished the year's course, explained the situation.

They were terribly short of teachers at that time and the course started in July and at the end of the year there were a lot of vacancies and they asked the girls to go out and take up positions. Yes, they'd only done six months. A whole lot went out and took appointments at the beginning of the year. I mean if a school came up that was near your home and you were offered it, well, why not. From their point of view a whole lot had husbands and it was supplementary income. There

were 46 of us, and about 10 stayed on. I wanted to be properly qualified and to be in the position to take up Super, and there wasn't any reason why I shouldn't stay on once I'd started (PC14).

This has been explained in detail in a previous chapter.

Like many of her students, Miss Golding left at the end of the year to join the lecturing staff at Adelaide Teachers' College and then on to the newly opened Wattle Park Teachers' College and was replaced by Miss Laura Battye.

Miss Golding related what she remembered of the course and the trainees.

I was asked if I would take this group, and I did. It was 1955 at Flinders Street. It was going to be much the same as any one year course which I knew about at Adelaide College. I didn't have any support at all and I had to take them from first thing in the morning till the afternoon, and no help and no assistance either. It was a big group, over 50. Their age varied from 24 to 52 and anywhere in between. A good many of them were in their thirties and forties; not so many of them were in their twenties. Each group had the slower ones and the ones who really excelled, and some of these people from this particular group did go on. As an Inspector I'd go around and see some of my old pupils, and they seemed to be making the grade, but a lot would depend on their innate ability and their own skills, how far they went (EO5).

The women who participated in the twelve month courses from mid 1955 to mid 1962, offered often lengthy and detailed descriptions of their courses. These are discussed in chronological order below.

1955-1956

A trainee of the first twelve month course provided a comprehensive description of the course.

Well, it was a year's course. It was called the 'Ae' course. It was the first emergency course with a full year's training that the Department put on. When we began it was Miss Phyllis Golding and our Master of Method was Mr. Perce Macdonald, and his chief demonstration teacher was a fellow called Ross Parsons, and our headquarters was the Flinders Street School. We went to

Kintore Avenue for Physical Education, Needlework and Art. We went down to a Mr. Murray Ball for Nature Study, but others came to us. We had Mr. Coggins for Geography; Dudley Harris came for Psychology. Well, as far as I was concerned that was new ground for me and I guess I found that hard, a bit more demanding than others. Some of the girls found it very trying. Pat Holmes came for Music. We had a Mrs. Campbell for Phys. Ed., and I think we had a Miss or Mrs. Clark for Needlework. The showpiece of them all was Musgrave-Horner who came for Speech because he was such a laugh. He was good value. We had all these people that lectured us and did demonstration lessons in front of us, and I think that every term we must have gone out to a practising school for a fortnight. We collected all sorts of ideas for charts and we made books, and Miss Golding encouraged us to pick up all the ideas we could. When we first went into Flinders Street, we sat in alphabetical order. I don't think we moved very much. I think we were about 46 in the course. We didn't have much time to talk. We sort of raced from Flinders Street to Kintore Avenue. Well, you had to keep up your notes, and at night you had to straighten them out to make sure you got it straight and you knew what you were doing. We prepared lessons and gave them in front of a group. You put down your aim and all these things and then you had to say whether you achieved your aims. We definitely had exams on every subject at the end (PC14).

1958-1959

The recollections of another respondent who did the course three years later were very similar.

I started the 'Ae' course in March 1958 till 1959 in the Flinders Street School. We had a room there of about 50 women. We did all subjects. We did English, History and Nature study, and we had Miss Battye. I sort of felt that we were doing everything that we were supposed to be doing like fully trained teachers. Yes, it was hard going, but I was very conscientious (PC7).

1959-1960

Three respondents, unbeknown to each other, were in the same course and gave similar descriptions of their subjects as well as the teaching practice.

The first respondent commented.

We must have started in June of 1959 and went to June of 1960. In the 'Ae' course we had thirteen subjects. Miss Laura Battye took us for General Method and a couple of other subjects. General Method was the first subject in the morning and then it might have been followed by Psychology or Social Studies, or Arithmetic, or Health and Hygiene, or whatever would fit into the day. And then Needlework and Sewing, Music, Art, Phys. Ed. and Speech therapy, Phonetics and so on. So we're talking about General Method, Psychology and English, which includes Reading Comprehension, Grammar, Poetry, Composition. For Art, we would go to Flinders Street to do that. Currie Street we used to do Geography and Australian history, and Sturt Street to do Music, and then sometimes out to Wattle Park. We were sent out to various schools for Prac. teaching and we had to make up our lesson format and say what our aims were, materials that were going to be used, and the way in which we would present the lesson. What aids we would use, either the blackboard or an overhead projector, or materials we would make up ourselves to present to the children, and then the steps we would go about it. We would introduce the subject and which way we would do it to grab the children's interest. And then we had our examination at the end of the course on all the different subjects we had to do (PC16).

The second respondent recalled study and work with no time for the fun and games which she believed the younger students, who had two years to complete their courses, indulged in.

It was sort of a lecture group, and perhaps they thought being older we might settle down quicker than a lot of youngsters. We didn't have all the fun and games and off lessons. We worked solidly all day, every day. We went out teaching May 24, 1960. We had different projects and case studies and things like that to do in the holidays, and that was tested or marked when we went back. And then we had final exams, then all the papers were marked and the grading done (PC3).

The third respondent also recalled the hectic pace of the course and her need to leave as soon as possible after lectures to be home with her school age daughter.

We just went everywhere doing different things, and it was always go, go, go. You left at half past eight in the morning; you started at nine o'clock and finished about four. I used to be off because I never liked my daughter coming home to an empty house (PC2).

The majority of respondents from this period spoke highly of Miss Laura Battye. She was the

group lecturer of the 'Ae' course from 1956 until she left to become a lecturer at Wattle Park Teachers' College in 1960. Respondents (PC9, PC14, PC16, PC17 and PC35) mentioned that she always referred to them as women, not ladies.

I had Miss Battye. Oh, she was beautiful, but she was very strict, but a very nice person. I admired her no end. She was straight to the point. I remember she explained, and she was perfectly right, we are not ladies, we are women. She said that she would call us women because we were not wives of knights, so we weren't ladies. But I noticed some of the other women didn't like it. I don't know that you would say she was tough. I think she expected what you were supposed to do, so I didn't look upon her as being tough at all. I felt you weren't in there to play and mess about. You were there to change your career (PC9).

An Education Officer offered a lecturer's different perspective on the 'Ae' course.

I taught Methodology and specialised in Educational Psychology. I supervised at teaching practice to the 'Ae' pressure cooker teacher trainees. I remember about 50 women in a home group there with Group Lecturer Miss Laura Battye. They were given professional insight into things like Curriculum, Methods of Teaching, Physical Education, Nature Science, and all lecturers were drawn from the Teachers' College. It was an extra duty that they had to perform (EO13).

1960-1961

One respondent in the 'Ae' course complained about the exacting nature of the course work they were required to complete and the heavy toll it took on them. This comment was common to a number of respondents from the twelve month courses and is discussed further in the following section.

June of 1960, this was a primary emergency course that I did. Thirteen subjects; it was pretty heavy. I look back and wonder how, but you know you do a lot more when you are younger. I had done extremely well and it was really very gratifying considering all the hard work I had put in. There was work to be done at home, and of course when it got towards the final exams I did swot up as much as I could on things that were new to me, like Nature Study. I guess what I found

most difficult was the convoluted way of preparing lessons. The aims and all the sorts of things we had to set out was unnecessary (PC17).

1961-1962

Marjorie Cox Gooden who had done the first emergency twelve month course in 1948, replaced Miss Laura Battye as group lecturer for the final 'Ae' primary emergency course. She explained her experience.

I was co-opted to replace Laura Battye with the 'Ae' students, so I finished the last of her year. So the last course must have been mid 1961 to 1962. It was in Flinders Street. They really stacked them. They had the room upstairs where they did everything. There were about 55 enrolments, but a few of them dropped out in the first week. It was too much for them to cope with. I think we finished up with about 50, which was a big group. They would have been mainly mid 30s to mid 40s [in age] I would say. They did the whole range of subjects. Yes, it was a strenuous course. I know they went out into specific schools for teaching practice. I saw their reports when they came in. Dr. Penny, the Principal of the Teachers' College would come down sometimes and talk to them. He would have had a lot of input into it. I guess I talked with him about how they were doing, or what they were doing. When there were things concerning the students that needed to be reported, he was the one I talked to. It finished in 1962. This was the last one. The kind of course that it was meant to be, I thought would have been adequate for them. They would have been at the college standard, reasonably adequately (PC35).

'Ce' Infant Courses 1955-1960

Running parallel with the 'Ae' course was the 'Ce' course designated specifically for infant teachers, with Freida Nichtelein as the first group lecturer in 1955. Like her contemporary Phyllis Golding, she only stayed for six months before being seconded to Adelaide Teachers' College. She was replaced by Esther Bright and then Lorna Harris took over in 1957, remaining as group lecturer of this course until it was discontinued in 1960.

1956-1957

The following respondent was older and having done some tertiary education was better educated than most of the women in her course, which she believed was the reason why they turned to her frequently for help. Nevertheless, her teaching practice with the demonstration teacher was so unpleasant that she almost resigned.

I enjoyed the course and did not find it difficult, though other women did and would often come to me for help, probably because I had a good education and knowledge, or the fact that I was older. However, I did not enjoy the practical teaching, as the demonstration teacher, a young girl of 26, was very unpleasant and hard on me. It was a bad experience and I was coming home in tears nearly every day and considered leaving. I did Principles of Education, but there was an emphasis on the practical and we had role-plays. I swotted like crazy (PC27).

1957-1958

While twelve month courses were the official means of training as an emergency teacher, variations to the recruitment of teachers still occurred within the Education Department. The Report of the Minister of Education in 1961 stated that:

the teaching service is augmented every year through responses to advertisements and through “casual” enquiries and applications. In 1961, 301 persons were referred to the various branches of the Department by the Recruitment and Training Branch and most of them received appointments (South Australia, Parliament, 1962, No.44, p.6).

I have included an example to show that this practice continued in certain metropolitan and country schools. In 1958, the following respondent who had taught Religious Instruction classes at her local school in a voluntary capacity was approached by the Headmistress.

“Have you ever thought of teaching the little ones? We’ve got a lot more children coming and there isn’t a teacher, and I’ve been told if I can find one, I can have one”. I said, “I don’t know

anything about teaching". She said, "I'll show you". She called in a teacher who had the little children and said, "You go along with her and note everything she says and does". I did this for about six weeks and took the new children. I was terrified (PC13).

However, by this time, the majority of emergency teachers were being trained in the prescribed twelve month courses. Two respondents of the 1957-58 twelve month course, including PC28, mentioned that the subject Child Psychology was extremely difficult to grasp, and in their opinion, irrelevant. This reflected the opinion of a number of others who believed that studying Child Psychology was unnecessary for women, who as mothers possessed fundamental knowledge of children. This issue is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

I remember we did Child Psychology, but it really wasn't relevant to the course. I don't feel that I was taxed about any of it apart from Psychology [laughter] (PC18).

1958-1959

There were five respondents who completed this course and their recollections were similar. The following anecdote reveals the different attitude that some Principals in demonstration schools had towards members of the group.

Some of the places we went out Prac. teaching to, all the teachers were quite nice, but some of the Principals were not. One Principal didn't speak to any of us. We hardly ever saw her and we didn't eat with staff; they put us outside. They found us a sort of little annexe which suited us. Very toffy school. Not a particularly good teaching experience, that one, but the others were really good. Some of the Principals were very good, really put themselves out and did all they could to help, and gave you quite a bit of advice, and the teacher you were with, they were good on the whole. You know they helped all they possibly could, but then you'd always got that other person who was in charge of the class there, even if you took the lesson, she was the one running the place (PC5).

Motor vehicle ownership was not a common feature of Australian society in the 1950s and as very few women had licences let alone cars, they relied on public transport to get them to various

demonstration schools and colleges. The following respondent describes the course and her solution to the transport problem.

Pat Holmes used to come to the classroom at Gilles Street for singing. We had to play the recorder. We had to go to Kintore Avenue to the music room there and would have to do all these silly kindergarten sort of games; play our cymbals and bang our drums to the time of the music. We had to march around and do whatever little kids do. We had to imitate them. We were doing so many different subjects. Transport was a problem because I couldn't afford to use taxis. I bought a motorised pushbike, like a petrol driven bike really, and you'd peddle a few times and got off your clutch, and off you'd go. Quite often the jolly thing would break down on the Port Road, but that was the way I traveled through the city and all. I did all my Prac. teaching and got seven credits, so I coped (PC15).

Emergency Teachers as Adult Learners

I think that as an aspect of adult education, dedicated adults who really want to do something, can learn in half the time or less than a student who is just going along; "I think I want to do this, but I'm not really sure whether this is what I will do for the rest of my life" (PC25).

While 'adult learner' was not a term used by emergency teachers, or generally recognised until the 1970s, for the majority of women, this was their reality. It was a challenge for many respondents to complete the twelve month courses as most had not studied since leaving school, with a number having had limited formal education. Participants needed to adjust to the demands of full time study and find the time that was required. Because the volume of work involved was so great, most of the women with children and domestic responsibilities found the twelve month courses problematic. The previous shorter courses of training had not been so arduous because of their limited academic content. As the twelve month courses were considered a compressed version of the two year Teachers' College courses, they required total commitment on the part of the participants. Many women found the course work difficult because they had never been exposed to the academic rigours of higher education, with few completing secondary education,

let alone tertiary study. Some women with no secondary education faced the onerous task of 'catching up' to their peers. The pressure and demands of full time study combined with domestic duties and family responsibilities was exacting, which all the trainees of twelve month courses had in common. An added burden for some of the women was that the future of the family depended on their completing the course.

It was pretty full on because it was a long, long time since I had been doing any studying and I had to really concentrate to get a new discipline with myself in order to be able to do all of this. It was not easy because you realised that there was a lot hinging on this; that you practically had your whole future that was going to depend on it. And having a child, I had no husband to assist me in any way, so therefore I had to try a little harder and do all this (PC16).

One respondent's father, concerned for his daughter, advised her to give up the course, which as a single mother she could ill afford to do.

It was a heavy course and I'd stagger home of a night. I'd be tired and I'd sit up to all sorts of hours and my father used say, "If this is what it means, all these extra hours, I don't know whether it's worth much to you". But the point is, I had the girls and I had to think ahead. I'd be up about half past five sorting things out, and then I'd go by bus into the city. I wouldn't get home sometimes till half past five. They were long hours, and then weekends of course you had to catch up on everything else that you wanted to do with teaching (PC19).

Faced with the rigours of academic study, several women dropped out of the course.

During the progress of the course, quite a few dropped out. Well, it was quite a big thing really, because most of them had family, and you had to travel there. It was quite time consuming; more than they wanted to cope with. It was harder than they expected it to be. There were such a lot of subjects and you had to go deeply into everything. Well, it was go, go. Every subject was difficult. You had to pass everything, and there was a written exam at the end of it. There were a lot of things that you'd never ever heard of or done before (PC15).

Three respondents, (PC3, PC7 and PC19) expressed similar concerns.

I've never known of all this methodology. I've never read books on that, and written by people I've never heard of that some people thought we should know all about. "Oh, I'm just not going to be able to cotton on to this, and doing experiments for Nature Science and things like that. I don't know how I am going to get through the study. I don't know how I can keep up". I was just determined to do well and to get through it and get it done, and know what I was doing (PC3).

One respondent, who had always found studying difficult, failed several subjects in her final exams but completed them later while teaching.

I'm not a good student; I'm not a good retainer of what's going on. I found the exams terrible, I really did, and of course I hate not being up there at the top. I missed a few things and I went back and did some subjects afterwards (PC2).

Adult learners and domestic duties

Mature age women felt the strain of combining study with domestic responsibilities. The sheer volume of work generated from their courses made many women wonder if they would ever be able to manage.

I admit it was a lot of work looking after a family and doing all those sorts of things as well as studying. How on earth we got through the work we did, I don't know (PC35).

One respondent described the tactics she used to cope.

My whole life was geared to looking after the children and my husband and my home, and the shopping and the cooking and washing and ironing. Instead of reading a novel or doing some knitting and just joining socially in tennis, I'd be studying. I would be standing at the ironing board with a book propped up there ironing and reading poetry. Another time I'd be doing dishes with a book propped up in the windowsill and reading about Maths problems (PC3).

Other respondents, like PC3 and PC17, combined study with their weekend activities.

I used to play tennis on Saturday afternoon in the summer. I used to do my work in between playing tennis, because we had to do a lot of work to pass (PC17).

Women found that when they went home domestic duties took first priority, and only after all their household tasks had been completed, the family had gone to bed and relative peace and quiet descended on the household, were they able to concentrate on their studies. Respondents PC2 and EO17 expressed similar views to the one below.

That was my best study time when everyone was in bed and the whole house was quiet. I could study and take notes, and it made sense, and then I'd have to be up again at six. I'd be up to two or three in the morning sometimes, depending if we had a test coming up or if it was something important. I'd study deep into the night and then get up first thing next morning to make sure that I put down what I had meant to put down and I hadn't wandered off. I think I lost a stone [in weight] that year (PC3).

Several respondents, PC2, PC5 and PC7, wondered if they would be able to complete the course because of the amount of work involved.

Yes, it was a lot of work. I think some of us wouldn't make it. There were times when I thought I'll never get through all this. You should have seen the pile of notes we had, because we had lecturers coming in and every time they would hand out a couple of sheets of paper. I came home in tears one night because of all these notes (PC7).

For another respondent, recalling this particular period in her life still caused her much anguish.

I had three children and the youngest girl was two and a half years old, and I had to leave her with my sister and visited her on the weekends. That period was very stressful for me and heartbreaking and I don't want to remember it (PC30).

One of the group lecturers recalled her insensitivity to the women in her course when advising them that they could complete assignments during the school holidays, which was a particularly

busy period for them as their children were at home demanding their attention. She also pointed out the conflict that some women had with their husbands in trying to maintain a social life.

I remember unfeelingly I said something once when it was coming up to end of course time and they were feeling the pinch, "Oh well, there are the May holidays", and there was a gasp. I made a real blue. They had their children home then and had less opportunity than ever for study. I remember women made comments particularly when they were up against study and getting assignments finished, that their husbands wanted to go out but they didn't feel that they were free to go out (PC35).

A poem portraying these difficulties was written by one of the trainees. It was included in a magazine written and distributed by the 'Ae' group in 1960 (see Appendix I).

Further Study

One line of inquiry in the interviews was to establish whether the women were encouraged to further their studies and obtain teacher classification.

An Education Officer believed this was the case for some women.

Some went on to get more qualifications and studied in their own time. In the late '70s the promotion lists came out and no person could be assessed without qualifications such as a Teachers' Certificate, so the TUAs could not be promoted (EO16).

A respondent recalled one Education Officer who assisted several women to complete the subjects required to qualify for promotion.

She said, "You've got to do something about getting on the promotion list. You can't just sit here teaching for the rest of your days; you've got to do something about it. You're never going to get on a promotion list unless you get these subjects". So she arranged for a group of about ten of us to do those subjects, and I got those and that got me on to the promotion list (PC36).

Another respondent mentioned that it was up to the Principal as to whether they were encouraged to study.

The first year when I was teaching, there was a very nice Infant Mistress there and she suggested that I try to do my Leaving by correspondence. She was very supportive, urging me along, and I did actually send for the papers but somehow I didn't get to apply and she left the school, and the next one was not quite so supportive (PC6).

Yet another respondent felt that while the majority of Principals encouraged their staff to do further study, it was up to the individual teacher whether they did.

I think the Heads encouraged their staff to go on and do higher things. I think there were many better teachers than I was who didn't bother to go for higher classification and get the qualifications I got (PC18).

Several respondents, including PC6, PC14 and PC15, expressed the view that family commitments, combined with teaching demands, precluded them from further study.

Teaching takes up all your time, especially when you've still got your family. You didn't have any time for doing any courses. You had to do all your program, all your writing up, and all your marking (PC15).

A number of respondents, PC4, PC5, PC8 and PC16, considered they had done enough study during their course, preferring to spend time with their families.

I was just not interested in doing more courses because my family was more important, really, than me carrying on further (PC4).

For one respondent, there were other things she preferred to do instead of studying.

I felt really that doing my job there was enough. I couldn't take further study, not interested at all. I just wanted a life as well as teach (PC5).

The Personal Desire for More Education and Training

For respondents PC4, PC13 and PC16, their course initiated a genuine commitment to learning, the desire to improve their minds and become better educators.

It was important for me to get these extra qualifications to find out what it was that made other people different to people who'd only done a short course. There must have been more to learn. The more I knew, the more education I had, the better teacher I would be, I felt. And because I was able to see things that I hadn't seen before, I would be able to perhaps either pass that on or direct other peoples' thinking to see what I had discovered as well. I was in the business of educating young minds (PC16).

Another respondent read books on education to improve her teaching.

I read quite a bit myself because I did want to learn, and I realised there was so much to this teaching (PC11).

One respondent keen to learn more, found it surprising that other teachers were not interested in further study.

Really and truly, I was surprised that for many people teaching was a daytime job and that was it. They had no further interest in furthering their own education. When you attended courses you were with people who wanted to further their own education, not just teaching, but keeping up to date. I loved keeping up to date (PC25).

The following respondent believed that further study made up for the formal education she lacked.

I felt, even though I hadn't had that extra education when I was young, I had sort of caught up, and that's why I did other courses. I felt that I needed more. I just always seemed to be thinking I didn't get it earlier on and I must catch up on some of these things now (PC3).

Gaining classification and the Teachers' Certificate

For several respondents it was important to get classification and a Teachers' Certificate for a number of reasons.

I went on to do all these extra subjects because I wanted to get my Teachers' Certificate. That was the Holy Grail for me [laughter]. It was a certificate to say that I'd actually made an effort to improve myself, or to improve the teaching side of myself, because that showed that I was able to be a teacher [laughter]. I wore myself out, and when I got the Teachers' Certificate I thought thank goodness I don't have to do any more studying! I was just really tired of studying (PC16).

Respondents PC18, PC25 and PC36 felt the need to be equal to fully trained teachers.

I did subjects at Teachers' College and I was fully certificated and got a Teachers' Certificate. I quite liked study and it meant that I was the same as everybody else or better than other people. I just liked to feel that I could compare fairly well with anyone (PC25).

Another respondent went on to gain qualifications because of an unstable marriage.

I wanted to get my total qualifications because my marriage wasn't good, and I took out Super because I wanted to be prepared in case things didn't work. So I completed my qualifications for two reasons, for security and to get the extra money (PC17).

A different insight on attitudes to further learning came from a number of respondents, PC6, PC12, PC15 and PC19 who encountered problems with the changeover to decimal currency and the introduction of the new Maths course. They felt that it was enough just to stay abreast with new developments in teaching, without seeking further study.

When it came to changing over to decimal currency, it was a lot of learning. We had to go up to the city and learn the new style Maths and make our new activity cards and things. We had to do all that ourselves. You didn't have any time for doing any courses (PC15).

In the opinion of an Education Officer, emergency teachers would have experienced more difficulty than fully trained teachers in understanding the new Maths course.

Maths was very difficult for everybody, but especially for those who had little formal education and little training. The short term trained would be in deep strife (EO16).

While in-service conferences were available to all teachers, an Education Officer found that many emergency teachers were simply not interested.

When there were in-service conferences I would say to them at staff meetings, "Who would like to go to this conference?" You'd think they'd grasp at the opportunity to get some ideas. Nobody wanted to go. They simply were not interested (EO9).

Participation in further courses related to teaching

With the advent of the School Libraries Branch, library collections in schools increased in the late sixties and early seventies due to Commonwealth grants for the purchase of books and materials. Previously, books had been randomly scattered amongst the classrooms, but the Libraries Branch preferred them to be consolidated in separate school libraries and manned by qualified Teacher Librarians. As a result, the Department offered release-time scholarships for teachers wanting to qualify as Teacher Librarians.

One Education Officer believed that the majority of candidates of these courses were emergency teachers, though she gave no indication as to why she thought so.

I thought we opened it up to anybody, but in fact it became a group of just about unclassified teachers I think, from the pressure cooker period, and they were then used as Teacher Librarians all over the place (EO2).

After they had been teaching for a number of years, several women participated in these courses for various reasons. A respondent was requested by her Principal to become the Teacher

Librarian for the new school library.

After a library was set up in the school, the Headmaster said, "I've enrolled you to go and do the library course". I said, "I haven't even thought about that", but I went and did it. I think it was for a year, 1968 it must have been. I think it was at Teachers' College, Kintore Avenue. I just remember I was laden down with books. I think we did Library Methodology, Cataloguing, Classification, and Childrens' Literature. I just found it was an awful lot of work at times, but I really did enjoy it (PC3).

Respondents, PC17, PC25 and PC35, chose to do the course because of their love of reading.

It was quite widely known they were looking for Teacher Librarians, anyone who was interested. You had to get the OK from your Headmaster. Well, I always had been interested in books, and I thought, "Oh, I'd really like to do that", and there were no librarians in school, so I did the library course (EO17).

For two respondents, PC17 and PC18, it was more the opportunity to get out of the classroom and avoid stressful confrontations with students.

I was released from teaching classes and it was full time study. I was glad to do the library course to sort of get away from kids for a while. I had a bit of a stomach full of it with the class I had (PC17).

Other courses on offer were English as a second language (ESL) and Remedial Courses which enabled respondents, PC4 and PC21, to teach English to migrant children and assist those with learning difficulties.

I did a course teaching English as a second language. I think that I was teaching part time and going to do the course part time. The children were willing to learn, they wanted to learn, whereas most Australian kids couldn't care less whether they learnt or not. They were just so appreciative of everything you did for them and learnt very, very quickly (PC2).

After retiring, one respondent did an ESL course to teach English to adult migrants because of the need to keep her brain stimulated.

I couldn't just do nothing. If you've got a brain, you've got to use it. I couldn't stop, so I did a three month course and taught migrant adults at TAFE for two years (PC15).

Several other respondents (PC11, PC12, PC15 and PC35) after their retirement enrolled in courses and took part in activities that were of particular interest to them.

I tried painting. I belonged to a book discussion group. I used to make my own clothes. I enjoyed sewing. I learnt to make bread and learnt to spin, do things that I wanted to do, but that was purely fun, you know, more for entertainment (PC35).

Ready for Teaching?

Regardless of the passage of time, the respondents were able to provide lengthy and detailed descriptions of the various courses of teacher training they undertook. The consistency in the details of the courses given, provide some verification of the nature of the course and its content. It is clear that the twelve month courses differed substantially from the earlier short courses of training in that they were academically based and required a more concerted study effort from the trainees. It is evident from their recollections that the intensity of this course, combined with their family responsibilities, caused hardship for a number of women. However, there were respondents who went on to seek further study, either to gain qualifications or in the desire to become better teachers, or for personal satisfaction.

Upon completion of their training – whether it was a month, three or five months or the full year course – the women were appointed as teachers. Their experiences in schools are described in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA III:

PRESSURE COOKER TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES AT SCHOOLS

This chapter relates the personal stories of the respondents as emergency teachers in schools and considers the degree to which the women found teaching to be a positive or negative experience from commencement of duty and over subsequent years until they resigned or retired. At the same time, their recollections paint a vivid picture of the teaching conditions and restrictive practices of the 1950s that all teachers had to contend with. The women's anecdotes evoke an era of South Australian educational history that teachers and students of the time would remember.

Teaching Conditions in the 1950s and 1960s

This section focuses on the practical daily working lives of emergency teachers in State schools during the 1950s and early 1960s. It reveals the restrictive practices of teaching and describes the conditions experienced not only by emergency teachers, but by all school teachers within the Department during this time.

You see teachers didn't have to prepare programs themselves, it was set for them. We were tied a bit to the old bell. Everything was cut and dried and you generally didn't have discipline problems (EO22).

State school education during the 1950s was a time of large numbers of children, teacher shortages, crowded school buildings, and strict discipline in the classroom. Not only was corporal punishment enforced on students, but their teachers were also subject to strict controls as regards their methods of teaching. A centralised educational bureaucracy prescribed the curriculum with compulsory teaching programs for all teachers to follow that were checked assiduously by

Principals as well as Inspectors. While the ability to experiment with the content of, or approach to teaching restricted some teachers, the prescribed curriculum and set program of work meant that for a number of emergency teachers no demands were made of them. While educational institutions have changed substantially over time, certain aspects of schools and teaching regardless of the era still resonate with pupils and teachers.

Formality

The majority of respondents began teaching at a time when social structures were more formal and rigid.

And things were very, very rigid. And they had to be I suppose (PC25).

As schools reflected the mores of society, it was unheard of for teachers, let alone those in senior positions such as Principals, to be called by their Christian names. Respondents, EO15, PC19, PC22 and PC25, expressed similar views to the one below.

It was a much more formal world then. You were Miss such and such (EO11).

There were also formalities to observe while writing letters to the Education Department.

I remember when we wrote to the head office and we had to sign ourselves, 'I am your obedient servant' and your name, and then it became 'yours faithfully' [laughter]. We had to be very humble people, you know (EO3).

Signing on when starting and finishing work was common to most jobs. School staff signed on in a book which was set out in a hierarchical order with the Principal at the top of the page, the trained staff in order of rank, and the Temporary Unclassified Assistants following.

Respondents PC22 and PC35 agreed with the following comment.

Oh yes, we signed on every morning and signed off every afternoon. We signed on in rank order, in pecking order. They made the Principal as almost a deity, and the TUAs would be signed on the bottom of the list (EO16).

Conditions due to overcrowding

During the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, infant and primary schools were inundated with large numbers of children, a factor which greatly affected the teaching experiences of all teachers. Compounding the situation further were the large numbers of migrant children enrolling in schools with little or no knowledge of the English language.

The baby boomers who came after the war, you know in 1949 and 1950, and then with the influx of migrant children as well, it became critical. It was like assembling an army (PC35).

The Minister of Education in his Report to Parliament acknowledged the large numbers of migrant children in schools but made no mention of the problems with language and cultural differences they encountered.

Many New Australian children have been absorbed into primary and secondary schools in the districts in which they happen to live and have received friendly aid from their teachers and their fellow-pupils in the difficult task of settling down into a new environment (South Australia, Parliament, 1949, No.44, p.5).

Teachers with large numbers of children in their classrooms were not able to give their students the individual attention they required, nor did they possess the skills needed to teach English as a second language.

It was the stage when there were a lot of European migrants coming out. They couldn't speak much English when they came. It was tough. I had some that couldn't speak any English at all, but I suppose I did as well as I could, and helped those who were really stuck. I hope they learnt something (PC35).

A number of respondents (PC2, PC7, PC13, PC21, PC22, PC24, PC27, PC30 and PC35) spoke of the reality of teaching in schools inundated with migrant children.

We were inundated by the children. They weren't little classes and you had a mixture of Polish, German, Dutch, Ukrainian, and Slavs. If you got four English speaking children in the class you thought you were lucky (PC13).

There were often too many students in the classroom for teachers to learn all their names, let alone ascertain their abilities and give them individual attention.

I had 65 for the first few years that I was teaching. I felt as though I couldn't teach them properly. When we called the roll I'd say, "Now just see how good I am today". I'd look at the children who I could remember as I called the roll, and we'd count how many I remembered (PC8).

Few teachers at the time had specialised knowledge of the individual differences of students or the training to deal with slow learners or the gifted. Several respondents (PC2, PC21 and PC36) expressed their concerns about the variations of student ability in their classes and being unable to help them because of the demands made of them by the large classes in their care.

I knew that it was the case that the bright child will learn in spite of the teacher. The medium will learn something, but down at the tail there was nothing you could do with a class of 50. There were 10% of the children that you couldn't reach. Far too many children to look after, that

concerned me. You didn't have any chance whatever of doing any remedial teaching when you were teaching, and this is what worried me (PC21).

One respondent reveals how she coped with the situation, though she was aware that it was not appropriate for students.

Well, what you used to do, you'd put your bright kids with one of these children and he'd pull them along. That was the only way you could teach in those days. I often thought it was a bit tough on them, but then you see you had to (PC2).

Inadequate school facilities

School buildings were inadequate to accommodate the large numbers of children, requiring portable classrooms to be brought in to ease the problem. With the large numbers of children in classes, total chaos could have resulted, but strict discipline enabled teachers to maintain control and a sense of order. Emergency teachers were confronted by inadequate conditions at the schools to which they were appointed. Respondents, including PC4, PC8, PC14, PC19, PC24, PC35, EO9 and EO20, recalled similar conditions to the following.

It was the second biggest school in the State and had over a thousand kids at that stage. We got in and shut the door, and you couldn't get in or out until we moved the desks away. The school was so big that you never saw the rest of the staff, you only saw people on either side of you. We didn't even go to the lunchroom for lunch because it was too far to walk, especially in bad weather (PC22).

Large classes often necessitated that students sat three to a desk that was designed to seat only two. Filling the classrooms with more furniture and students made it difficult for teachers to negotiate their way around the room. However, rigid seating arrangements and orderly movement prevented chaos.

Sitting on the wooden forms crammed along the back of the wall with so many children in the room. When you wanted to teach you had to get the children to move all the furniture back against the wall to have room to sit in front of you. They might not have been clever mathematicians, but they were clever furniture movers (PC13).

With little or no equipment or materials available, teachers were forced to improvise.

In those days we had an empty room with no chairs, no tables, no chalk, and all we had was some textbooks. There weren't enough books to go around. You had to save every scrap of paper. This was immediately after the war and things were still very short. No clerical assistance of course, I mean that was totally unheard of. What I do remember more than anything else is the shortage of books of all kinds. I can remember black-boarding a page of reader a day, because we didn't have enough readers. I had one and we'd sort of pass it round. Paper was so scarce that you had to use every single scrap! When I see the paper wasted today, oh it hurts! (PC22).

Regimentation and orderliness

Regimentation was a daily feature in the life of the school.

We had assemblies of course and lined up and saluted the flag. Everybody did the same thing at the same time (PC19).

An article in *The News* in July 1955, outlined Professor Butts' report to the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), quoting him as saying that he saw in Australian schools, 'great evidence of rigid, uniform treatment of little children and that this treatment rested upon the assumption that orderliness, discipline and the development of skills were the goals of primary education'. According to Professor Butts, schoolchildren were 'tyrannised so much by

classroom routines of discipline ... they appear downright frightened' (Butts, 1955, July 4, p.19).

Standard classroom practice relied on quiet orderly rooms of students seated at their desks. Regardless of what was learnt, it gave the appearance to anyone walking past that the education of young minds was taking place.

What they were looking for were people who could keep a class of 70 students quiet and intellectually busy". And that's all you had to do, keep them quiet and keep them busy. They're the criteria (EO10).

Professor Butts reported that 'Noise, talkativeness, movement, free expression and informal discussion are assumed to reflect a lack of control by the teacher and therefore a lack of efficiency' (Butts, 1955, July 4, p.19).

Two respondents, (PC16 and EO17) felt that Principals were more concerned with the level of noise and that children were quiet, rather than knowing what was taking place in the classrooms.

It was important. As long as the kids were quiet they didn't mind what was going on in the room (PC16).

Students had to put their chairs up on the tables at the end of the day for the school cleaners to sweep the floors. Respondents PC4 and PC36 used to make their students practise putting their chairs on the tables quietly because of the Principal.

Noise for the Infant Mistress was her big thing and the first thing to teach them was how to put their chair up. But if there was a noise, she would come charging down the verandah to see what it was all about (PC36).

The following respondent settled her noisy students by making them place their hands on their heads, similar tactics still used today by junior primary teachers.

I can remember that hands on heads used to be a thing. As long as they got the hands out of the way, that seemed to kind of quiet them down a bit (PC25).

One Education Officer recalled a young teacher with progressive ideas demonstrating to other teachers the alternative to a quiet and regimented classroom.

She had a free classroom where the children chose their own activities and that was like a breath of fresh air in the school. And she had a great sense of humour and her influence permeated. The others were very critical of her. Well, they weren't accustomed to it, having this kind of freedom, and fortunately she was in a room down at the end of the yard, where the children made noises and nobody heard. The other rooms were all very quiet, whereas her children moved around and talked, and were busy doing things and making things (EO9).

Another Education Officer, who considered herself a liberal and somewhat progressive teacher, allowed a certain level of noise in her classroom, but only if it was kept to the bare minimum.

My class was never the quietest one in the school. I didn't mind a little bit of noise now and then if they were helping one another. If it was naughty noise, well, 'whacko'. But if it was a little bit of noise with one child showing another what to do, I didn't mind in the least. It was good for the children to help one another sometimes, and you can't help without a little whisper. I said, "If you speak, you've got to speak QUIETLY!" (EO3)

The following respondent refused to tolerate noise under any circumstance.

I used to get very impatient when children talked. I wanted them to sit still and be quiet (PC35).

Corporal punishment and discipline of children

Sit down, sit up, and shut up (PC21).

In the 1950's children at home or school, as well as in the public domain, were expected to respect their elders, accept authority without question and be well behaved. Discipline was enforced even for minor transgressions.

We could discipline them then you see. By and large, kids in my years respected authority and they knew those two words, discipline and respect, and they don't know that now (PC4).

Teachers had the approval of the Principal and parents as well as the wider community to use corporal punishment to enforce discipline.

I had method and control. In the fifties the teacher was definitely in charge and had the backing of the community (PC31).

However, that is not to say that behavioural problems did not occur. Many respondents, including PC2, PC5, PC6, PC7, PC12, PC18, PC22, PC25 and PC36, believed that there had always been difficult children, but this was the exception rather than the rule.

Oh yes, you had them, but you could generally control them. I would say the discipline problems would only be general (PC8).

Some teachers controlled their classes entirely with fear, their children being too afraid to move. Two respondents (PC25 and EO22) attested to the view given by the Education Officer below. It reflected the situation which Professor Butts had reported.

The children sitting there with folded arms like little soldiers, and they wouldn't even dare move their heads or look to the left or look to the right. And children had to be two by two in their desks and they all looked at the blackboard and did the same thing at the same time. The tension in the room was unbelievable! (EO9).

There were some emergency trained teachers who wanted to be seen as effective teachers and in control of their students, relied on the use of corporal punishment.

I used to smack legs when kids were noisy. I remember there was one child in the class and every time I spoke to him, he just grinned or laughed at me, so I smacked his face, which I shouldn't have done. He was a child of about nine or ten and dissolved into tears. When I look back now I'm ashamed of some of the attitudes I took, but I was trying to be a good disciplinarian (PC35).

It was the opinion of an Education Officer that some emergency teachers used excessive force to maintain control.

I had one who taught with the ruler and her hand. The only time she stopped using the ruler was when I was in earshot. She landed into them, which made the kids scared of her, so she had fewer control problems. That was to keep control of the kids in the school (EO1).

The use of a ruler or cane, slapping and smacking were common means of enforcing discipline.

If you were a good boy you got a stamp and that was wonderful. If you were naughty you got the ruler. You see, they could use the ruler as much as they wanted to (EO1).

Several respondents, including PC4, PC6, PC10, PC14 PC15 and PC21, recalled similar experiences in disciplining children to the one below.

I'm not against giving children a smack on the top of the leg or the bottom and I've done it many times and said, "Don't you dare do that". And quite often if I smacked the kiddy just once on the leg or once on the bottom, I'd say, "You know why I did that, don't you?" And they'd always accept you. If I was giving a lesson and they decided to play up, they would be in trouble. I'd just look at them. One glare, you know (PC19).

One respondent recalled using corporal punishment both as a teacher and Principal.

Smacking children was commonplace when I first started. I had the reputation of being one of the best smackers. I walloped a child within an inch of his life. I got him in the office and I hammered him, but now you would get the sack if you did it. Children did as they were told. I can

remember the first time a kiddy said to me, "I just won't!" I just looked at him and said, "You will", and he did (PC36).

The prescribed curriculum and teaching programs

The prescribed curriculum was set by the Education Department and monitored by Inspectors to ensure that all schools conformed.

Well, you had the curriculum you had to follow. It was there in every subject and every term there was a certain standard that you had to reach (PC25).

Programs were considered an important and comprehensive record of teaching method where teachers set out the lessons they would follow explicitly, with comments added when the work was completed. A comprehensive description of the program by one respondent reveals its importance.

You had to have yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily programs, and your work had to be programmed. You had to know the outcome of the year's work and break it down till you got to your daily program. You had a weekly program with Monday to Friday on it and each subject would be on that page, and you would have written down all the week what you were going to teach in each subject for each day. So you had to have the time ... 9.15 to 9.45 would be Phonics or whatever, and you to go out and do your Phys. Ed. On one side of your program you had to remark on the way your lessons went for that week, whether you were happy with it or not. You had to pick out a certain child, perhaps a problem child or a non-learner, and have a child study and continue on with that child, and how that child was behaving, progressing, or whatever. This had to be done at home at night, and you had to have a daily program for each subject. That was signed weekly by the Headmistress. I know that it had to be passed up on Friday morning and she would go through it (PC22).

Principals scrutinised programs thoroughly before they signed them as a means of checking that the work had been completed. Several respondents, PC12, PC19 and EO11, recalled handing their programs each week for the Principal to check.

We had our program done and the Headmistress was in the room and looked at what you had for a writing lesson, and she went to your program and checked it. Then she would check the children's books to see that the writing had been done as programmed. Every week the program would go in and she'd sign it and then there would be comments written on the other page, quite a lengthy screed (PC19).

One respondent recalled staying up late at night to ensure her program was in order and ready to hand up each week for the Principal to check and initial.

You had to have your program in, so I would be sitting up till two o'clock in the morning and making out the week's program, and the Principal used to say to the others, "Why can't you all be like her? She's always got hers ready". I knew I had to do it, and did (PC7).

The pressure to keep programs up to date, accurate and handed in on time to the Principal, greatly affected one respondent.

I sometimes still have nightmares about whether I've got my program written up by Friday (PC6).

The fact that programs were religiously adhered to with Principals checking them regularly, may have been an advantage to new teachers.

They had their programs. They wrote up a weekly program which came in to you and you would go through it in detail to check that they were going through their Maths and their reading, and all the things they needed to accomplish in a week, and you checked it out (EO9).

One of the advantages of the prescriptive nature of programs was that it enabled teachers to follow the same program of work year after year with little or no variation.

I suppose the curriculum was planned somehow or other. You had your book, you had your readers, you had your phonics books, and you had your Maths. Each program was kept because you could use it again and again and again. Once you had one year planned, then that was all there was to it, because you kept on planning practically the same work year after year (PC15).

Another important requirement for teachers was marking the roll accurately.

We did things like how to mark rolls and do returns. You have no idea what junior primary work was like in those days. I remember being told that if you marked your roll wrongly you were liable to go to jail, you know that sort of stuff [laughter] (PC36).

Friday tests

A feature of the school week was the Friday test, so dreaded by students.

Friday was test day. For a few of the students it was tummy ache day. You had children who were nervous and frightened of the results (PC11).

Teachers dreaded it also because of the amount of work involved in marking and recording the tests as no extra time was set aside for this task.

On Friday there would be that little test, and that had to be all marked and sent down to the office by recess time. Who were they trying to prove their skills, the kids or mine? That nearly killed me, having to get all that marked, and forget how many kids were in the class! (PC33).

One respondent got the children to help.

Oh, Friday tests! [laughter]. Dictation, Spelling and Mental arithmetic on Friday morning. It was marked and completed and recorded by recess time. I remember working out the percentage on the blackboard and the children used to help. It was something to keep them occupied. They used to get so pleased if the class percentage was better than it was last week (PC25).

The following respondent described an incident revealing the importance placed on Friday tests and the competition it generated amongst staff members.

The Assistant Head had this little handpicked class, and in the days of the sacred Friday test, her class used to have the most amazing results. They were almost 100% all the time. I didn't think she was even a good teacher. I was on yard duty one Thursday, happened to glance through her window and the blackboard monitor had not clearly rubbed the blackboard and there was a complete set of spelling words and sums still visible on the board. So I got a pencil and notebook and I jotted down the entire lot, and Friday morning we were each handed our morning test so that nobody could cheat. When I glanced at the paper it was exactly the same as she had on her board on Thursday. My children did extremely well that time because I had done the same test the day before as a rehearsal. She said to me, "Your work is remarkably good. I must congratulate you, your children have improved." I said, "Oh, it's easy when you know how", and there was a moment's silence and people looked up the whole length of the staff table. I said, "All I did was check your blackboard on Thursday and gave the same test myself on Thursday afternoon". There was absolute silence and she walked out of the room. I was just fed up with her being so smug about her marvellous results and they weren't honest results, but it cost me my position there. I was transferred at the end of that year (PC11).

She described a comical incident highlighting the reverent way that Friday tests were regarded.

He disrupted the whole class at such an important time with the test. "Everybody sitting up so beautifully, all in order, feet together children, backs up straight, think carefully, best writing", and in he comes always late. He was just a little below par mentally and the adventures he had on the way to school. He used to have the children hanging on every word. I said, "Not a word, get to your seat, we're doing a dictation test". "Yes, but...". "Sit down and I don't want a word from you until this test is over". "Yeah, well what will I do with my snake?" The whole class was in a flutter, everything fell to pieces. He'd brought a maggoty, dead old snake that he'd found in a paddock on the way to school for the nature table. Needless to say, that wasn't a very successful test (PC11).

The following two sections examine what the respondents regarded as the positive and negative experiences of their teaching careers.

The Positive Aspects of Teaching

A large number of respondents (PC2, PC5, PC6, PC7, PC10, PC22, and PC36) expressed views similar to the one below.

Oh yes, yes I did enjoy teaching. That's why I stayed at it for so long (PC12).

Respondents, such as PC11 and PC25, considered their enthusiasm carried over to the children making it a positive experience for all.

I really and thoroughly enjoyed those first two years. Everything was new, and maybe I was enthusiastic, and maybe that passed on to the children. Perhaps that is why it worked so well. I don't know, but I never felt that I don't know what to do here, because I was full of enthusiasm (PC25).

Many respondents commented on the fact that teaching was an enjoyable experience for them mainly because of the children they taught. Three respondents, (PC8, PC15 and PC19) mentioned that their genuine love for children and the pleasure of interacting with them made teaching such a positive experience.

I loved the small children and it would be lovely when they'd run up and throw themselves at you and say, "Gee, I missed you". Things like that, you know (PC19).

Young children were often a source of delight, and fun to be with.

I did have fun. I loved the little ones. There were fun experiences with them too. I really loved the children, and some of them were such fun (PC11).

Two respondents, (PC13 and EO19) appreciated the honesty of young children.

I liked their openness. I mean you get a little girl come up and say, "Don't you feel well this morning? I thought you were a bit grumpy" (PC13).

One respondent found it extremely difficult to keep a straight face when reprimanding children

for what she saw as humorous incidents.

I used to find it hard with the children as regards being serious when I was supposed to. They would do something which I should really have chastised them, and it would strike me as funny, so I had to write on the board [laughter], so that they couldn't see too much (PC9).

Another respondent found teaching children a panacea for her personal problems.

I loved it. If you were very worried about anything ... well, I had a couple of deaths in the family while I was teaching, and if you got in front of the children or amongst the children it would help you (PC8).

Just seeing young children invariably lifted the spirits of one respondent.

I love to go to schools and see young people. Children always give me a lift (PC32).

Imparting the joy of knowledge and seeing a glimmer of understanding from students was reward enough for the following respondent.

I can remember one time I came home from school and I was so happy because I'd been trying to get a child to understand some particular thing, and he hadn't. And then one day he did, and you know, the light came over his face and it just made my day. Just to see that joy of understanding you know, and I thought, "This is it! This is what it's all about!" I thoroughly enjoyed that. I was quite certain that I was giving something necessary and important as far as the children were concerned (PC9).

For a number of respondents (PC3, PC9, PC14, PC25 and PC29), it was the type of school, the staff and students that made teaching a positive experience.

It was such a good school, and from the very first day I went there the Head was helpful, the deputy was good, the teachers were pleasant, and the children were just so cooperative (PC25).

In the case of several respondents (PC10, PC17 and PC19) getting positive feedback on their teaching was a rewarding experience.

I've had some very nice compliments made about the sort of teacher that I was, and it makes me feel good because you are handling children's lives. I just wanted to do the best I could for them, and I did enjoy it. It's very nice and rewarding to get feedback from them that they found you a good teacher, and that they liked you and their parents appreciated what you did (PC17).

The Negative Aspects of Teaching

Though the women recalled a number of negative aspects of teaching in the day to day routines of school and classrooms, these did not necessarily detract from their overall positive experiences of teaching. The initial fear of taking a classroom full of children with no prior experience and little knowledge of how to control them was a feeling shared by many. A number of respondents, (PC2, PC3, PC5, PC13, PC15, PC17, and PC30) were convinced that their lack of adequate training, knowledge and skills impacted negatively on their initial experience as teachers.

You were sort of thrown in at the deep end, weren't you? You hadn't really been in a classroom and there you were teaching. You don't know what books they've got, you don't know anything, and I was sort of struggling. You've never been in that situation before, and one little girl sitting down the front said, "We use this", and I said, "Thank goodness for you". She was a dear little girl, only five or six years old, but she knew I didn't know. I wondered what on earth I was doing there (PC15).

One respondent was totally unprepared for her first experience as a teacher of the new mid-year intake of students and the unrealistic expectations the Headmaster had of the children.

They didn't tell me until I actually went to the school that I'd been taking the new intake, so that was a wake up experience. Totally unprepared yes, so I had to learn with the children almost, you know, to try and help them. And then of course the Headmaster would come in and say, "I want them to know all the number concepts from zero to fifteen by the end of the year". For all these little new children who could hardly recognise a symbol (PC16).

Another respondent blamed the Department for not adequately preparing teachers for the practical aspects of teaching, such as dealing with disciplinary problems.

I blame the Education Department. They don't really equip people to go out teaching. They give them plenty of subjects, but they don't teach them to teach. They never have and they never will. They equip them with the subject matter but they don't tell them how to cope with the child that's bouncing his desk up all the time, then falls flat on the floor (PC2).

For two respondents (PC9 and PC28), inappropriate behaviour of the children impacted negatively on their teaching experiences.

I suppose you always found something not pleasant, or some children who were not pleasant (PC9).

Another two respondents, including PC33, disliked involvement with school staff.

Sometimes I think egos among the staff caused more hassles than anything else. You always had to be careful what you said and what you did. I'm inclined to open my mouth without thinking of these things and I'd find out afterwards that I shouldn't have said that because of such and such. Especially among big staffs you have a big variation of people (PC20).

For many women, teaching was laborious because of the considerable amount of time and effort spent preparing lessons, marking work, writing up programs, and making teaching aids. A large number of respondents (PC7, PC13, PC15, PC17, PC21, PC25 and PC31) agreed with the following comment.

There were days when it became a bit of a chore, just a heavy load. I mean there was always after hours work, and you took books home to mark, and there were programs to write up, and schemes to be thought out. A lot of it was just sheer hard work I think, getting stuff ready, not necessarily reading up, but perhaps thinking up new ways of presenting exactly the same thing to make it more interesting (PC6).

For the following respondent, large classes generated a lot of work.

Well, when I started I had 58 in my class and I taught grade three. There were so many children; it was getting to me (PC21).

As there were no non-contact lessons or school assistants to help them, teachers were expected to complete work in their own time, usually after school or at home.

Work, oh yes, very hard, and there was no release at all. Absolutely no time for preparation in school because your full day was occupied with those children and any preparation had to be done at home, or you stayed late (PC25).

Many respondents (PC15, PC16, PC17, PC19 and PC30) commented on the amount of time spent making teaching aids for their own class, which at the time very few were available to purchase and therefore had to be made by the teacher. This became a bone of contention because they had to pay for materials themselves from what they considered was a meagre salary. They were not given an allowance to do so, nor were they reimbursed by the school for materials they purchased.

I was busy making charts so that they could have them around the room. It was a very busy time, because in those days you couldn't just go to a shop and buy these aids. See, many times you had to do all of these things yourself and you didn't get any extra allowance to do it, it all came out of your pay. But you did spend a lot of your own money on things if you wanted to have the concepts to put before the children (PC16).

One respondent had to make everything herself, as the school she taught in was in a low socio-economic area where there were no resources at all for the children.

I went to a very poor school and the paint was peeling off some of the buildings. It was a really depressing sort of a place and the kids were really poor. They had nothing there. They had no PE equipment or anything like that. I remember making my own beanbags so the kids could have something to take out and do something with. Everything you made yourself (PC5).

Furthermore, as there were no specialist teachers available during this period, teachers were required to teach all subjects in the curriculum, as well as taking extra curricular activities such as sport, dance, art and craft.

There were a number of respondents (PC7, PC8, PC11, PC13, PC21, PC31 and PC35) who shared similar views to the one below.

Yes, we did everything. You didn't have any specialist teaching in those days. We had Sewing. They used to do cross stitch and tomboy stitch, and all those things, and we all knitted! Boys and girls all knitted in craft lessons once a week. See, you used to do Mental Arithmetic usually first thing in the morning, and then you would do some spelling, and then you'd do Maths and that would take you up to recess time. Then after recess we used to have reading or telling a story and composition. Then in the afternoons you would have music or P.E. You used to do exercise. You got out and did it (PC2).

The following respondent considered teaching not hard physical labour but mentally challenging, unlike other work she had done.

It was not a difficult job in the way of being physical, you know, having to get out and dig ditches or something like that. Mentally of course it was full on, and especially so when you felt that you had to give more than perhaps an office job being 9 to 5 and you'd forget about it (PC6).

Teachers were also required to do yard duty, with some Principals expecting their staff to supervise students during the breaks, giving them no time to enjoy a cup of tea or eat their lunch in peace.

Gee, we worked hard! A lot was demanded of us. It was enough to cope with your teaching with big classes and we did have big classes as I said, 40 up to 50 children. And you had to be on yard duty. Our Infant Mistress demanded that, "All my teachers are on duty for morning recess", and we would go into the staffroom, get our cup of tea and we would go out on duty, just walking around with the children with our cup of tea. And of course at lunchtime we would go in and have our lunch and half of us would be inside and half of us would be out. If you were not on yard duty, you'd eat a sandwich and hear one of your children read (PC19).

One respondent claimed that teacher professionalism contributed to the heavy workload.

I thought too much was expected of you in school hours. You were expected to do too much and there were beginning to be too many staff meetings, too many conferences after school. I don't know, I just thought it's not my cup of tea at all (PC5).

The heavy workload prompted one respondent to persuade her son not to take up teaching.

I used to say to my son at times when he was at High School, when I would be snowed under with work, "Never be a teacher, it's too hard!" (PC6).

For most of the women interviewed, their first priority was to get home to their children and then attend to domestic duties. Instead of being able to relax in the evenings, they had to complete school work which they brought home with them. This was particularly onerous when the women were unwell or experienced problems with family members.

It would have seemed very acceptable to go home when you're not feeling well. Maybe you coped with some sort of an upset in the family and then had to supply the evening meal and settle down to work after that, when you would like to go to bed (PC6).

Despite the amount of work expected from teachers and the problems of dealing with difficult students or staff members, one respondent summed up the sentiments of many of the women.

We worked hard, but it was very rewarding work, it really was (PC17).

Reasons for Leaving Teaching

I taught for 23 years, plus the year's training, nearly a quarter of a century (PC3).

The majority of respondents in this study had lengthy careers as teachers. The average span of service was twenty years, with women usually commencing teaching in their early to mid-thirties and continuing until they reached the compulsory retirement age.

There were several respondents, including PC27 and PC32, who made comments similar to the one below.

Yes, I went in 1960 and I didn't finish till 1985. That's when I was told to retire. Oh yes, they sent a letter on the 29th of June and that's the day I had to retire (PC2).

Those who retired before the compulsory age did so for a variety of reasons, the main ones being family commitments, personal illness or family members' ill health or death, and the desire to travel or have time for other activities. Other reasons were the rapid changes in teaching, the increasing use of technology, plus the breakdown of society's values that resulted in an escalation of challenging behaviours in children.

Health problems, illness and stress

Several respondents experienced health issues as they aged, making it difficult for them to continue teaching.

Yes, I started mid-year 1957 to December 1981. 24 years. I was 61. By that time you could go on to 65, but I had bad knee problems, and the main reason I stopped was because they remodeled the school and the infant school would be upstairs and my knee had given out by then and no way could I go up and down the stairs. I decided I'd take the mid-term off and see how I coped without going to school, and I found I coped very well [laughter] (PC15).

One respondent believed the stress of teaching caused or exacerbated her health problems.

I think a lot of the stress was causing my physical breakdown as well, because it was on your mind all the time. You'd wake up at 3 o'clock in the morning thinking, "I must remember that", and you'd get the notebook and pencil out and you'd write these ideas down. I had a couple of [tooth] implants put in and they cracked. Evidently that was a symptom of the stress that I was undergoing. There was a hell of a lot to do, you know, you've got to be on top of it, even though inside yourself you were screaming "I don't want to be here! I can't stand these children any longer!" You had to have eyes in the back of your head and it was very stressful, and the

perspiration was streaming from me because I was holding it all in because I was being two people. The person who was inside absolutely screaming at my situation, and the other one that had to be calm and not be stressed with the children, and always say the right words and never be nasty. But inside yourself you were saying, "Little buggers!" [laughter] (PC16).

Often it was the case of not feeling well or tiredness.

I didn't feel terribly well and by the time you coped with a couple of naughty children, I used to get very tired. I just seemed flat all the time (PC19).

One respondent revealed a sense of weariness in her struggle as a single parent.

I could have gone on, but I'd had enough. I raised two children virtually for a long time, twenty years on my own. I tried to keep the garden in order, the maintenance on the house up to date, and I just had enough (PC13).

Major events such as hospitalisation, or the death of aged parents were contributing factors in the decision to resign.

I had a big cancer operation and my mother had died in 1973, and Dad died in 1976 when I was in the hospital having the operation. So I decided I would retire. It was a stressful time for me. It all happened to me at the same time (PC18).

Husband's retirement, ill health or death

Respondents, including PC1 and PC32, cited the retirement plans, ill health or death of their husbands as the reasons why they resigned.

I retired in 1980. I was 58. I resigned only because my husband retired. He was then 60, you see. I taught 27 years, from 1953 to 1980 (PC4).

I loved teaching, but my husband was a war veteran and he got sick with a bad heart. I left school when I was nearly 60 to look after my husband (PC32).

Another, devastated at the loss of her husband, resigned immediately. However, she realised she had been too hasty as she missed teaching and went back as a relief teacher.

He died at 55 and I sort of resigned on the spot because I was so devastated. But after four years I was lost. I didn't know what to do with myself, so I applied to go on the relieving staff and stayed until 1983 (PC33).

Doing relief teaching after resigning or retirement, was similar to the experience of other respondents, and is discussed in a further section of this chapter.

Family commitments

Many women not only had families to care for, but aged parents as well who made demands on their time and energy. Two respondents, including PC14, cared for their aged mothers and mothers-in-law.

I stopped because of the two old ladies. Well, it was becoming a bit of a strain because they were getting towards 90 and Mum was slipping back and had other problems. And it was getting to the stage where we didn't like to leave them all day, and perhaps I had enough too (PC22).

Three respondents, including PC8, were urged by their daughters to give up teaching.

They thought I was looking tired and my daughters who had grown up by this time said, "Mum why don't you give teaching away?"(PC19).

My daughter had two children and she wanted to go to work, and so I retired to look after the children twice a week (PC7).

Travel and the pursuit of other interests

Travel and other interests that the women wanted to pursue, were further reasons for retiring.

My sister's husband died and she wanted to go overseas to meet some people her husband had known. They'd written to her and asked her to come over for a holiday, so I thought I'll give it away and go with her (PC12).

Several respondents (PC9, PC13, PC17, PC19 and PC25) preferred to have the time to pursue various interests.

I wanted to do other things in my life besides being at school teaching kids. I just wanted to be out and do other things, and over the following years got involved in other things (PC17).

Changes in teaching

A number of respondents (PC5, PC13 and PC28) became concerned when teaching methods changed, deciding it was time to leave.

I enjoyed teaching until the last year. I could see it changing. The methods for teaching were changing which I didn't agree with. I didn't like the idea, but fortunately it was towards the end of my time. I'd had enough by then. There was a lot of pressure at the end to produce things. You had to almost prove yourself (PC5).

One respondent believed that the new teaching methods were not positive steps for education.

I think that they have gone too far away from the basic things. I think it was a great mistake when they brought in the new Maths. I didn't like that. I went back to teaching the children tables and all that worked for me when I was at school, and worked for my children in the early years. It appalled me when they brought in the so-called 'creative writing'. "Don't inhibit their creativity by worrying about their spelling and their grammar". There was nothing wrong with what we were teaching (PC16).

One respondent was uncomfortable with the increased use of technology in schools and this precipitated her retirement.

I've never been a technical person. I was very hopeless at technical things and to play around with tape recorders and audiovisual stuff, and TV came in and all that sort of thing. It was all stuff that I wasn't happy with. I am a person who likes to do it the old way (PC17).

A number of women believed that rapid changes in the prevailing values and attitudes of society negatively impacted on children's behaviour and made teaching very stressful. According to one respondent changing social values and the break-down of the traditional family unit confused children.

With so many people living in de facto relationships and switching over often, I think that a child is really a very mixed up child. Often they don't know who their parents are (PC8).

Lack of parental control, the lessening of discipline and respect for authority, and the media had a negative effect on children and contributed to behavioural problems in the classroom. Respondents (EO3, PC6, PC16, PC17 and PC32) believed that parents having little or no control over their children was a major factor in creating difficulties and challenges for teachers.

Control had been taken out of parents' hands at home more or less. They don't listen to their parents and I think that made teaching a very difficult life (EO3).

The whole situation tended to change as far as social things were concerned. When graffiti was coming into it, and when children were vandalising, you were tending to feel that it was just a waste of time because they were not going to get any better. It made me feel like resigning because they were getting more and more troubled in the classroom. Many of them were 'latch key' kids, one parent families and had problems and weren't interested in doing any work. So I thought well, I've got to recharge my own batteries first and think about whether I can go on with this, because it was becoming very, very stressful (PC16).

A number of respondents, EO3, PC13, PC16 and PC19, blamed the media for the negative influence on children and their attitude.

They were only interested in getting home and watching TV and having somebody else fill up their brain. But when it came to exerting themselves, they were not interested in doing that. Many of them didn't even have two sentences they could string together for a composition. You almost had to be an actor performing out in front of them and putting all of these ideas into their heads to hope that they would be able to just write down a few ideas that you'd presented to them on a piece of paper. So it was becoming more and more difficult to try and get an original thought from the children (PC11).

The decline in social standards resulted in children being uncooperative and bad mannered.

I found that kids from the time I'd started in 1962 up to 1981 when I retired, were becoming increasingly rude, impudent. I left in 1981 at the stage where little kids, even at infant school, and you were out on yard duty and happened to see a bit of paper you asked a little kid, "Do you mind picking up that paper and putting it in the bin". They'd say ---- It just blew my mind. I just couldn't cope with it (PC17).

For one respondent, the negative attitudes and behaviour of students in the classroom had affected the level of satisfaction and achievement she had previously enjoyed in teaching.

There were children in the classroom that would disrupt everybody else and make it difficult, and they would answer you back and they would throw things. That's why I thought I've got to have some time away from this situation. You weren't getting the same satisfaction from children as one did originally. You set out with such high hopes and such high aspirations; you were going to change the world with all these little people because here was fertile ground, you know [laughter]. You were going to sow these seeds, and one of these days they would all be professors or doctors and that was attributed to your work (PC16).

Retirement

Many respondents worked for considerable periods before they decided to retire from teaching. There were a number of respondents (PC8, PC14, PC16, PC17, PC18, and PC36) who mentioned that the generous superannuation scheme allowed them to leave teaching and live comfortably in retirement.

Very early in the piece, perhaps when we became qualified we were offered super, and I took out super for which now I am eternally grateful. Having been out of the department for 22 years I more than got my money's worth out of it (PC14).

Respondents PC11 and PC19 explained that they loved teaching and missed it when they retired.

I loved it. After I had to retire, just to drive past a schoolyard when they were playing on the field, oh, such a pang! I would love to be back again just teaching, because I felt fulfilled. It was something I knew I did well. I could have been a good teacher at 70. I was very hale and hearty and my mind was keen and I was still a good teacher, and to me it was such a sad thing that one had to, on account of being a certain age, to stop teaching (PC11).

For the following respondent, it was the children she missed when she retired.

I think in a way I regretted that I didn't go on a bit longer. I enjoyed teaching. I could have gone a little while longer. I missed the children terribly. The little ones, you know, they'd run up to you and throw themselves at you and throw their arms around you. I got on very well with the children, I really did. I got to know some beautiful children and I got to know a few of the stinkers too, but I coped with them. I enjoyed it and I missed the children (PC19).

After retiring, respondents (PC1, PC2, PC7, PC8, PC10, PC20, PC22, and PC28) could not completely sever their ties with teaching and became relief teachers.

I did quite a lot of relieving when I actually left school for the last time. All the Heads around about the district where we were living knew me and I did quite a bit of relieving at the local schools (PC20).

One respondent, however, did not enjoy relief teaching.

I didn't enjoy relieving. They weren't my children and often I was horrified to find books marked and children in the class that I could have helped and they weren't being helped and I would come home and worry about it. You'd only relieve for a week, perhaps a fortnight, and you wouldn't be there long enough to see what you could do with that. I would often be worried (PC11).

Another refused to do relief teaching, preferring to spend the time on her hobbies.

They wanted me to go round to the school here, but I said no. If you had the ability to teach you could be a relieving teacher. When I finish with something, I finish with it and that's it. I had hobbies that I wanted to go on with (PC12).

A Fulfilling Career

For the majority of respondents, teaching was a positive experience, enjoyed over many years. The initial shock of taking over a new class with limited training was soon overcome. The demands, hard work and professionalism required did not deter the women from enjoying their time in the classroom and the children they taught. During the 1950s, with large classes and poor conditions, a rigid teaching system, though restrictive, enabled many teachers to cope. The changes to teaching practices and methodology, and increasing technology, brought with it challenges for a number of teachers, but it was social changes with the breakdown of the family unit and increasing negative attitudes amongst students, that many found most disturbing. By this stage, the majority of emergency teachers were approaching retirement age and issues such as health and family commitments saw many decide to go before the compulsory age for retirement. But the sense of fulfillment that many of the women received from the daily interaction with children and their achievements, stayed with them, and they were drawn back to teaching in some capacity.

The majority of respondents interviewed regarded teaching as a satisfying long term career overall. The women generally had positive experiences with certain aspects which they particularly enjoyed, particularly their relationships with children. However, some aspects of teaching were not pleasurable in that limited training and experience with schools meant they went into classrooms relatively unprepared. The negative aspects of school life, however, did not appear to have marred the overall positive experiences of many women as they continued teaching until retirement.

CHAPTER EIGHT
ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA 1V:
PRESSURE COOKER TEACHERS
IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORKINGS OF THE DEPARTMENT

In the bureaucratic rules and procedures which governed the workings of the South Australian Education Department, most of the emergency teachers were an anomaly because of the fact that they were married. No married woman was permitted to be a permanent member of staff, with the accompanying benefits of superannuation and the possibility of promotion. On the other hand, the services of married women as emergency teachers were desperately needed in schools with acute staff shortages. The result was that the emergency teachers found themselves in the curious position of being granted special favours or preferential treatment in practical matters, to ensure their ongoing participation, while in matters related to their status classification and their long term careers and advancement, they were placed in a very disadvantageous position. In other areas, such as initial support in the classroom, assessment of their teaching skills and ongoing professional development, their particular needs were ignored and they were treated as any other member of staff. This chapter explores these issues in more detail and concludes with the respondents' opinions on the effectiveness of the emergency teacher scheme.

Preferential Treatment of Women Pressure Cooker Teachers

Oh, I must admit they did try very hard to please us in those days (PC1).

An interesting feature to emerge from the discussions with those interviewed was the generous placement concessions granted by the Education Department to women emergency teachers. Because the majority of them were married with children and the Department was desperate to

employ them, they enjoyed distinct advantages over their trained counterparts. At the time, all teacher trainees in fully accredited training courses at Teachers' College were paid an allowance and bonded to the Department for the corresponding amount of time taken to complete their course. This was the bane of many young fully trained teachers who were forced to accept country service positions far away from family and home because they could not afford to pay back the bond if they refused. However, the limited duration of emergency teacher training courses and the resultant temporary classification status meant that mature age women were exempt from the bond system.

The reality of emergency teachers being sent to schools closest to home without the fear of country service was acknowledged by respondents PC6, PC16, EO9 and EO22.

I mean they were within walking distance or driving distance of home. Now, nobody else got that kind of consideration. I mean if you were bonded you were sent to Oodna Woop Woop and you had to go and that was it, or pay back your bond (EO9).

Wahlquist (1953c, p.17) had advanced this argument in claiming that, 'all young teachers are sent to the country because temporary teachers occupy most metropolitan vacancies'.

Two Education Officers, EO11 and EO22, recalled young single teachers being moved from metropolitan schools to country schools in order to accommodate emergency teachers.

There was a minister's wife who wanted to take on teaching, so they shifted a girl from there to Oodna Woop Woop to make room for this pressure cooker lady (EO22).

In addition, some schools were known to offer emergency teachers the best classes and fewer students than their trained counterparts.

Every pressure cooker teacher was given a perfect class usually in the first year of teaching (PC28).

Acknowledgement of their family responsibilities, particularly as regards child care, meant that generous allowances were made to the emergency teachers by a Department prepared to take whatever measures necessary to keep them in the system. This position was recognised by the Minister of Education in his Report to Parliament in 1949.

Many of them are willing to serve only in schools conveniently situated (South Australia, Parliament, 1950, No.44, p.2).

The comments of the respondents indicated that emergency teachers were virtually guaranteed an appointment at their chosen school. This presented no difficulty for the Education Department as most schools were short of teachers.

I lived in the area. They were very good in that way. I had asked if it would be possible to go to that school because it was close to home (PC3).

The following respondent was pleased to be appointed to the local primary school which her son attended and which was close to their home.

We were living close to the biggest school in the state, so after I finished the course I was very fortunate that I got an appointment there. Right at my back door practically and where my son was attending the school. I mean it all fitted in quite well (PC1).

Due to the close proximity to home, several respondents (PC4, PC15, PC27 and PC30) were able to walk to school or even go home for lunch.

I could walk to that school. You see, I was only a couple of streets away. That was very, very handy (PC4).

There were occasions when Principals allowed emergency teachers to bring their own children to school when there were difficulties in arranging suitable child care.

I remember there were teachers at school who brought their little children to school. It was a joint agreement that they could do this (EO6).

I can remember one woman in particular who gave a lesson with a child on her hip the whole time (PC36).

One respondent recalled how grateful she was for the special allowances granted her by the school when she needed the time off to take care of her sick children.

They were very good to me, like once or twice the children might have been ill, where I've had to stay home. I thought, "Well, here goes the job", but no. Even one time I went to the hospital with the boy and I said, "I can't get him back to school and come back to work again". They said, "When you've finished at the hospital just bring him straight in here, we'll give him something to do". Just as easily as that (PC4).

Another recalled the Headmistress preventing her from resigning due to personal problems.

I had some mishap in my own life at that time. I wanted to give in my notice because of this upset and the Headmistress didn't think I should do that. She said, "Well, come and work in here", because she knew that I typed, you see. I typed all the notes out for the student teachers that came there for the demonstrations for quite a long while. I would also do relieving there (PC4).

Since the sort of preferential treatment given to the married emergency teachers was not usually extended to their trained counterparts, it caused much resentment as two Education Officers recognised.

The Department was desperate. They kowtowed to them. They gave them what they wanted. They put them near their homes and let them be comfortable. Let them come at the last minute and rush off. They had one standard for permanents and one standard for the pressure cookers in what they accepted. If their kids were sick they could stay home. If I rang up sick or wanted to come ten minutes late they would have raised hell (EO1).

The other Education Officer recalled her frustration with one emergency teacher who refused to spend a minute longer at school than was required.

One particular teacher started at 9 o'clock sharp, went home for lunch, and used to get back in time for the afternoon session, and then was off the minute the afternoon bell went. There was nothing I could do about it because within regulations she was right (EO7).

Monitoring Pressure Cooker Teachers

Despite the ongoing protests by teachers and SAIT concerning the limited training of emergency teachers, there was no evidence to indicate that the Education Department implemented any plan to monitor the performance of the emergency teachers or supply them with adequate support and ongoing professional development. Indeed, it could be argued that underlying what evaluation did take place, was the assumption that the services of these women were required in schools. Only in extreme cases was there any thought of dismissing them.

This attitude had been evident even in the context of the training courses. One Education Officer pointed out that it was the practice of lecturers not to fail the women trainees because they understood that it was necessary to get as many of them through the short courses and into schools to relieve the teacher shortage. This practice could also have been justified on the grounds that the emphasis was on vocational aspects, rather than academic subjects.

I taught the pressure cookers who did the one year course at Flinders Street. My practice was not to fail them (EO14).

Several respondents (PC19, PC27, PC30, and PC35) knew of instances where some of the women did not bother to study or even attend exams in the knowledge that failing their course was no hindrance to being appointed to teaching positions.

My pride would not allow me to fail. The others didn't seem to be worried and some didn't even go to exams as they knew they would all still get teaching jobs regardless of whether they passed or failed (PC27).

Several respondents, PC14, PC15 and PC25, were cynical of the good reports they received once they had been appointed to schools, believing them a ploy to keep them happy and teaching.

I had always had good reports from Principals and Headmasters, and I often wondered if they just did that to everybody to make them feel good. You know, whether they just praised everybody for what they'd done (PC25).

The role of Principals and other staff

According to the recollections of several Education Officers who had been Principals either at junior primary or primary schools, they had not been sent any special Departmental directives requiring them to support new emergency teachers. It therefore appears that the Department relied on the existing practice of using Principals and Inspectors to monitor the performance of all staff, including emergency teachers, as part of their overall responsibility to ensure the welfare of their staff and students and to maintain teaching standards in all State schools. Several Education Officers (EO1, EO4 and EO9, attested to this.

Well, I think Principals automatically, if they were good, kept an eye on every woman and every class and every child to see that they were OK. We felt responsible. We were never told to do it in so many words. I mean the Inspectors came around to see what they were doing (EO1).

Principals met their obligations towards the professional development of all their staff members by engaging them in stimulating discussions of new ideas and methods during staff meetings.

Respondents EO9, EO16 and EO19 explained.

No, you didn't have to monitor their progress, you had staff meetings. The idea was to inspire staff as much as possible and introduce them to new ideas, new methods of teaching, and experimental work. You presented them with some ideas. You'd discuss reading one time and what to do, and try to give them ideas about books to read and that sort of thing. You would give them ideas that they could use in their classroom. Next time you'd take something on Maths and so on. So yes, you did your own training with your staff. During Religious Instruction, you'd have the whole staff with not much time. No, we had nothing [from the Department]. You were there as a guide and a leader (EO9).

Two Education Officers, EO3 and EO19, believed emergency teachers were well supervised because Principals and staff in all schools assisted teachers who may be struggling.

This system was well supervised because we had to incorporate teachers who were not always up to the mark. The schools kept a pretty good standard. They could always come to the office and discuss things, and if you were a weak link on the staff, you had support. It seemed to be that the Infant Mistress was always there, an Inspector available and understanding women who would help (EO19).

Another Education Officer, however, considered that it depended entirely on the Principal of the school as to the level of support teachers received.

A lot depends on those from emergency courses who their Head is when they first go out, and what sort of support they are given. There were some Principals who were very good and knew what went on in the classrooms and supported their staff. There were others that didn't (EO11).

Respondents, PC3, PC16, PC18 and PC22, found that Principals were willing to help them.

They came around, but in a helpful way. I never came up against somebody that came in and said, "You're doing this all the wrong way". But if there was something they thought was

perhaps not up to scratch, or if you felt yourself you were floundering a bit, you could go and ask, and they would come in and give a lesson to give you a bit more insight. I imagine they were very helpful to us (PC6).

In contrast, the following respondent received only one perfunctory visit from the Headmaster.

Well, I think it depends a great deal on the Headmaster and how your teaching's going. When I first went out I think he strolled in for a couple of minutes and said, "Do you mind if I stay, because I'm interested in this?" And then he went out and that was it (PC9).

Another recalled the Headmistress offering only minimal assistance.

I don't think she did any more than anybody else. I think I said something or other about Phys.Ed. once and she did a demonstration lesson for me, but other than that, no (PC20).

A third respondent recalled the Headmistress making surreptitious visits to her classroom possibly in an attempt to assess her performance.

It was my impression that she would find any excuse to come in. This letter she wanted you to read, or had I seen this book, and things like that (PC13).

A different view came from an Education Officer who lamented the limited time available to her to visit all the classes when she was Principal of a large school.

The trouble was it was such a big school and there were often people away and I was filling in. I was working under pressure the whole time. It was very difficult to get round (EO4).

In the experience of some teachers, Principals were not approachable, making it difficult for staff to get the help they required.

Heads weren't approachable then. This was back in the late '50s. The Headmaster in some people's eyes is a disciplinarian (PC13).

An extreme case was that of a Principal so remote that he was not aware of who was on his staff.

Like the Head that didn't know his own staff, wanting to know who one of the young teachers was, and he said, "I've been on your staff for four years" [laughter] (PC20).

However, one Principal's attempts to help were rejected, because the teacher regarded it as a personal slight on her ability to teach.

This one tiny little woman, I said to her, "Can I come and take a math's lesson in your room?" She bristled to her full height. "You don't think I can teach mathematics do you?" I thought what do you do with somebody like that [laughter] (EO9).

Another respondent believed she did not require any assistance because her level of teaching was equal to that of any other teacher in the school.

I didn't feel I needed any help. I felt I was doing as well as anybody there (PC25).

A number of emergency teachers were reluctant to approach the Principal for assistance for fear they might be criticised and labeled ineffective teachers and perhaps risk dismissal. Instead they turned to sympathetic and experienced teachers who understood their problems as new teachers.

Several respondents (PC6, PC16, PC25, and PC35) concurred with the view below.

If I needed any particular advice or help I used to go to one lady there who taught grade three for about forty years, and what she didn't know wasn't worth knowing. She was a real tower of strength if you had any particular problem. Usually you went to one of the other teachers (PC22).

It was one respondent's opinion that the staff members in the school who were emergency teachers, were usually sympathetic and helpful to other emergency teachers because they understood their problems.

Most of the teachers were very nice and helpful. There were a lot of teachers who had trained in a similar way. They either did the month course, or later the twelve month course (PC6).

An Education Officer recalled the willingness of the staff at one school to assist a new teacher.

I remember the teachers were very good to her and helped her a lot, but if they didn't help her, she would have been floundering. The staff were very willing to help (EO6).

Two other respondents, PC21 and PC35, believed that emergency teachers were entitled to all the supervision and assistance they required, regardless of the source.

They would have been entitled to a lot of supervision and a lot of help from either other teachers or from the Principal himself or herself (PC35).

However, one of the Education Officers believed that it was a real imposition for the Principal and staff to be expected to assist emergency teachers in their school.

It was very hard on the Head of the school and the other teachers who had to help this unknown quantity come in, and some people didn't like doing it. They felt it wasn't their job to do that. They were not paid to do that, they were paid to teach children. They weren't paid to train teachers, and it depended a lot on personalities whether they got on well with the person, whether they were willing to help. Some people were and some people weren't. Mind you, some of those teachers had a very difficult time with the other people not wanting them (EO3).

As well as Principals and Inspectors, it was expected that teaching staff in schools would help the emergency teachers. The Deputy Director of Education, Mr. McDonald, reported that 'the employment of temporary teachers has admittedly thrown a somewhat heavier burden on the qualified permanent staff' but 'they have risen magnificently to this added demand' (*The Advertiser*, 1953, July 20, p.2). Wahlquist (1953b, p.15) claimed that, 'trained teachers have to be continually helping them [emergency teachers] with teaching aids, preparation of lessons [and the] shaping of techniques'.

If the roles had been reversed, one emergency teacher believed she would have felt exactly the same way as the trained teachers.

They'd gone through college and we were coming in without any experience and gathered as much as we could from them. I thought it was a bit much really. I would have felt it's a bit much of the Department dumping somebody on me and I've got to pass on my expertise to them for nothing (PC12).

Another emergency teacher believed in self reliance.

Well, I think it was up to yourself. You either sank or swam (PC6).

The Inspectors' role

Inspectors were an integral part of the Education Department's monitoring system until the 1970s. It was their duty to inspect all State schools on a regular basis to ensure that the requirements of the system were met and that all Principals and teachers maintained the standards demanded of all public schools. Every teacher was subjected to classroom inspections to ensure that the students were being taught the prescribed curriculum. Teachers' efforts were rewarded by the allocation of a number of skill marks that determined their classification status and affected their rate of pay. Emergency teachers who were appointed as temporary unclassified assistants could be reclassified as qualified, if they reached 21 skill marks.

The Inspector's role was clearly defined in the 1952 Report of the Minister of Education. Yet there was no specific mention made of the task of monitoring emergency teachers, only a general expectation of them being a guide to all staff members in schools.

The district Inspectors have been, as always, a stimulating influence in our education system. On the one hand, in their contacts with teachers they give guidance in organization and in teaching method, they encourage wise experiment, and they convey and interpret departmental policy in to

the actual field of school activity. On the other, they serve as the eyes of the Department, surveying local developments and collecting detailed information upon which the Department acts in problems of staffing and accommodation (South Australia, Parliament, 1953, No. 44, p.4).

Emergency teachers, it appeared from interview discussions, were not singled out as requiring their performance be monitored by the Inspector, as this was usually the duty of the Principal. However, it would have been part of the responsibility of the Inspector to see that emergency teachers were integrated into the staff of the school and carried out their teaching duties satisfactorily. If there were any problems regarding any member of staff, whatever their classification status, they would have been discussed with the Principal.

One Education Officer provided a good description of the way the inspectorial system worked.

Inspectors were higher up in the Education Department. They used to go round to the schools. You used to have to give a lesson in front of the Inspector and you would quake in your boots, you really would! There he would sit. Some of them would sit with a smirk on their faces, others have encouraging smiles, and the whole time you were absolutely terrified! And then they wrote a report because you had to do the right thing. Whatever the Inspector said about teachers reflected on the Headmaster too, so many were concerned (EO17).

Schools were forewarned of the arrival date of Inspectors, which often resulted in a flurry of activity to present the school in its best light and impress the Inspectors during their visit.

In those days, as soon as the Inspector was coming, they'd drag everything out and tissy everything up, and that's not what it was usually like. It was ridiculous, and the Inspectors must have been stupid not to have known (PC20).

Several respondents, PC7, PC15, PC33 and EO9, agreed that Inspectors' visits made them nervous, but accepted it as an integral part of the school system.

I always got tense with the thought that they were there, you know, but so what, that was part of the system and you took it (EO9).

Other respondents, PC8, PC10, PC22, PC29 and PC33, believed the Inspectors' role was more of an advisory one and any criticisms they made were intended to be positive and constructive ones.

You take it in the spirit in which it's said. Most of them at least tried, if they had a criticism to make, that it would be in a positive fashion. If they had any remarks to make I always found they made helpful and positive remarks (PC22).

The majority of respondents, PC6, PC7, PC8, PC9, PC12, PC14, PC15, PC19, PC20, PC21, PC22 and PC28, believed that teachers doing their job properly had nothing to fear.

It could have been panic if you were inadequate. I feel that if you're doing all you can do well, who cares if somebody comes and watches you doing it (PC14).

However, a number, PC5, PC8, PC9, PC16, PC22 and PC35, did admit to a certain level of apprehension when Inspectors visited their school.

You were apprehensive. You knew that you had to have your program just so and everything had to be up to the mark, but they were only people after all. If you were foolish enough to let yourself get all worked up and make yourself sick about it, well, it wasn't going to help anybody, and I've seen that happen. I think partly they wanted to appear capable and some of the old hands were pretty terrible, you know, "Oh you want to watch out for so and so". They just scared them a little bit. And of course some people are going to get worked up into such a state that they can't function properly. But generally speaking, a certain amount of apprehension always occurs because you know you're going to be looked at (PC22).

An Education Officer felt that nervousness was due to the fact that Inspectors reported those not doing their job properly, which could have had serious repercussions on careers.

You were scared in case you said the wrong thing or did the wrong thing. I think some people could have lost their jobs if they had adverse reports time and time again (EO17).

Moreover, a number of respondents, PC3, PC11, PC12, PC14, PC17, PC21, PC22, PC25, EO9 and EO22, mentioned that a certain level of apprehension was justified, because Inspectors conferred the all important skill marks required for teacher classification purposes, which had

direct bearing on salary and promotion prospects.

We went out as temporary unqualified assistants and it wasn't until we got a certain skill mark that we became qualified assistants. I suppose it went to the Headmaster and everybody got skill marks after an inspection and you got several pieces of paper handed out to you which said how many you had been awarded (PC14).

Whatever the reasons for fearing Inspectors, several respondents (PC13, PC14, PC17 and PC22) held negative opinions of them.

Very critical, very prissy, I had some dammed awful ones. They were very nice later, but in the early stages they weren't. Oh yes, it was like that with everyone (PC13).

One respondent recalled that had it not been for the support of the Infant Mistress, her first experience with an Inspector would have resulted in her resignation.

My first experience with an Inspector was a rather big lady who wiped every inch of confidence out of me. She probably thought I didn't do it the proper way and whatever. She only came in once and inspected me, but that first introduction with the Inspector I shall never forget [laughter]. If the Infant Mistress of the school had been less supportive, I would have probably gone home and cried my eyes out, and that would have been the end of my teaching career (PC6).

Another respondent recalled the reaction of her friend towards Inspectors.

I had a Roman Catholic friend who used to say before every lesson, "Mary, Mother of God, help me". [laughter] (PC14).

In contrast, the following respondent had a pragmatic approach to Inspectors.

I just went on my own merry way till the Inspector came. I organised my timetable so she didn't see any no-nos (PC13).

Two respondents, PC22 and EO19, were more concerned about the effect the Inspectors had on the children in their class, rather than on themselves.

That was always my worry, that some of them might frighten the kids, especially young timid children who might know their work very well, but being so nervous when asked a question (PC22).

This was a major concern for one emergency teacher with a particular Inspector.

He was a grumpy sort of man and came into our class and said to the children in the middle of a Geography lesson, "Tell me, what's the capital of Adelaide?" The children looked at each other and looked at me in despair. "Ho, ho, ho. A of course. A's the capital of Adelaide". Well, the children didn't think it was funny. They couldn't see the joke. I didn't think it was funny because it upset them so much. He was there for two days and took reading the following day, and I had a very sensitive frail little boy in my class who had a speech impediment, and I told him to be gentle with him. I heard him say, "Speak up boy, speak up! I can't hear what you're mumbling there". Oh, I was so angry for this poor little boy and what he was suffering, because he was on the verge of tears and just sat with his head down. I can remember bursting into the Headmaster's office at afternoon recess. "You know that rotten Inspector, he was shouting at him and he can't speak. Calls himself an Inspector!" I was just so angry. The Inspector was standing behind the door where I hadn't seen him, listening to all this (PC11).

Despite the fears and trepidation engendered, none of the women interviewed reported that the Inspectors' visits and subsequent reports had negative consequences for them personally.

Dismissing Unsatisfactory Pressure Cooker Teachers

During the era under review, State Government Departments, including the Education Department, offered security of tenure to their employees. Apart from any serious allegations of misconduct this guarantee made the dismissal of an employee a difficult process. In addition, because of the teacher shortage, very few of the emergency teachers were actually terminated.

Well, you had to be pretty bad. At that time you'd have to be very bad to lose your job because they were so desperately short (PC22).

When it became obvious that certain incompetent teachers needed to be removed from the system, Education Officers recalled using indirect measures to surmount the difficulties in terminating their employment. Peer pressure proved effective in some instances.

When I went around the schools, I found some of them were really struggling. One didn't want to resign on her own account, but eventually resigned because she thought she'd be put off. Oh, she was a hopeless teacher. They wouldn't put her off because they needed a body in front of a class. I think they got rid of most of the 'no hoppers'. They were forced by fellow teachers who made it so miserable for them that they got out. We didn't lose many that way, but a few (EO3).

Another method commonly used to remove undesirable teachers was transferring them to other schools a considerable distance from home that involved travel. The desired outcome of a resignation was usually achieved.

The Inspector gave her an appointment where she had to travel. That was the way to get rid of them. But she did her damage for about ten or twelve years before that happened when the shortage was over. The Inspector could only do that when she had enough teachers (EO1).

Some emergency teachers were transferred from school to school in the hope that they would resign of their own accord.

In those days teachers didn't get the sack and if a teacher was recognised as a no-hoper, they used to shift them from school to school to let somebody else have them. That was the idea. You couldn't get sacked in those days (EO22).

On other occasions, undesirable teachers left of their own volition, much to the relief of Education Officers.

I had one teacher where they scraped the bottom of the barrel. Fortunately her husband was transferred to Sydney, so we got rid of her that way [laughter]. It was the luckiest thing that ever happened to us. Nobody felt sorry when she left (EO3).

One Principal who attempted to remove an unsatisfactory emergency teacher found herself having to explain her action to the Teachers' Union. The woman concerned belonged to a family with a history of Trade Union involvement.

After missing 132 days in one year, I reported it to the Inspector. I'd be ready to leave for school and either her son or her husband would say, "Can't come in today, she's got that bad back again". It would happen two or three days a week, so when the Inspector came along I confided in her. "Oh, we can't have this going on, this is dreadful. I will have to ask for her termination". Well, then I had a letter from the Teachers' Union asking for further details as to why her services would be terminated which scared me a little bit. See, her husband was an Englishman and they had a union culture within their family, and he would say, "Ring up the union; they can't dismiss you". How can we function as a professional body, when somebody just takes it so lightly that they can't get out of bed in the morning? (EO19).

The security of continuing employment enjoyed by emergency teachers was in contrast to their status within the Department and in the public eye.

‘Pressure Cookers’ and TUAs – Terms of Derogation

We were the lowest of the low (PC14).

Many of the emergency teachers spent time discussing their status in the Education Department bureaucracy, within schools, and in society. In particular, they commented on two terms, ‘TUAs’ and ‘pressure cookers’, frequently used with derogatory connotations to describe emergency teachers.

The term TUA was an abbreviation for Temporary Unclassified Assistant, the official classification status given to all male and female emergency teachers by the Education Department. This was made clear in a 1956 advertisement for an emergency course (*The News*, 1956, May 15, p.26). ‘Unclassified’ meant that teachers had either not attended or had not satisfactorily completed a regular training course at Adelaide Teachers’ College.

In addition, all married women, whether fully trained or not, were regarded as temporary employees and therefore ineligible for permanent appointment. The Commonwealth Public Service Act that applied to all State and Local Government authorities required that all women upon marriage relinquish their permanent status to become temporary employees. The temporary status of all married women was removed in 1966 when the ‘marriage bar’ for Commonwealth public service employees ended, but changes to State government legislation took several years to come into effect. In 1972, *The Education Gazette* under a heading, ‘Special Notice on the Status of Women’ stated that, ‘on June, 1972 Regulation 10 of Part XXIV of Education Department Regulations was deleted. The effect of the deletion of this Regulation is to remove “temporary” from the title of all women teachers’ (*The Education Gazette*, 1972, November 1, p.341). Married women were no longer temporary employees and accepted as permanent and professional members of the Education Department. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, the

TUA classification represented the bottom rung of the teacher classification ladder in regard to both status and wages.

A teacher's official classification was generally known to other members of staff and to those in the Education hierarchy through two means. Firstly, *The Education Gazette* was:

the medium by which instructions and information are forwarded to Teachers by the Department, and is published monthly. One for the Head of the school, to be initialled by each member of staff and filed as a school document; one for each additional teacher to be distributed by the Head who will see that each member of his staff, except Junior teachers, Monitors and Teachers of Sewing, receives a copy. One copy is dispatched direct to the Secretary of each School Committee or Council for the use of members of that body (*The Education Gazette*, 1947, February 17, p.727).

Therefore, the classification status, qualifications, appointments and promotions of all Departmental teachers was available for their contemporaries to peruse. Two respondents explained what this meant.

Every year a stats form went around and it had lists of the names of people and their qualifications on it to be updated, and everyone knew who was short term trained. We all knew who had been in Teachers' College and when (EO16).

You knew everybody. You had the Teachers' Gazette in those days and you could go through the lists and you knew everybody there, who was going to be promoted and who was the Head (PC20).

Secondly, staff members were required to record their classification status after their names on official school documents and in the book used for signing on for duty in the morning. This was available for all to see. Several respondents recalled having to write TUA after their name.

When we started teaching we had our rolls and had to put TUA at the top every time. Temporary Unclassified Assistant (PC5).

Some emergency teachers objected to being referred to as TUAs, because the term denoted the lowest position on the teacher classification ranking scale and thus the lowest status of the teaching profession.

I hated it. I mean you weren't anything. You would walk into a school or you'd talk to someone. "What position?" "I'm a TUA". "Oh, TUA, temporary, unclassified assistant". Bottom of the pile, you know. Oh, it was just the snide remarks ... you're trained or you're untrained. I knew I was untrained and I didn't like it, and I did subjects to get myself classified and get rid of the unclassified stuff (PC36).

One of the Education Officers believed that it was more offensive to be called a TUA than a 'pressure cooker' teacher.

There was a derogatory way of speaking about TUAs. They called them TUAs because they were unclassified and untrained. The 'U' stood for untrained, unclassified, unsuitable (EO18).

Another respondent recalled the negative attitudes of some Principals towards TUAs.

Some Principals objected to TUAs in their schools. You see, there were a few 'battle axes' around in those days who objected to these TUAs being in schools. I mean you were coming in off the street (PC36).

While 'TUA' was the 'in-house' term used for emergency teachers by other members of staff and Education Department officials, 'pressure cookers' was the phrase most often used in society generally. Its use in the media articles and letters to the editor, discussed in Chapter Four, is evidence of this. 'Pressure cooker', was originally the metaphor widely used to describe emergency teachers who completed the short teacher training courses offered by the Education Department in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

It's how to produce well-cooked meat in the shortest possible time you can [laughter]. So they're pressure cookered, and that was a phrase that everybody used. Yes, common parlance (EO10).

Several Education Officers (EO3, EO6 and EO12) regarded the expression ‘pressure cooker’ as derogatory. They thought that more appropriate terms could have been used to describe emergency teachers.

I remember feeling that the name ‘pressure cooker’ wasn’t justified. There were better ways of describing them. Well, pressure cooker as it was used, was a slightly derogative name. Quite early in the piece, the term pressure cooker courses was used. I don’t know where it originated from (EO6).

The connotation of a hack or stop-gap teacher was explicitly made by an emergency teacher.

The Inspector said, “You don’t want to stay a hack teacher, or just a pressure cooker teacher. You want to be a bit more than that” (PC18).

One teacher respondent felt that the ‘pressure cooker’ stigma was attached to all the emergency teacher training courses.

Because I chose to do the short term course, there was this kind of pressure cooker stigma attached to it (PC25).

Another believed the term was used to demean emergency teachers.

I have heard people who hadn’t known that I was a teacher speak in a derogatory manner about the pressure cooker teachers. They were talking about somebody and said, “Oh, she was only a pressure cooker teacher” (PC8).

The common use of pressure cooker as a derogative term within the community was explained by one of the respondents.

Yes, it was derogatory, because all the people, the parents, the general public, they knew the term pressure cooker. I didn’t like it because if they only knew what we had to go through to be a teacher. Even in your own family, they sort of, “Oh yeah, pressure cookers”. Not me so much, but they’d know of other pressure cooker teachers, and they had the impression that you weren’t as capable as those who had gone through the full course at college (PC15).

A number of respondents, including PC4, PC10, PC18, PC25 and PC35, were well aware that the term 'pressure cooker' was applied to them either individually or collectively. Two, however, rejected its application to them.

We encountered it when people were referring to other teachers. They said, "What do you expect from a pressure cooker?" It never came back to me because they knew me well enough not to do that, because my Irish Paddy would have come out (PC13).

The following respondent queried whether the term applied to her, because in her opinion, it denoted those considered not quite good enough.

Actually the term pressure cooker was never applied to me and I didn't think it would have applied to me because I didn't think I was a pressure cooker teacher. I realised that it was some kind of a term that referred to somebody who's not on the same level as everybody else. I was trying to do my best and there shouldn't be a connotation as far as I was concerned (PC16).

Because of the negative connotation, one respondent was careful not to reveal that she was a pressure cooker.

I never mentioned it, but certainly the Head knew. There were many people who, when it did come up, were surprised. They didn't know, because I never mentioned it unless somebody asked me (PC25).

In contrast, two respondents, PC5 and PC22, did not object to being called pressure cookers.

[Laughter] That's what we called ourselves. I would say, "Oh, I'm only a pressure cooker, you can't expect me to know that", in a joking way. It never worried me and wouldn't have bothered me. Well I was! As I say, in our group that's what we called each other, "Oh we're pressure cookers". It was taken for granted (PC22).

The majority of emergency teachers who had completed the twelve month training courses resented being called pressure cookers, because they believed that the term applied only to those who had done the very short courses of training and not to them. They decried the short courses as being inferior to their own.

Three months, what would you learn in three months? Very little. I had twelve months and lectures every day (PC1).

They had the support of their lecturers in this view, as well as W.T. Westgarth, Master of Method at one of the training schools, and member of the SAIT Journal Committee who came to their defence in response to a 1956 media article about pressure cookers by journalist, Ted Smith, in *The News* (See Chapter Four).

No, we definitely weren't. Pressure cooker people just went in, you know, they either swam or sank. We were past thinking of ourselves as anything like pressure cookers. I wasn't a pressure cooker! No, we did a full training (PC14).

According to one Education Officer, their lecturers reinforced this belief.

Apparently their lecturers said, "Now, don't let anybody tell you you're a pressure cooker teacher. You're trained". They weren't pressure cookers. The real pressure cookers were the three months people and those who sat in a classroom for a few weeks (EO18).

Some respondents knew of individuals who held positions of authority within the Education Department who had done the one year 'A' primary course and therefore could not consider the twelve month trained emergency teachers as being inferior.

One of the lecturers out there only did a year back in the old days, and they grabbed their training on the run. And I mean some of those must have been the ones who were up here looking down on people who also did rather short courses (PC14).

One Education Officer could not comprehend why the twelve month course trainees were referred to as pressure cookers, as they were similar to the long-standing 'A' course.

They were short course teachers the same as the Teachers' College teachers had been short course teachers, and they considered themselves as such, I think. I always thought that it was belittled rather, because nobody belittled the 'A' course at the Teachers' College (EO3).

A group lecturer who had done the 'A' course at the Adelaide Teachers' College agreed.

It wasn't a pressure cooker group, because they were supposed to be a twelve months course, the same as the other twelve month courses. We were never called pressure cookers, unheard of in our time (EO5).

A number of respondents, including PC15, PC26, PC28 and PC30, were at pains to explain that the twelve month course was a condensed version of the prescribed two year courses in operation at the time at the Teachers' College. One emergency teacher who did a twelve month course explained:

People who knew I was doing the course would say, "Oh, you're doing one of those pressure cooker courses?" I said, "Well, this is not really a pressure cooker course, it's a condensed twelve months course. What we're doing in a year is normally done in two years". I didn't like being referred to as a pressure cooker because I felt we had been trained probably as well as kids in the two year courses (PC17).

Their lecturers confirmed this in their comments to the trainees.

They used to say to us as a group, "Well, you've done two years study in twelve months" (PC19).

Due to the intense study involved in the twelve month courses, the women felt that the term pressure cooker did not apply to them.

"You're a pressure cooker". We felt not up to scratch. I didn't think that was so, because I knew how intensive it was. If anyone thought it was easy work ... [laughter] it was hard yakka (PC17).

The Effectiveness of the Emergency Scheme

The majority of respondents gave careful consideration to the complex question of whether the emergency scheme was effective in overcoming the teacher shortage. The views of the Education Officers on this issue are analysed first, followed by opinions expressed by the emergency teachers themselves.

A system failure that worked in practice: views of Education Officers

In considering the assessment of the Education Officers, it is important to establish their position within the Education Department. They were both men and women, who as contemporaries of the emergency teachers, had been classroom teachers at some stage of their careers. However, they differed from emergency teachers in that the majority of them had completed prescribed teaching courses at Adelaide Teachers' College during their youth. With the unprecedented expansion of the education system during the 1950s, many were rapidly promoted to a range of positions within the Department, ranging from Demonstration Teachers, Chief Assistants, Mistress or Master of Method, Deputies and Principals, College and Group Lecturers, Inspectors, Administrators, Superintendents, and even Director General of Education. Numerous respondents (EO1, EO3, EO5, EO7, EO9 and EO18) made comments similar to the one below.

I'd been appointed Infant Mistress because promotion was rather quick in those days, because so many men were away at the war and the women were moving ahead very quickly, and anyone with a degree would have been promoted (EO4).

Education Officers were thus in a position to understand the inner workings of the Education Department, while maintaining day to day contact with classroom teachers. One Education Officer discussed in detail his view of the effectiveness of emergency teachers. It is notable for taking account of both the Departmental and the SAIT perspectives.

Keep them busy and keep them quiet. If you accept that as the criteria, then they did a more than satisfactory job. They satisfied the needs of the Department, they kept class numbers down for other teachers, and many of them I suppose succeeded in the tasks that they were asked to do. But I know that some others among them were absolute disasters and did the children in their care no good whatsoever in terms of learning something. So, from the Department's point of view, it saved the day. From the Union's point of view, it cut the ground from under their claims for professionalism. There is always tension between the reality and the ideal. The ideal is that every child will be educated and trained to the maximum of their potential, but even if we had all of the teachers thoroughly trained, we would always fall short of that ideal. In the fifties, for some kids, we would have fallen way short of that ideal (EO10).

Two Education Officers, EO3 and EO5, blamed the Education Department for not adequately planning ahead.

They got into it too late. They didn't look far enough ahead, and this was the only way they could get out of the situation. I'm critical of the people who didn't look ahead and see what was likely to happen, but the ones who were in the situation, well, I couldn't criticise them because they had to do something, didn't they? What else could they do? Some of them were better than nothing, but on the whole, it's not a system that I would praise. It was just a matter of something they had to do, and they probably would say it was the only thing they could do in the circumstances, because people hadn't planned it ahead of time (EO3).

An administrator, however, defended the Department's handling of the situation.

The system was faced with severe teacher shortages and used pressure cooker courses as a short term measure. It would have been generally realised that there would have been a burgeoning of numbers, but the magnitude surprised people. In 1939 to 1945 there was a 'Holding Brief'. It was a time of upheaval and people were so involved in day to day things, that they weren't looking too far into the future. The administration's main concern was to get teachers in front of

children and therefore cut corners because normal entry to Teachers' College couldn't handle this problem. It was augmenting the numbers that came from traditional sources. It is justifiable to criticise the scheme and the argument is legitimate, but administrators were not bad in using the scheme. They would have the welfare of the children at heart, as they themselves were teachers and interested in children. Because of the burgeoning population, administration implemented a short term emergency plan, otherwise class sizes would have been too large and the public was sensitive about class sizes. (EO13)

A former Inspector referred to the historical factors that led to the teacher shortage.

We were recruiting students into Teachers' College' from the low birth rate of the Depression, and we were providing teachers for the 'baby boomers' after World War Two, so it was just about the impossible situation. It was a matter of survival (EO2).

Another attributed the teacher shortage to the rapid increase in population.

We needed teachers in classrooms to reduce class sizes at a time when the population in some areas, in particular, had risen so remarkably (EO6).

Two respondents, EO3 and EO22, believed that while the emergency scheme was far from ideal, it was the only solution in the circumstances.

It's not fair to label the pressure cooker system as a poor system. It wasn't a good system, but it was the best that could happen at the time. I should say that it was the only thing they could do under the circumstances. They needed bodies in front of a class and it was the only way to get them. It really did fulfill a breach at the time to have these teachers (EO3).

Others (EO3, EO6 and EO19) believed that emergency teachers alleviated the pressure in schools with large numbers of children.

They were very keen and willing to do anything, so they filled a need. There were large classes of children and we needed more teachers, and that was the way of getting new teachers, which we tolerated, I suppose (EO6).

A more cynical explanation of the Department's rationale was offered by an Education Officer.

The Department has no difficulty with living with a number of criteria all at the same time. Doesn't let its left hand know what its right hand is doing. It could stand up in public and say, "Our aim is to have a graduate profession and we're fighting for that", and at the same time go and employ housewives to look after the kids. That's not a contradiction or difficulty for the Department, or for a politician [laughter] (EO10).

Even more scathing were the views of another.

They did all sorts of things that will remain better hidden. I don't think the Department is particularly proud of it. I'm sure they're not, but then they keep blundering on doing idiotic things (EO8).

Overall, then, it could be said that the Education Officers were critical of the employment of emergency teachers as an education provision, but recognised that it worked as a stop-gap measure, given the crisis at the time.

Not ideal, but produced some good teachers: views of emergency teachers

Emergency teachers agreed with many of the comments made by the Education Officers, believing the emergency scheme was the result of short sightedness on the part of the Department.

It was this short sighted, short term solution to a big problem. Yes, there should have been some better way of doing things. It was short sighted, like not being able to look at things more long term and see what was happening, and they do have those people, but they don't seem to take notice of them, do they? (PC25).

One emergency teacher believed that the emergency scheme was the result of the cumbersome nature of government departments.

The Department is very short sighted, isn't it? They didn't act quickly enough. Government Departments don't, do they? (PC35).

Respondents attributed the emergency scheme to the shortage of qualified teachers immediately after the Second World War.

I don't think there were very many qualified teachers straight after the war. They weren't available and that's why they had to do these courses, and that's why most of the schools were staffed with short term teachers. Well, the circumstances needed it. I mean there was nothing else to do. They didn't have the teachers, so they had to get them the best way they could and train them the best way they could (PC15).

Another blamed the escalating numbers of babies born during the post-war era that led to the emergency scheme.

Well, you see there was such a high rise in the birth rate. Well, that was the time at the end of the war, and that was when you couldn't get hospital beds and people were having babies (PC19).

A third attributed the emergency scheme to the influx of migrants.

It was really quite a sad affair, and I think that's why they had to pull in people, very, very quickly to accommodate all these migrants (PC4).

Three respondents, PC9, PC16 and PC35, believed the Department could do nothing else when besieged with large classes and too few teachers.

I guess they were an answer to a need and the Department had to do something, although from a professional standpoint it was less than desirable. What else could they have done except make teachers' classes so much bigger, and if it was anything like my situation, my classroom wouldn't have taken anymore. If the children were there they had to do something, didn't they? (PC35).

The following respondent believed that doubling up class numbers would not have been accepted.

Having 65 children in a class, what if they hadn't had a teacher for that class, would they have taken 130 children in the one class? They had to do something about it because there weren't the teachers available (PC8).

Two respondents, PC14 and PC19, felt that the reality of the teacher shortage was the only reason that emergency teachers were acceptable to Principals and trained teachers in schools.

A lot of schools had been understaffed. I mean that's why they took us in, wasn't it? So desperate they took us [laughter]. I don't know that they were particularly grateful that I was there, but they desperately needed staff. I think we did pretty well by the Department, really I do (PC14).

For one respondent, the Headmaster and staff at her school resented the system and the teachers like her that it produced.

The Headmaster was most unpleasant to me, and the teachers tolerated me because they resented this scheme. The Head didn't want people coming in who hadn't gone through the system. I was one of those. I was coming into the system where they had all worked hard and just moving in after three months. I don't blame them that they resented it, but to be personally antagonistic, I couldn't cope with that (PC25).

In contrast, some of the women interviewed considered that while the emergency scheme was not the ideal solution, it still managed to produce some very good teachers.

I think that there is a certain professionalism that is demanded when you've got such a responsible job, and I think that only comes through having to do an intensive course of study. But in spite of all that, some of those people would have become very good teachers, people of good character and intelligence who hadn't had the opportunities of a good education. I realise that it was an emergency measure in those times, but I don't think it was the ideal at all (PC16).

One respondent reported that her friend had expressed the view that emergency teachers must have been good teachers otherwise they would not have lasted.

She appreciated all these pressure cookers because she reckoned they did a fair job for the amount of time they had given to them. She said they must have been good or they could never have stood it. You can't go into a class and take a class of children and let them play all day. You've got to teach them. You couldn't take this sort of thing on without having some knowledge. You can't be just a dill and get into a class full of children, they take you over (PC4).

Others were more positive in relation to the effectiveness of the emergency teachers that the scheme produced.

I think on the whole we turned out to be pretty good teachers (PC14).

Another respondent viewed the emergency scheme as a successful initiative which had served the Department so well that if needed it could be used again in the future

I think let them have another try with pressure cookers, because it worked out okay with us. I just think about in my time, we got through it (PC7).

One respondent, however, remained undecided about the effectiveness of the emergency scheme even though fifty years had passed.

I don't know whether it's been a good thing or a bad thing (PC19).

The Educational Significance of the Pressure Cooker Teachers

Overall, the evaluation of both the Education Officers and the emergency teacher respondents were balanced and thoughtful. They recognised the difficulties confronting the Education Department at the time, the problems faced by emergency teachers in schools and the negative learning experiences of some students. However, the teachers believed there were long term positive outcomes for both the schools and the emergency teachers themselves in the emergence

of some good and effective teachers who contributed much to teaching over a number of years.

This chapter has considered the experiences of the women in the bureaucratic functioning of the Education Department. In the next chapter, the deeper issue of their effectiveness as educators is investigated in terms of the public debate of the period. How far did their maternal nurturance make them naturally good teachers? Or were they interlopers causing harm to children and the teaching profession?

CHAPTER NINE

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA V:

PRESSURE COOKER STAFF: NATURAL TEACHERS OR HARMFUL INTERLOPERS?

As Chapter Four reveals, the issue of how to deal with the acute shortage of teachers in South Australian junior primary (infant) and primary schools particularly during the immediate post-war period evoked strong public debate. On the one hand, the Education Department argued that women as natural teachers and mothers experienced in bringing up children could be appointed to junior primary classes with a minimum of training in order to alleviate the acute staff shortage in this sector. On the other hand, the Teachers' Union and the qualified teachers in schools which the Union represented protested that the employment of unsuitable and untrained teachers constituted a dangerous injustice to the teaching profession, both trained and untrained teachers, as well as a potential source of harm for the children in their classes. As a result, there were some schools where emergency teachers felt they were unwanted interlopers. Many of the respondents in this study made comments related to both sides of the public debate. It needs to be recognised that the views they expressed represent their reflections on what they had experienced personally as emergency teachers and Education Officers in schools nearly fifty years ago.

Women as Natural Teachers of Young Children

The prevailing societal view at the time was that by virtue of their gender, women were inherent nurturers and natural teachers of young children. The concept of the 'mother teacher' has already been discussed in Chapters Two and Four. This belief was reflected in the fact that staff members in junior primary grades were dominated exclusively by women, both single and married women

with children, who had acquired useful practical experience in caring for small children. The basic assumption underlying the emergency scheme seems to be that only a modicum of training was required to adequately prepare such women to teach in these areas where there was the greatest need for teachers. On these grounds, the Education Department was able to justify the measures they adopted, in spite of the harmful outcomes predicted by the Education Inquiry Committee and SAIT officials.

In the course of discussion with the researcher, many respondents expressed their views on the concept of the 'mother teacher' nurturing young children. One teacher respondent confirmed the prevailing societal view, while questioning its adequacy.

My sister said, "Oh, anybody can be a teacher. It's only just looking after children for the day. I've had four children and I know exactly how children behave". Yes, that's what she thought it was. It was only a means of looking after children. She didn't look any further than that. She wasn't thinking that you were trying to train minds to think and do, and be considerate of other people. That was what you were trying to instill in the children (PC16).

Another respondent pointed out that, during the early years of the colony, most children gained the rudiments of a basic education in 'dame schools' conducted by women with little formal education. She considered that the Department's assumption about the suitability of mothers as teachers was justified.

There were literally dozens of women starting up little schools within the home to teach children, because this was before the Education Department. And children learned because mothers were just teaching them the basic elementary things like reading, writing and arithmetic. Really, anybody with a bit of intelligence could help a child to learn that, as long as they knew how to handle children (PC17).

The following respondent explained that she had chosen infant teaching for similar reasons.

I chose infant teaching because I thought, well, I don't know anything about teaching, but surely I can manage the little ones. I always got on well with small children (PC12).

An Education Officer expressed a similar view in claiming that the Department's rationale for employing emergency teachers in infant classes was that any person with a modicum of education could teach basic literacy and numeracy.

The powers that be up there, felt that if you could speak intelligently then you could teach young children. That was a big thought in those days. They thought that anybody who had the knowledge could teach young children (EO7).

The comments of another teacher echoed this opinion.

Basically, the question is, anybody with a bit of intelligence would be able to teach the simple things to young children. Well, yes, you can teach 'cat sat on the mat' and $2+2=4$, those sorts of things (PC17).

In addition, the practical aspects of motherhood such as helping to dress young children, tying their shoelaces and assisting them to the toilet, was something that most emergency teachers were familiar with and not averse to doing. This made them particularly useful in junior primary schools. Two respondents, PC7 and PC36, recalled putting shoes on the children and tying up their laces.

They had this dancing bit and then they all had to get their shoes on and they put them on the wrong feet and couldn't do them up. Those things used to happen. That's all part of the job [laughter] (PC36).

Other respondents, such as PC13, PC16, PC18 and PC36, recalled the necessity of cleaning up after small children who had soiled their clothing.

I had 25 little children and they were weeping and most of the time I think I was too [laughter], because I was either changing pants or whatever. You had to have spare pants in your room so when they had an accident you'd have to be prepared to clean up after them and make them comfortable before they could sit down. If they sat on the chair and were frightened to ask, they just weed all over the floor (PC16).

One respondent believed that while emergency teachers would automatically change the soiled pants of young children in their classroom, the qualified teachers would not have considered it part of their professional responsibility.

I don't think a trained teacher would be happy handling at that basic level, changing wet pants and dirty pants at times. They had a lot of book learning and I think it was beneath their dignity (PC13).

Another aspect of the 'mother teacher' concept focused on the practical experience mothers had in bringing up their own children, which gave them a better understanding of children's behaviour than any theoretical knowledge, such as the study of psychology. Six teacher respondents, PC1, PC3, PC8, PC14, PC17, and PC19, and four Education Officers, EO3, EO4, EO12 and EO14, believed that mothers had both the experience and maturity to deal effectively with children that made up for their limited training and gave them a distinct advantage over the younger teachers.

That was a great asset, because instead of just being single girls going through college, here were mothers with children, and they knew all about it. They heard them read, knew all about first aid and medical problems of children. I think that helped them make up for the short courses because life had taught them a lot (EO4).

Their understanding of children made these women more effective teachers.

They were mature women and a lot of them had children, and that's why they were successful teachers, because they understood things from a child's point of view. I found that teachers who had a family, were nearly always a better teacher because they'd had the experience with the children (EO3).

One teacher respondent pointed out that while this did not necessarily preclude single women from being good teachers, her role as a mother was advantageous.

I'm not saying that single women without children don't make good teachers. I think we all have different abilities, latent gifts and our personalities, but I still think that once you've had the experience of having your own children and you learn how to talk to them and how to get them to understand. Let's face it, a mother is also a teacher; she is teaching children life. That's what helped me to do the job (PC17).

The only single emergency teacher in this study pointed out that even though she did not have children, her prior experiences with children had proved just as advantageous.

My introduction to teaching was leading a Sunday school kindergarten for a long time and working with a bunch of teenage girls in that church, and that really gave me a taste for it. I was quite happy with my experience with teaching young children, and I thought I would give it a go (PC35).

The following respondent claimed that mothers were natural teachers of small children, something which could not be learnt from a book.

I think that just being a mother, you have to be a teacher. If you're a mother with children, you're guiding them all the time, aren't you? You've just got a whole lot of them instead of just one or two, especially for the little ones, and I don't think all the book learning in the world will make much difference whether you handle the kiddies the right way. I think the necessary things are the love of the children and an appreciation of their differences and different abilities, and trying to find out which way that one is going to learn. You don't learn any of that in the courses (PC18).

For another respondent, the attitude of a teacher towards children was the important factor.

I think that aspect is important, how to handle children to get the best out of them. You can handle a child to get it interested in a firm but loving way, but the dictatorial and harsh methods that some people employed would have mitigated against them learning. The other factors would have been the character of the people and how balanced they were. You get somebody who gets irritated easily and can't control a temper because a child is finding it difficult to learn. These factors would have come into it too (PC17).

A number of emergency teachers believed that, as mothers, they inherently understood the mind of a young child through their commonsense practical approach. Respondents, PC25 and PC33, believed their experience of bringing up their own children was considerably more beneficial than anything their training could provide.

If you've got kids of you're own, I feel that teaching is more or less practical commonsense. So who is to say all that background of training is more helpful than the practical side of it, of bringing up a family yourself (PC6).

A number of respondents, who studied Child Psychology as a compulsory academic subject in the twelve month courses, found the concepts difficult to grasp and quite unrelated to anything in their experience. They believed it was unnecessary to study the subject because as mothers with children, they had practiced their own form of practical psychology.

I didn't like the subject Child Psychology. As a mother I felt I knew more about psychology than they did. Married teachers knew much more about kids. We did have our own psychology as we had our own kids (PC30).

Others (PC6 and PC17) believed that Child Psychology was simply commonsense.

I thought that a lot of this sounds too high falutin to children. To me a lot of the so-called Child Psychology was just commonsense in relationships and handling young children. We learnt the hard way. My children were guinea pigs because I never had anything to do with children (PC17).

Another respondent preferred her own form of psychology gleaned from raising her children.

You knew how to get the best out of children. Encouragement is much better than reprimand. They blossom if you give them encouragement. Well, your own children, they're like that. If you're down on them all the time, they shrink into their shells. Encouragement goes a long way with children (PC14).

The above anecdotes attest to the fact that the majority of emergency teacher respondents supported the concept of the 'mother teacher' which administrators in the Education Department held. The following respondent summarises her view of married women as emergency teachers

A mother who does her job properly with the children is one of the best teachers that there is, because they've got to be able to do it. I have found too, that in many cases a married woman on the staff with one or two children is not a troublemaker. They want their job. They came to school, did their job, did it well, and went home to cook their husband's tea (PC24).

One respondent's comments were not related to the terms of the public debate, but reflected a principle advocated in the late nineteenth century by Liberal thinkers who lobbied for women's participation in higher education on the grounds that it made them better mothers who were able to pass their education on to their own children.

If you educate a woman you educate her for life and you educate her children for life too. If she is educated then her children become thinking people instead of just floating along on the surface, which so many of them are today. They haven't got any resources to fall back on. But a woman, if she has discovered the resources within herself, well, then she educates more than herself, she educates her whole family and in turn her family will educate their family (PC16).

Four respondents challenged the view of mothers as natural teachers. All were Education Officers (EO1, EO3, EO7 and EO10). In the opinion of two of them, just because a woman was a mother, this did not necessarily make her a good teacher.

I don't agree with it at all, because they move only amongst their own family of children. Just because they had children of their own didn't mean that they knew all about how the young mind worked (EO7).

A third, with a degree of irony at the end of his remarks, summed up the Education Department's position as regards married women not requiring training.

The fact is that the population at large, administrators in this particular case, Ministers of Education and government, still believe, and will always believe that they can staff some schools with mature age women who don't need any training. After all, they've raised six or seven kids themselves. They're women of the world. They're not unintelligent; they read widely, that is to say that they read 'The Advertiser' and the 'Sunday Mail' [laughter] (EO10).

A fourth Education Officer (EO1) believed that the first years of schooling were the building blocks of education, too crucial for children's development to be left to untrained staff.

Fifty years ago when all this took place, the young ones were regarded as almost expendable. What happened to them didn't matter. They were only little kids. Any fool could teach them, and that was the attitude. Mavis Wauchope [an early childhood specialist in South Australian infant schools] was the very opposite to that. More important than the first year of university she used to tell us daily. The Education Union also said that the first years of school are most important (EO1).

The opinions of these Education Officers were consistent with the views expressed by many qualified teachers and SAIT officials throughout the period.

Pressure Cooker Teachers as Harmful Interlopers

As early as 1945, the Education Inquiry Committee's First Report had warned of the dangers inherent in bringing to the Education system temporary emergency teachers with insufficient training, because of the detrimental effect on all members of the school population, teachers and children alike. It argued that there were two faults to be avoided at all costs: 'accepting recruits of insufficient capacity: giving them insufficient training' (Education Inquiry Committee, 1945, p.34).

The Education Department's decision to ignore the warning and employ mature women as temporary assistants with little or no training was of major concern to trained teachers. The Teachers' Union expressed alarm at the introduction of 'untrained temporary teachers'. Their argument was that untrained teachers caused actual harm to everyone concerned, the children, the teachers, and the profession as a whole.

Our schools are increasing in size, but our teaching staffs do not appear to be keeping step with this increase. We are, I feel, too dependent upon the intake of inexperienced and untrained temporary teachers. This is a matter of grave concern, as the service should depend upon properly trained recruits as reinforcements rather than on the best intentioned temporary substitutions (SAIT, 1952, December, p.3).

In the light of these public comments it was important to ascertain of the views of those interviewed on the issue of whether emergency teachers were interlopers who caused harm.

The possibility of harm

Many of the respondents who had been emergency teachers were not prepared to exclude the possibility that their employment had caused some harm, but they were uncertain about the nature and extent.

The SAIT criticism was familiar to one respondent because she had heard it discussed at staff meetings.

It was mainly at staff meetings it came up with what they would do about these pressure cooker teachers. How they could approach the Department to get rid of the situation, that people could be trained in three months to teach. They all agreed that it was not a good thing. Most of the staff were sympathetic towards me as a person, but they decried the system that brought me to their school (PC25).

A few were inclined to lay the blame on the Department and its failure to screen individuals thoroughly on the basis of their personal qualities.

It wasn't a matter so much of not having had the qualifications of a higher education, to me it was just as important to look at the sort of person they were. But if they didn't and just took them in willy nilly, there could have been some harm done to the children. So, in some of the more desperate earlier situations there would have been quite a few people who didn't make the grade, and didn't have what was necessary to be a balanced and a good teacher. I think there is a lot of what you teach children just by your own values and standards, as well as the academic teaching. It's a matter of morals and ethics. Being that sort of person is what sets the example (PC17).

It was unfair, claimed another respondent, to target only emergency teachers as causing harm, when it could equally have applied to fully trained beginning teachers. According to her, many teachers became proficient through 'learning on the job'.

Nobody knows how hard it was going into a class and not knowing anything. But you just coped and you just went on, and in the end you managed. You go into it and you have to learn as you go. You can't just be an expert the minute you go in (PC15).

Several emergency teacher respondents had never been aware of the SAIT claim that teachers with limited training could harm their students. Upon reflection, they expressed genuine concern that it could have been a possibility, but hoped that this had not been the case.

I hope we weren't doing them any harm by not having the full training (PC8).

One respondent interpreted harm as referring to physical or verbal attack.

I hope it didn't harm them. I never beat them. I would never say an unkind thing to them. I worked on the principle, never say to anybody what you wouldn't like them to say to you (PC13).

Another respondent believed she had been doing a good job at the time, but in hindsight wondered if this was actually the case.

I felt quite confident when I went out. I felt I could do the job and I knew what I was doing, but you sort of wonder, don't you? I think anybody would probably (PC5).

Other respondents experienced such doubts while they were actually teaching.

I wondered if I was doing the right thing. Whether I should still be doing the job, you know. I felt that at the time. It worried me, it did (PC7).

The strongest expression of this view came from a respondent who felt certain that in common with others who lacked proper training, she would have caused harm to the children she taught.

I'm quite sure we did a lot of harm. I would have done untold harm to a lot of children. I'm sure I did. I had no idea what I was doing. I was just doing what I'd seen other people do and I was doing it and hoping like hell I would get the results that they did. But there was no science in what I was doing (PC36).

In the opinion of another emergency teacher, the SAIT criticism was justified.

Well, I think it was justified, because it was true. Perhaps they hadn't taken in enough, had too many commitments at home to sort of put more work into their teaching. I think the trained teacher was better really, because they had the knowledge in how to handle the children (PC12).

Another considered that increased training made teachers more proficient.

I guess at times I felt as though I would have liked to have done the training. I felt as though those who had done the training were more competent (PC8).

Others were less certain and sought to qualify the SAIT claim or raise objections to it. One particular respondent considered that the emergency teachers' lack of teaching skills resulted not so much in harming children, as in not being able to help them as much as a trained teacher could.

I don't think I actually would go as far as saying that we were harmful to the children. We weren't doing as much as we should have been doing and could have been doing because we didn't have the background of teaching skills (PC21).

The second respondent felt that while the limited training of an emergency teacher could have caused harm to upper primary students, children in junior classes only needed to be taught the basics that anyone with some education could provide.

Well, we couldn't really have done a lot [of harm] as far as that goes. We could teach them the basics and that was all you were expected to do. But I think it must have been difficult for the women that went into the primary stage if they hadn't had a good sound education themselves (PC12).

For two respondents, including PC9, the notion of emergency teachers causing harm depended entirely on the personal qualities of the individuals, rather than on their length of training.

I would say that it would depend entirely on that particular person, because some people would be able to handle it, and I don't think you can generalise about that. The mere fact that you spent three years doing something does not necessarily make you a more professional or qualified person than someone who already has those things and moves in after just a short period (PC25).

This view was supported by a third woman who felt her background excluded any possibility of causing harm to students.

I was very lucky in having the support of home, and all my life I never felt disadvantaged. I can see that for some people it would be never be sufficient training, but personally I felt it was adequate for me. It depends on the individual. I mean there were some short course people who probably turned out to be excellent teachers. I hope that I didn't ever harm any (PC22).

The harm caused by limited training

The majority of Education Officers were in accord with the SAIT position that teachers with limited training had a harmful effect on children's learning.

The Teachers' Union in 1952 were against the pressure cooker courses. They said it wasn't fair on the teacher. "It isn't fair on the teacher because she's not properly trained, and it's not fair on the children because she's not qualified to teach them". I think it was a legitimate worry (EO18).

Another respondent agreed.

It wasn't fair to the children because they weren't getting an education. They were only having a minder, that's all, and that's not good enough. They could have been home being minded if it came to that, but they were sent to school to learn and they were learning bad habits (EO3).

One former demonstration teacher responsible for training women in her classroom resented the harm they caused the children, herself, and the other teachers in the school.

They damaged the children and they probably damaged other teachers like me because of what we had to put up with (EO1).

Another respondent agreed, pointing out the difficulties in estimating what long term effects of damage were inflicted on the children.

I would say so, definitely, especially when you've got children sitting so tensely that they wouldn't even blink or turn their head. It must have been emotionally damaging, but there was no way of knowing what the results were (EO9).

A third admitted that it was necessary to eliminate those teachers doing obvious harm.

The very poor ones, well, they had to be pressured to get out because they were doing more harm than good (EO3).

These comments are consistent with the opinion of a Principal quoted by a journalist, Wahlquist, (1953b, p.15) in his article in *The News*, 'the unclassifieds affect children by lowering work standards and impairing the attitude of children to their teachers'.

Three respondents, including EO3 and EO12, agreed with the Education Inquiry Committee Report that quality had indeed been sacrificed for quantity.

Yes, unfortunately I've got to say standards fell. We had quantity of children; we wanted quantity of teachers. So quality was a second thought. We did look at quality because we cut out the short courses (EO2).

Quality of teaching was seen to be closely related to the length of time spent in training. This view was common to a number of Education Officers.

I believe teachers do need adequate time to get through courses. It's an unusual person who can become a qualified teacher in a short time (EO6).

Several other Education officials, including EO2, EO4 and EO22, were of the opinion that emergency teachers were not equal to the fully trained teachers.

I don't think those were ever quite as good as those who had training. I really think training is necessary in everything. Those who had lectures were much better off than those that were trained for a few weeks in a school who came in off the streets. I think they needed a little bit more help. I think that it kind of served a purpose, but they weren't brilliant teachers. I think they lacked a little bit at not having had an education, not having had to study. Their work wasn't as efficient as the other people and a lot of them weren't able to do it. They were still receiving help from the other teachers as to how to do this and how to do that and they had to be shown things. They were still learning really on the job, but they were being paid (EO3).

An education officer recalls debating the point with a particular emergency teacher.

I can remember a lass who was a TUA and something came up and she said that although she didn't have the qualifications she was just as good a teacher than the others. I said, "Well, in my experience, the teachers who had more qualifications were really better teachers" (EO18).

One respondent felt that it was the Department's responsibility to ensure that the emergency teachers received a better standard of education.

They didn't do it well enough. It should have been somehow or other a two year course. I'm saying there weren't the professional staff to train them, but if they had educated them first, just general education, you know, proper English, Geography, History and then given professional studies after. I still think something better should have been done (EO1).

Several respondents referred to the focus on the vocational aspects of teacher preparation rather than on professional training.

There was great criticism of the very short course as there was no professional training. They were strong on practical teaching and there was plenty of that (EO13).

Respondents, EO5 and EO13 pointed out that the SAIT criticism was aimed particularly at those women who had done the very short observation courses, not the ones who had completed twelve months of training.

I know the union was against it, very much so. They thought it was quite the wrong thing to do to have four women sitting in a school room and just watching the teacher, and then being asked to take a lesson now and again, and then becoming teachers themselves and having the responsibility of a class. The women in twelve month courses had children that didn't suffer. These women had a definite course and a definite program (EO5).

One respondent felt that the criticism of emergency teachers was based in part on the professional snobbery of the Teachers' Union and its members, but she acknowledged the benefits that came with higher levels of training.

Professional snobbery is in every profession and a professional and highly qualified teacher would have looked down on them. Professional and trained teachers who get degrees lift their teaching to a higher level and their minds have been stretched more, therefore this would be apparent in their teaching and to their students (EO13).

Another Education Officer argued that it demeaned the teaching profession for emergency teachers to be awarded salaries similar to fully trained teachers.

They thought it made the profession cheap by not being trained. Now our salaries were based on the fact that we had to study and do so much learning, and therefore untrained teachers came in without these qualifications and got almost as much as a person who was trained (EO22).

An emergency teacher expressed a similar view.

We might have been doing the same work, but they had, I don't know how many years of training and I felt as though they were entitled to more than we were (PC8).

Teacher respondents PC9 and PC17, believed their lack of education or training meant that they had no right to be regarded as equal to trained teachers, especially those with university degrees.

I had a respect for the people with degrees, and certainly in my eyes they had status. I didn't particularly feel that as a pressure cooker I had the right to have opinions or status, and I certainly did not have it. I felt they were more entitled to it than I was. They had much more education than I had (PC18).

Only when the following respondent received her Teachers' Certificate, did she consider herself a qualified teacher.

I was a qualified teacher after I got my Teachers' Certificate. A really good feeling, but before that I felt that probably I wasn't. I lacked experience and the qualifications of some of the others (PC17).

In contrast, numerous respondents, including PC10, PC14, PC17, PC19 and EO3, considered that completing an academic course or possessing qualifications did not necessarily make someone a more capable teacher.

The ability to know a subject matter doesn't necessarily make you capable at handling children. I think you have to remember that because a person is extremely clever at mathematics, or so forth, it does not necessarily make them more capable of teaching (PC9).

The following respondent pointed out that the inherent love of children made people good teachers, something that could never be learned from a book.

I don't think all the book learning in the world will make much difference to whether you handle the kiddies the right way. I think the necessary things are the love of the children and the appreciation of their differences and different abilities, and trying to find out which way that one is going to learn, and you don't learn any of that in the courses (PC18).

An Education Officer agreed.

A lot of these pressure teachers did try to convince the other teachers that they could do the work if you teach from you heart, not from your head. I know teachers who've got their BA and Dip Ed. and all that, and they couldn't teach a billygoat, where some people made outstanding teachers (EO22).

Unwanted Interlopers

Given the ongoing criticism of emergency teachers by qualified teachers in schools and SAIT officials, it is not surprising that the teacher respondents still recalled vividly the way they were treated as unwanted interlopers.

We were despised by teachers who were properly trained at the Teachers' College, we really were. "Oh, she's a pressure cooker, well, what could you expect?" (PC11).

The prevalent belief at the time was that these women had literally walked in off the street, been appointed with little or no training, and expected similar treatment to their trained counterparts. In consequence, many of their trained colleagues resented their presence.

I was aware in the schools when we went out that we just had to be tolerated, because we had entered the education system through the back door, you might say (PC16).

Because it was possible for trained teachers to determine who the emergency teachers were on their staff, this led, in some instances, to them being individually or collectively marginalised.

Some treated us as if we were appendages, just sort of tacked on the end. I think some of them thought we were 'Johnny come latelys', you know, just getting in on the tail. Some thought that we were only in it to get a good job and make money (PC3).

For a number of respondents, such as PC8, PC14 and PC24, the general consensus was that they were only made welcome in schools because they reduced class sizes.

I think they were all very accepting because they knew it was taking the load off their shoulders. "Thank God you've come!" You were going to stop a load gathering on their shoulders (PC13).

This view was supported by an Education Officer.

There were some who weren't hot, weren't the end of the world, but we were desperate for teachers, anybody in front of a class, especially as they were big classes (EO16).

Several respondents, PC7, PC12 and PC19, believed that even though they reduced the heavy workload of teachers in schools, the trained teachers were not ready to accept them as colleagues.

We weren't welcome in schools either, even though we were taking the load off some of the teachers. Oh yes, you were not accepted (PC36).

An Education Officer confirmed this view, being of the opinion that emergency teachers were never accepted as proper teachers, even though many staff came to value them as dependable workers and knew they had to work with the newcomers.

We never felt that they were quite as accepted as the trained girls, but were appreciated and valued in a way because they were dependable. You see they would be older people, not young and just out of college. I think, by and large, we certainly accepted them, because we had no alternative [laughter] (EO19).

Another Education Officer agreed.

I know that there was a sort of a feeling that they weren't quite teachers by the girls who had come out as trained teachers, but it wasn't talked about. Well, it was just one of those things that you feel, a second grade citizen (EO18).

The Editor of the *S.A. Teachers' Journal* attempted to placate a TUA teacher who expressed her opinions about the way TUAs were treated by both the Education Department and the Teachers' Union.

SAIT cannot condone the wide and unprofessional attitude shown by a few longer trained and supposedly better educated teachers towards those with lower qualifications. Such personal friction between colleagues can only harm the work in the schools and the unity of SAIT (SAIT, 1958, September, p.7).

Several women described the way emergency teachers were treated due to their limited training.

Other girls told me that they'd had a lot of trouble with the trained teachers in the schools who said that they were not fully trained. They shouldn't be teaching the children, they weren't good enough, and they didn't consider the course that they'd done was adequate for the work that they were doing (PC12).

One respondent recalled the criticism leveled at her by a trained teacher. This gave her a sense of inferiority in relation to trained teachers which led her to work harder to prove her worth.

I remember a woman saying something about pressure cooker teachers that they weren't up to their level. She was a bit of a pain. It was something to do with Maths, when she said, "Oh, you wouldn't know what I'm really talking about. You wouldn't have learnt that being a pressure cooker". Not quite as good? Yes, I think I did feel that, and that's why I always got everything done that I was supposed to be doing. I used to think I'll do what I can, what I was supposed to do. There was one who was a bit catty about it. Once or twice she said, "You possibly didn't do that, or learn that, or weren't taught that" (PC7).

Another respondent recalled that emergency teachers even though they had shown considerable aptitude for teaching, were still considered inferior by trained staff.

Many of them were very conscientious and excellent teachers who came up through that short training course, and I heard some of them speak bitterly about the fact that it didn't carry any weight with teachers who were fully trained through the Teachers' College (PC11).

Some of the emergency teachers retaliated angrily.

They would say bitterly, "Oh well, of course I'm just a pressure cooker teacher", and they would be angry because they were slighted in some way, although they were good teachers (PC11).

Another was angered by a Headmaster's attitude towards emergency teachers.

The Headmaster in a school saw that I had only done the short course and he said, "Oh no, we're not looking for people like you", so I walked out (PC28).

Some of the women who completed the twelve month course found that attitudes towards them changed when it became apparent that they were capable teachers.

Well, there definitely was when we first went out. They were pretty hoity toity, but they very quickly received us. I think they thought we were pressure cookers, and then they found out that we were really trained and knew what we were about (PC14).

The following respondent pointed out that even though emergency teachers were criticised for their lack of training, they were still expected to carry out the same duties as the trained teachers.

I realised that we were doing exactly the same things and that if a teacher was away sick they didn't say, "Well, you're not fully trained, you'd better not have some of her children". It was divvied out to everybody, and you did yard duties, everything exactly the same way (PC25).

For a number of women, the treatment they suffered at the hands of the trained staff affected their confidence as teachers.

It affected me to the degree that I lacked some confidence knowing that others were better trained, and although nothing was said to me, I got the impression once that I wasn't as experienced as they were. Something I heard one day, somebody commenting on a question I asked, and that sort of sapped my confidence a bit (PC35).

This sometimes led to a sense of inferiority that had a profound affect on their ability to voice their opinions during staff meetings. Several respondents, including PC6, PC18 and PC25, agreed

with the view below.

I didn't voice opinions at staff meetings. I was very careful to be very quiet because I always felt I had no right to have an opinion because I didn't have any training. As it became known, well, naturally you went down in the estimation of the people who were fully trained. They'd had their several years in Teachers' College and they knew what they were talking about, so I kept very quiet. I wasn't a voice at staff meetings. I listened to an awful lot of balderdash and rubbish being talked about at staff meetings, but I still held my tongue because I felt I didn't have a right to voice an opinion, because they could then immediately say, "What does she know? I know because I have this certificate. I was so many years learning this, that and the other thing". I wasn't trained. What I had was just intuitive (PC11).

These examples illustrate how the schools in which the women taught varied considerably in the degree of acceptance and support they offered to emergency teachers on the staff. The interview data also pointed to wide divergences in the way the 'pressure cooker' women performed as teachers.

A Range of Examples

The Education Officers were often forthright in their descriptions of some of the emergency teachers they had to deal with. The emergency teacher respondents also remembered quite vividly particular colleagues they taught with. From the examples they gave it was possible to characterise the performance of the emergency teachers described along a continuum ranging from those whose behaviour was appallingly inappropriate; through to those who were adequate but limited; and to those who proved to be professionally competent and effective teachers. This continuum of perceived performance is discussed below.

Inappropriate or inadequate behaviour

A serious inadequacy noted was the lack of basic knowledge among some of the emergency teachers appointed. Their poor speech and grammar and spelling became a major concern for Principals, Inspectors and other staff members.

There was one with poor grammar and I said, "Look, you can't possibly go before a class and make a grammatical error". I told her it wasn't right. She didn't know she was making a mistake (EO4).

An emergency teacher substantiated this claim.

There were teachers on the staff who didn't speak decent English, and didn't always spell correctly. They were pressure cooker teachers. One or two of them were Australian, some of them were migrants, and I thought speaking to children like that was wrong. I just felt it wasn't fair to their class. They had been trained for a short time and I wondered how they got through the training. I can recall two of our staff that were ignorant and amazingly one of them not speaking or writing correct English. One became a teacher at a Private school [laughter], and I thought, "Ye Gods, fancy her being taken on to teach. That woman is so ignorant!" (PC11).

Several respondents, including PC35, EO1, EO7 and EO18, criticised the poor speech habits and behaviour of some emergency teachers from working class backgrounds.

I was appalled at this teacher's speech. She didn't speak properly. Grammatically it was wrong, and she used slang words. She'd say, "Come on you kids". I nearly said, "Excuse me, kids are nanny goats, not children". I didn't like it (PC12).

The new and established industries concentrated in the northern and western areas of Adelaide attracted large numbers of low socio-economic and migrant families to live and work in them. The schools were inundated with children from these families and had high concentrations of emergency teachers from working class backgrounds who resided in these areas and were appointed to the schools.

It was not an easy school; an area of low socio-economic background and migrants. On that particular staff there were several emergency trained women (EO11).

This concerned an Education Officer who considered a high concentration of such teachers as inappropriate.

I think I saw the worst, partly because of the socio-economic areas I taught in. They [emergency teachers] were living near their homes. They were disadvantaged women to start with and they were poorly educated. It was easier for them to teach grade one or two. They wouldn't have a hope in Hades of teaching grade seven (EO1).

Figures from *The Education Gazette* support this. For example, schools in the western suburbs, such as Ethelton Primary School in May 1961, had a total of 26 staff, half of whom were temporary unclassified assistants (TUAs), six in the primary and seven in the infant school. Paringa Park Infant School had twelve female staff members; one Infant Mistress, one temporary Assistant and ten TUAs. These figures suggest that schools in the north, with a population of predominantly British migrants, and those in the western suburbs of Adelaide, were heavily staffed with temporary unclassified assistants, while schools in the more affluent eastern suburbs had only several of these teachers. Highgate primary school, for example, only had two TUAs (*The Education Gazette*, 1961, May Supplement, p.19; p.78).

A number of respondents pointed out that in many cases, emergency teachers who behaved in inappropriate ways did not have the advantage of what they referred to as, 'a good family background'.

These women didn't have the intelligence or the background to really sort of refine themselves into the job properly (EO19).

One Education Officer commented on the divergent range of emergency teachers as regards refinement.

Now one was a society lady, you might say, beautifully dressed and very clear in enunciation, and loved social affairs. She was an untrained teacher but very confident and quite at ease among everybody. You see, this is a contrast. Just across the board you get a range of these temporary teachers (EO19).

It was the opinion of one teacher respondent that the background factor should have been taken into account in the selection of emergency teachers.

I think that selecting people who would become teachers, they would need to look at a number of factors, not just a level of education, but the person. Their background, how they speak, their families, all those things come into it (PC17).

The most serious allegations came from an Education Officer who recalled her frustration at the inappropriate behaviour of some emergency teachers in her school.

[They were constantly] coming late, being dirty and disorganised. I was consumed with guilt due to the awful things that I knew were going on in the school that I could not prevent (EO1).

In other cases, lack of classroom control was linked to inability to teach.

She just couldn't control the children; she couldn't teach in other words. She thought, you know, one and one make two, right you ought to know, that's it, and no showing them. She just had no idea at all of teaching (EO19).

I remember she was a real dill [laughter]. I don't know if she ever taught anything. She was pretty hopeless, a real scatterbrain, and I don't think she had much in the way of discipline. The kids ran rings around her. There was always someone having to go there and tell the kids to sit down and shut up. She certainly disappeared off the scene very rapidly (PC22).

One teacher's inability to control her own temper had serious consequences in an incident remembered by an Education Officer.

It was a nightmare. She hit somebody on the head. It broke a blood vessel and I managed to get him to the doctor before anything very drastic happened. After that she understood she had to keep better control, which frightened the wits out of her (EO1).

Another Education Officer reported a serious incident involving an emergency teacher.

This unfortunate woman was a weak link on the staff. A mother rushed into the office one morning and said, "She scratched me. She hit me!" It was unpleasant and we went to court (EO19).

A third Education Officer reported one woman's inappropriate behaviour in the classroom, ending with the following comment:

She should never have been accepted in my book. She used to put her foot up on the desk and paint her toenails in front of the children (EO22).

In some cases, inappropriate behaviour, such as falling asleep, could have been the result of ill health, mental stress or the sheer exhaustion of trying to juggle work with family commitments.

One afternoon one of the mothers rushed into me and said, "She's asleep! She is sitting in the chair and the children are all spread around the carpet and looking up at her". What could I do? (EO19).

A number of emergency teachers had experienced pain and trauma from divorce and broken marriages, which was exacerbated by the stress of being single mothers with little or no support. This may have been a contributing factor in the few reported cases of alcoholism and mental illness. This indicates the pressures some of these women were under at a time when virtually no medical help or counseling was available to them.

The teacher in the class was crying in front of the children and saying nobody loved her, and all sorts of things. Now this woman was having a very bad nervous breakdown. I think she was having a break-up of her marriage and this was causing the problem. Another one had a drink problem and was drinking from the cupboard now and then, and falling down in front of the children. Terrible problem! (EO3).

One actually took her own life several years later. I heard she'd cut her wrists and walked out on the highway in front of a car, so she suicided (EO9).

Certainly it could be argued that the emergency teachers described in the above examples could be classified as those who should never have been selected by the Education Department.

Inappropriate attitudes

Education Officers recalled some women who demonstrated what they regarded as inappropriate attitudes in teachers. Since the majority of Education Officers questioned were women who had rejected marriage and children for the sake of their careers, they tended to be highly critical of married women with children who showed no commitment to the profession (see Chapter Two).

They would say to me, "This isn't my career. I've chosen teaching because I come to school with my children, I go home with my children; I have school holidays with my children. When my furniture is paid for and my house is paid for, I'm quitting". They simply were not interested. You couldn't get them to go anywhere or do anything. They'd arrive at 9 o'clock in the morning, they would go as soon as the bell went at twenty to four in the afternoon, and they dropped school and everything about it out of their mind. They didn't put any more time in it then they had to (EO9).

Two teacher respondents had noted this sort of attitude amongst those in their training group. Some of these women exhibited little or no interest in the course. Some were not even interested enough to listen to their lecturers.

A couple were a bit flighty. They were only there for the fun or to hope that they would get a job. They weren't thinkers as such and weren't really interested. It was really a means to an end that they were doing it to get through (PC16).

Those rude to the lecturer were a very rough type of people. The lecturer used to have problems because they were so rude. They would just chatter, chatter, chatter. They kept the attitude that they could ride over the tutors because they were going to be teachers (PC15).

Others revealed an almost equally inappropriate attitude of having an inflated and unjustified sense of their worth and superiority as teachers.

They thought they were good. They thought they were God's gift to the Department. There was no doubt about that (PC36).

Some of them were very proud of what they had done, who'd thought they were the ant's pants because they'd become teachers. That lack of humility did not help them at all. They didn't know how bad they were (EO1).

This sense of superiority was evident in the way they treated other teachers.

Telling everybody else what they should do or shouldn't do. How wonderful they were, and they had spent three weeks or something watching another teacher (EO22).

One teacher respondent admitted to such an attitude herself.

I was conceited within myself because I always thought I was a very good teacher. I was cocky, but I knew my worth. Occasionally I would feel a little bit of superiority and contempt just inside me thinking "Well, I'm a far better teacher than you". So I wasn't a humble person (PC11).

One Education Officer felt that some emergency teachers used their new status as teachers to intimidate parents by asserting power and authority over them.

They'd think, "Oh look, I'm a teacher. I know this, that and the other. I've been trained as a teacher," never mind for how long, and lay down the law to the parents, and then tell the parents how to bring up their children and what to do. And the parents took it because the parents weren't as well educated (EO1).

She cited an example of one emergency teacher who continually strove to impress parents.

She was so confident, she was so liked, she was so wonderful. The parents thought she was a magnificent woman and all the rest of this. I think she had a sort of an inferiority complex or something. The whole district adored her, but she worked for it. She'd tell the parents how good she'd been to their children and what she'd done for them (EO1).

At best it could perhaps be said that emergency teachers with such attitudes could have benefited substantially from a longer period of training. At worst, they were individuals that a good selection process would have weeded out.

Adequate but limited

Further along the continuum there were emergency teachers who were regarded as adequate, in the sense that they were able to manage a class of children and teach them basic skills and knowledge. A number of Education Officers, however, judged them to be limited as teachers in that they did not value education for themselves. Their minds appeared closed to the possibility of gaining new knowledge. Even more importantly, they were unwilling to embrace new ideas and methods which could have enhanced their teaching.

They were not interested in teaching. I mean they were just closed, and if you left them alone to muddle along they were happy. They wouldn't have gone to any kind of study, no way! And they

didn't try to make themselves better educated either, because they didn't understand that there was a need to be better educated (EO9).

Some emergency teachers, for example, preferred to teach the same grade year after year, utilising the same program of work with little variation throughout the entire course of their teaching career. This was possible, because the women usually commenced teaching mid way through the school year and adopted another teacher's set program of work. Several Education Officers, including EO9 and EO19, attested to this.

They came out usually in the middle of the year and took over someone's program, and therefore it was all set out for them what to do. And once they'd gotten over that one year or six months, they tended to teach the same things year after year (EO11).

The fact that they were quite content to teach in the same manner for the duration of their career indicated an unwillingness to leave their 'comfort zone' and try out new out ideas.

They would prefer to teach the same grade year after year, utilising the same program of work with little variation throughout the entire course of their teaching career (EO9).

Some were happy to be in their spot and did not want to be disturbed. They taught the same style for the rest of their teaching career (EO16).

One of the emergency teacher respondents substantiated this claim.

I stayed at the same school for twenty years until I retired. I only changed rooms three times, so that was my variety in my teaching career. I taught preps every year, taking two classes for six months each year. I did that all the time and one child said to me, "Why haven't you ever gone up to grade two?" (PC30).

Some women occupied the same classroom for many years and continued to use the same teaching aids they had made initially, even though they had deteriorated badly.

Some really funny old ducks had their charts and teaching aids around the wall, but they were spattered with dirt. I don't know how long they'd been put up there (PC5).

An Education Officer stressed the contrast between a younger trained teacher, brimming with new ideas, and an emergency teacher who continued to plod along.

She wouldn't have lots of exciting ideas like a trained teacher in the next room who would be absolutely like a monkey full of tricks with an idea for every little incident that came up. But she wouldn't have that kind of approach (EO19).

Emergency teachers were seen as lacking creativity and initiative.

They didn't have many skills and no initiative. They could not do things for themselves, and weren't creative and copied others work (EO15).

One of the teacher respondents who admitted to copying other teachers' ideas did at least have the initiative to recognise a good idea and modify it for her use.

I used to steal little things from some of the young teachers who came fresh from the college with all their nice new ideas. I would see different things when I went past their rooms and think, "That's a good idea, oh, that's novel," whereas I wasn't a very original thinker. I would copy slightly from somebody else and then rearrange it to make it look different (PC4).

Principals found it difficult to engage emergency teachers in new ideas and methods of teaching.

Having them listen to new ideas and try and encourage them to branch out and try different things was difficult. They just didn't want to do anything. Young and enthusiastic persons coming out from Teachers' College did experimental work with their children, but they would have said, "No, we can't cope with that". They wouldn't have dreamt of trying that (EO9).

This difficulty was confirmed by the comments of some teacher respondents. One respondent recalled the introduction of teaching assistants towards the end of her career. She claimed that they made no difference to her teaching, because unlike the younger teachers, she did not know how to make use of them, and would not, or could not embrace the change.

They brought in the assistants, what do they call them aids? I didn't use them, I didn't know how to, and I didn't want to. I got used to doing my own thing. I was that used to looking after my

own class and doing everything for that class, that I didn't want the aids. And yet the new ones that came in knew how to use them, and they put all their work that I was doing myself on to the aids (PC15).

Another remembered the introduction of the new Maths course which caused much consternation for many of the trained staff in schools, not only emergency teachers. Her statement reveals how she and a colleague dealt with the changes.

We went through the whole Maths course and we didn't take too kindly to it and my friend said to me, "Well, I don't care for the new method and I'm still going to teach my children the old way". I said to her, "Well, I think you're right". So we did and nobody stopped us (PC12).

There was some recognition that such attitudes could have reflected the levels of education and family background of the women. One respondent recalled how she had become aware of these influences during her training, when the group lecturer, Laura Battye, had asked all the women in her one year course to recite a poem.

We all had to choose a piece or poetry that we felt we could relate to and helped to describe the background to our life. So naturally I chose 'The Man from Snowy River' [laughter]. We had to recite this in front of the whole class, and I know that it really appealed to me because it was 'Australiana'. Whereas, some of the girls chose things like the 'Lotus Eaters' which I'd never heard of in my life before, and some that were really much more in the literature class. And so I realised that they had been exposed to a higher form of education than I had. You just sort of knew by the attention Miss Battye paid to these people, that she was more at one with those people that had a better education than we lesser mortals [laughter] who only had a Broken Hill mining background (PC16).

Another reported a similar experience in the school context.

I realised how many gaps there were in my education when pitting myself against other people who had a better education than I had. And always feeling perhaps a little less able to do things than others because, well, naturally you think that you're pretty good until you come up against somebody else that's better (PC16).

These limitations apparent in emergency teachers could possibly have been avoided, or at least minimized, if the emergency teachers had received a longer period of training with the opportunity to extend their own knowledge base and gain better grounding in a range of teaching approaches. Alternatively, ongoing programs of professional development could have been used to boost their confidence and their expertise. The possibilities of this were indicated in the experience of the teacher respondent who had felt certain that she had caused harm to children in her classes. In her case, a turning point came through the opportunity to observe a particularly effective demonstration teacher.

It was watching the way she handled staff, the way she talked to the children, the way the kids and staff respected her. It just changed my whole outlook, and I suddenly realised what teaching was all about, and I loved it (PC36).

Competent and effective

A number of the Education Officers gave much more positive accounts of the emergency teachers they had worked with. In spite of their limited formal training, these women were seen to be hardworking and valuable additions to the schools.

They were married women who were managing very well, seeing that they didn't have the full training. I didn't get any complaints from the parents and I thought that they were doing a reasonable job. No, as people they had been well chosen and were well respected in the community, and suitable material for teachers (EO4).

They had limited training and capacity with their background, but darned good hardworking women. We could never have done without them under the circumstances. They really worked hard and toed the line, and did what they had to do (EO15).

Another remembered an emergency member of staff because of her happy disposition and willingness to work.

She wasn't fully trained, but she was a sensible person and had great sense of humour, and was a stalwart on the staff. You know, I really appreciated having her on the staff, because there was a sort of commonsense about her, and she did her work and she did it well (EO9).

Maturity was deemed a key factor in the ability of such women to do well in their new careers.

The emergency group were dedicated. They were more mature and had experienced parenthood, worked in some other occupations and made the decision to do a one year training course, which would have been difficult and took dedication (EO13).

Their attitudes were in sharp contrast to some of the younger teachers.

The pressure cookers were keen as mustard and more highly motivated than the young ones. They were so responsive that they put a great deal of effort and energy into it (EO14).

An Education Officer who lectured at the Teachers' College found that mature women were different to the young college students in their motivation.

They had an altogether different motivation. I found that their motivation and their efforts to teach were stronger than some students in the Teachers' College, because they were older and they wanted to teach. They wanted to teach very much and they wanted to teach as well as they could (EO5).

Three of the emergency teacher respondents, including PC9 and PC35, believed they were equal to trained teachers.

The experience I was getting and the fact that I was succeeding at what I was doing, getting good reports and accelerated promotion, gave me confidence and self-esteem. I could hold my own with a teacher who had been through a university course (PC17).

Two Education Officers, EO2 and EO7 remembered a few outstanding individuals in the short

training courses who they considered were born teachers.

But every now and then you could pick up very good persons in that group. They were just born teachers, I suppose (EO7).

Some teacher respondents, however, were inclined to attribute their self-perceived success as teachers to the influence of family background and a good education.

I always held myself in fairly high regard and I had a very good family background. I thought I was good enough to be a teacher. I never queried that I wouldn't. I was confident enough to know that I'd be able to do it without my nose in the air [laughter] (PC19).

Another respondent believed that having a private school education gave her the social graces necessary to get along with anyone regardless of their social standing.

My father was a great believer that you should go to a private school for a little bit of polish, so that you could mix with people of different classes and be at home with anybody. I think it has helped. You can understand and get on with anybody who hasn't had the same opportunities that you've had, and you can also get on with other people who have had a better trot out of life (PC8).

The following respondent believed a good family background and musical accomplishments put her in good stead to make a success of teaching.

I learned piano and I played the cello in an orchestra at one stage. Really and truly it sounds awful and I'm not boasting, but I suppose I am. It really wasn't all that difficult for me. I think some of the girls might have had more difficulty than I did. I had a few things going for me, because I've always met lots of people living in a manse and living in a doctor's house. I didn't find contact with people difficult at all, whereas some girls probably did. And I did a dressmaking course and various Girl Guide works and all sorts of things. I guess I had a pretty good background (PC14).

Musical accomplishment was considered a valuable asset, particularly in junior grades. Several respondents, including PC19, PC27 and EO11, attested to this. One Education Officer recalled an

emergency teacher whose musical skill, especially playing the piano, was beneficial for the school.

She was a great asset for assemblies and music through movement, and all the different areas in which we needed music in infant school (EO19).

A Student Perspective

Although this research did not seek to investigate the perspective of those who had been students in classes taught by emergency teachers, the researcher wishes to include the views of two students who remembered emergency teachers at primary school, her own, and those of the daughter of an Education Officer. These reflect in a very interesting way the ends of the continuum discussed above.

One of the Education Officers interviewed shared with the researcher a comment her daughter had recently made. What is surprising is the level of ongoing hostility revealed by the daughter, even though fifty years had elapsed.

My daughter said, "Mum, I just hated that woman. If I met her today I'd kick her!" (EO17).

In my own experience, I also have negative memories of one emergency teacher, a Scottish migrant with a broad accent which was difficult to understand. She was a harsh disciplinarian who punished me with three ruler strokes on my hand for having spoken in class. My only crime was to innocently whisper that I did not know in reply to a student who had asked me a question. Being one of the top students in the class, I found this particular teacher's behaviour unfair, humiliating and totally inappropriate, because girls were rarely physically punished. At the positive end of the continuum, I remember an emergency teacher who was motherly, kind and competent. She would envelope students in her warm embrace and with a delightful laugh, make

light of any problems they may have had.

The evidence of the emergency teachers and Education Officers interviewed suggests, not surprisingly, that emergency teachers were to be found at both the positive and the negative ends of the continuum, from harmful interloper to natural teacher. In addition, there were many in the middle ground of barely competent to just satisfactory in their teaching. For the most part, the women themselves supported the Department's position on maternal nurturance, while the Education Officers regarded proper training as essential for the professional development of good teachers. What was interesting to see was the proportion of emergency teacher respondents, who as a result of their initial learning experiences in emergency courses, went on of their own volition to further educational study.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation into the emergency scheme which was introduced to help staff South Australian public schools from 1948 to 1962 used three sources of data to find answers to the key research questions. The conclusions begin by reflecting on the research methods used and the usefulness of the different data. The main findings are then summarised by responding to the key questions which guided the collection and analysis of data (see end of Chapter One). Finally the significance of the period in the longer perspective is considered.

Reflections on Research Methods Used

The three sets of data which were used in this study provided different dimensions that enriched the study and did not limit or disadvantage it in any way. Rather the opposite was true, as it allowed the scope of the study to be broader, encompass more factual information and offer more informed opinions from people directly involved in the scheme than any research based purely on official documentation could have possibly achieved. The differing perspectives allowed for greater accuracy and clearer understanding of what really happened. The juxtaposition of the three sets of data could be said to have offered a three dimensional history of the emergency teacher training scheme in South Australia from 1948 to 1962.

It was important to establish the objective historical facts from the official publications of the Education Department and the Annual Reports of the Minister of Education to Parliament. They offered a factual outline of what happened during the era of teacher shortage, as well as a rationale from the official point of view of what was done to solve the crisis in the post-war years. The alternative views of those who were highly critical of the government's handling of

the teacher crisis were expressed most clearly in the reports and articles published by the Teachers' Unions in their monthly Teachers' Journal. There were also articles and information which the Teachers' Union officials provided to the local newspapers as part of their strategy to make their own members, as well as the general public, aware of their criticism of the government's temporary short term measures to solve the teacher shortage.

Including the voices of the women, who through their appointment as temporary unclassified assistants were part of the Department's solution to the crisis, represented the original contribution of this research. The focus on the women's perspective made it appropriate that the research as a whole be grounded in feminist theory and that an oral history/memoir approach be adopted to gathering data from the women. The recollections of the women revealed what it was actually like to be an emergency teacher during this period. The findings were enriched by factoring in this human dimension so that, by using the humanistic sociological perspective, the period could be viewed as living history through the eyes of those who were actually involved.

Among the oral memoir participants were a number of Education Officers, both men and women who had been involved in administering the emergency teacher provisions. In many cases they were well acquainted with the women appointed and proved to be an unrivalled source of information on what actually happened at the training and school level. Their evaluation of the emergency scheme was a considered and balanced point of view formed after a lengthy period of reflection on its long term consequences and from the perspective of retirement from the teaching profession.

The extent of consistency between the official documents and the facts which the women's memoirs recalled provided a useful cross-validation of the data. On many occasions the reminiscences of the women were able to be verified by cross checking with official documents.

While occasionally there were errors of detail, pertaining mainly to inaccuracy in dates and times, these did not necessarily detract from the authenticity of their stories and their value as social documents from the period under investigation. From a wider point of view, the women's accounts of day to day teaching in the schools have provided one of the very few available sources which describe the schools and classrooms in this period of educational history in South Australia. More to the point for this study, the memoirs were able to elicit additional information not generally known, and to express thoughts and feelings about their authors' experiences as emergency teachers that gave the study greater social and cultural depth. These three sets of data were invaluable in understanding what it meant to be an emergency teacher and what effects Departmental policies had on the women involved.

In the collection and analysis of the women's data, I had the advantage of being both a woman teacher from the 1970s and a student taught by emergency teachers in the 1950s. I found myself able to converse with the women as a fellow teacher and to appreciate the problems they encountered in the classroom and with the administration. These facts gave me greater understanding of the context of the research and an appreciation of issues that may have well been overlooked by others.

I must acknowledge the existence of a substantial and important group, the students of emergency teachers, whose views were not canvassed in this study, as it would have altered the fundamental nature of the research which was focussed on the thoughts, opinions and experiences of emergency teachers and their counterparts in schools and within the Education Department. However, having been one of the students in South Australian public schools in the 1950s and 1960s taught by emergency teachers, I could bring to the research the perspective of children in schools during this period in educational history. I could appreciate the school conditions

described by the women as these corresponded with my own memories. The only difference was that I was looking at this experience through the eyes of a child not an adult, of a student not a teacher. Possibly my childhood memories of being in classes taught by emergency teachers did impact on the analysis of the data, but what I saw as a child has been tempered by the distance of the past. My own experiences as a student with an incompetent harsh disciplinarian counterbalanced by a competent, kind and caring teacher, is consistent with what the data revealed about the good and the bad teachers that the emergency scheme produced.

The juxtaposition of the three sets of data thus added breadth and depth to the research findings. Uncovering the details of how and why the advocates of the emergency teacher scheme introduced and maintained the policy revealed the essentially piecemeal and *ad hoc* nature of its conception and implementation. Education Department documents spoke always of the temporary short term special measures to combat the crisis of overcrowded classes in schools. The views expressed by the opponents to the scheme, the professionally trained members of the Teachers' Union, as well as some parents and concerned members of the public, raised the longer term issues of teacher quality and the potential negative effect of untrained teachers on the proper learning and development of young children in schools. From the women participants, who were actually appointed as temporary unclassified assistants under the scheme, a more personal and multi-faceted understanding emerged of what it was actually like to be teaching in South Australian public schools under this scheme. The presentation and analysis of the research data from advocates, opponents and participants enabled a more accurate portrayal of educational events in the period under investigation and provided scope for taking into account the different individual experiences, with their social, cultural and educational significance. The only disadvantage of using the three sets of data from the researcher's point of view was the time needed to analyse the large volume of data generated.

The Main Findings

From the data gathered it was possible to construct the following summary of the emergency scheme and its significance in terms of responses to the first four research questions outlined in Chapter One.

The emergency scheme was introduced to avert the staffing crisis in public schools which the 1945 Education Inquiry Committee Report to the Minister of Education had warned of. The measures initially introduced to overcome this problem were long term solutions and provided no immediate relief. The situation in schools soon became grave, because not enough money had been spent on education in earlier years and there were far too many young 'baby boomer' children and too few teachers. As one Education Officer argued, '*bodies in front of a class*' (EO12) were desperately needed, therefore the Minister of Education introduced in 1949 the first of the short term special courses which offered only four weeks training in schools.

The Teachers' Union opposed the scheme, as the hasty preparation of the emergency teachers was considered 'manifestly inadequate' in comparison with the existing minimum two year teacher training courses at Teachers' College. It has been argued that the Teachers' Union was concerned that the appointment of emergency teachers diminished the professional status of the trained teachers that the Union represented, as well as putting at risk the learning of pupils in schools. The Union maintained its criticism of, and relentless pressure on the government, with the assistance of the press, until the termination of the emergency teaching scheme in 1962.

Since the teaching of young children has traditionally been seen as a feminised occupation, it is not surprising that mainly married women became emergency teachers. Those who applied were deserted wives, or wives with husbands who could not adequately support them, as well as migrants seeking to build a future for their families in a new country. What they shared in

common was the need to find work and earn an income while maintaining their family roles as wives and mothers. The emergency teacher scheme provided a unique opportunity for such women to gain not just a job, but a secure career that offered relatively good pay and a degree of social status. However, the main attraction for these women was the fact that the hours of work and holidays corresponded accordingly with those of their school age children, thereby eliminating the need for child care which at the time was problematic.

The emergency teacher training scheme initially consisted of a short period of four weeks practical school-based training spent observing classroom teachers and taking lessons. It increased to three and then five months, and while still focused on practical school-based training, included some academic content as well as visits to demonstration schools. The subsequent twelve month intensive training courses were more structured in content with lectures by Teachers' College staff, and as much academic and practical training crammed into them as possible. The women attending often found the year long course quite onerous. Once appointed to schools, emergency teachers experienced in common the formal and restricted conditions then prevailing in schools. They were expected to take over classes with little or no assistance and perform teaching duties in which they were routinely inspected for proficiency. There was little scope for individuality or free expression, since schools in the 1950s were rigid institutions with prescribed curriculum, established patterns of classroom lessons and activities, and strictly enforced discipline. The emergency teachers in this study recalled both positive and negative aspects of their experiences teaching in schools.

The Outcomes of the Emergency Scheme

The fifth research question on outcomes and significance can be considered from both short and long term perspectives. The immediate outcome of the emergency system for the Education Department was positive in that it averted the teacher shortage crisis in schools and therefore helped to stem criticism from parents and the general public. It increased the numbers of teachers in schools at relatively low cost to the government by providing short teacher training courses and employing those who had attended as temporary unclassified teachers at the bottom of the wage scale.

It could be argued that this scheme offered the Department a 'quick fix' solution by providing numbers of desperately needed teachers in schools. It was the quickest and relatively cheapest way to solve a pressing problem and did provide a substantial number of teachers, particularly for infant and junior primary classes in schools. The majority of the teachers, if not 'adequately trained' in terms of curriculum, educational theory and academic knowledge, were still able to function reasonably well and to discharge their educational duties to their students. The worst teachers were dismissed but there was toleration of the barely competent. The extra supervision and support which such teachers required were rarely forthcoming.

Nonetheless, it is worth recognising that the emergency scheme produced a considerable number of conscientious teachers who gave many years of service to the Department, well past their initial function of being merely 'stop gaps' for a difficult but limited period of time. For the staff in schools it provided the extra assistance to avoid doubling up of classes and relieve the pressure on both teachers and Principals in schools. For this reason they were a welcome addition to schools, even though some members of staff had reservations about the newcomers' ability to teach.

The resultant experience for students varied greatly. The presence of much needed additional teachers reduced class sizes and provided a reasonable educator on hand to tend to student needs. Many students, as well as their parents, would not have been aware that their teacher was not 'fully trained' and would have accepted whatever they contributed towards their education. It needs to be acknowledged that some students suffered with bad or incompetent teachers who were later dismissed or left. For many it was a matter of being taught not by the best of teachers, but at least there was a teacher in the classroom providing instruction. For others it proved a very positive experience with compassionate, caring and effective teachers. Their maternal motherly qualities were used to good effect in the classroom. Some students benefited greatly from being taught by motherly, sympathetic women who loved children and were genuinely concerned for their welfare.

From the perspective of the emergency teachers themselves, the chief consequence was employment in work that offered a reasonable level of remuneration and hours that were compatible with those of family life. The majority of women had the security of a relatively long term career with economic independence that allowed for travel and improvement in family living as well as enjoying a higher degree of social status. It gave them an identity outside their domestic roles as wives and mothers, and the ability to expand their world and change the direction of their lives.

In the course of their careers, a number of these emergency teachers were able to construct an identity for themselves as professionals with responsibility and respect, playing an important role within the community. Critics could make the judgment that these women were used by the Education Department, which hired them in a temporary capacity and paid them lower wages because they lacked formal qualifications. The participants in this study, however, did not see

themselves as victims because of their gender, but rather as active agents who had seized the opportunity to improve their lives and those of their children.

Even though the wages of the emergency teachers were lower compared to all other teachers and their chances for promotion slim, they did gain secure work with adequate remuneration to provide for a more comfortable lifestyle than they had known before. If anything theirs were stories of personal gain, because they were women whose lives continued to revolve around their families, while they had been given the opportunity to develop as individuals, with a sense of their own identity as professional women.

Some of the women appointed under the emergency scheme proved very effective teachers, gained certification and were promoted within the Education Department. Many stayed on for years as teachers and were able to cope with the demands of often difficult family situations as well as teaching. They enjoyed the benefits of being in a comparatively well paid professional career.

The Longer Perspective

It is close to fifty years since the end of the emergency scheme. Over that period the public education system in South Australia has faced no demographic crisis of burgeoning student numbers such as that which threatened to overwhelm the Education Department in the immediate post-war years. It is salutary and worthwhile to consider the longer term significance of the post-war period in South Australian public education by comparing it with teachers and schools today. Under current regulations, no unqualified teacher can be employed in schools. The possibility of using untrained teachers in South Australian schools, even as an emergency measure, would seem

to be most unlikely in the contemporary climate². Over recent years there has been a tendency to go back to emphasising the importance of the practical experience over and against theoretical qualifications. However, since 1976, the requirement of Teacher Registration in South Australia has made it virtually impossible for anyone who does not have recognised teacher qualifications to be appointed to a school.

Moreover, the status of married women in the teaching force has changed dramatically. Not only is there now an acceptance of married women as an integral part of the teaching profession, there are no longer any barriers for married women to actively seek promotion positions to achieve higher levels of power within the Education Department. The higher incidence of women Principals and deputies is largely due to this fact. For some disgruntled male educators, this appeared to be a case of reverse discrimination as Departmental policy encourages women to seek senior positions within schools and in administrative roles.

The emergency scheme was an unusual phenomenon in that it allowed married women to enter the Education Department en masse in large numbers. Previously only small numbers of married women had ever gone back to teaching, usually when their circumstances had changed, due to loss of their husbands through death, divorce or desertion. These women were still considered temporary employees because of the 'marriage bar' restriction to their employment within the Education Department.

From 1972, changes to State legislation, particularly the deletion of Regulation 10 that excluded married women from permanency, meant that they were no longer by definition temporary employees of the Department. The forced dichotomy of women having to choose between

² Nevertheless, the current shortage of secondary teachers in Maths and science has led to a proposal by the Liberal Opposition Party in South Australia to train appropriate graduates over 40 years of age. Their education training would be fast tracked through the use of intensive courses (*The Advertiser*, 2008, July 17, p.13).

marriage and a teaching career was broken. It became possible for married women to be permanently employed by the State Department of Education and be eligible for promotion and superannuation.

The emergency teachers of the post-war period were the first large group of married women to work in public schools. Their services to teaching from the 1950s to the 1960s showed that family responsibilities and domestic duties did not necessarily hamper their effectiveness as teachers, nor restrict their commitment to their careers. They could be regarded as paving the way for married women to be fully accepted as professional teachers in the Education Department. However, the influence of the Teachers' Union protests can be seen to remain at one crucial point. There was an important and fundamental difference between the married women employed under the emergency teacher scheme and those which have been appointed from the 1970s on. Since the introduction of Teacher Registration, all women, regardless of their marital status, have been required to be fully trained and qualified before they can be registered and appointed as teachers.

It could be argued that the significance of pressure cooker training in the immediate post-war period in South Australian educational history can be seen in the acceptance of two key principles which at the time of the emergency scheme were seen to be at odds with one another:

- (a) the acceptance of married women as professional teachers;
- (b) the insistence that all teachers have adequate professional training.

In this way the legacy of the women who were known as 'pressure cooker' teachers lives on.

APPENDIX A:

Schedule of Open-ended Questions on which Interviews were Based

- Can you tell me a little of your background?
- What level of education did you receive?
- What sort of work did you do after schooling?
- What were your personal circumstances before taking up teaching?
- What motivated you to become a teacher?
 - How did you get into teaching?
 - Did you see advertisements for the courses?
 - Did you go for an interview?
- What teacher training course did you do?
- How long was it for and can you remember what the course was like?
- Did you do any further study after your teaching course?
- What were your experiences as a teacher?
- Were you given any assistance when first out teaching?
- Do you remember your Principals and Inspectors?
- What were the conditions like when you went out teaching?
- Did the school make any allowances for your family responsibilities?
- How were you treated by the staff and Principal in the school? Did you feel accepted?
- Did you feel that as a mother you had the both the knowledge and experience of young children? How far did this help you as a teacher?
- What was discipline like in schools when you were a teacher? Was it an issue for you and how did you deal with discipline problems?

- Can you remember the routines of the classroom and programs etc.?
- Do you recall the Teachers' Union claim that short courses of training caused harm? Did you feel that you may have caused any harm to students?
- Are you aware of the expression 'pressure cookers' and did this apply to you?
- How long did you teach for and what made you give up teaching?
- Did teaching improve your social status/social mobility/lifestyle?
- What are your impressions of this era of teacher training?
- What do you think of the emergency scheme – was it a success or failure – could it be repeated today?
- Any further comments you wish to make?

NOTE:

Appendices B – J are included in the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, M., Hutchison, M., and Mackinnon, A. (1989) *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses: Finding Women's History*, South Australian Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Allan, J. (1989) From women's history to a history of the sexes, in Walter, J (Ed.) *Australian Studies: A Survey*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Australian Council for Educational Research (1964) *Review of Education in Australia 1955-1962*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Hawthorn.
- Ball, S. J. and Goodson, I. F. (Eds) (1985) *Teachers' Lives and Careers*, Falmer Press, London.
- Barcan, A. (1977) The decline of teaching, in Spaul, A. D. (Ed.) *Australian Teachers: From Colonial Schoolmasters to Militant Professionals*, MacMillan, Melbourne.
- Barcan, A. (1980) *A History of Australian Education*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Basset, G. W. (1977) Teacher education in Australia: a critical comment, in Spaul, A. D. (Ed.) *Australian Teachers: From Colonial Schoolmasters to Militant Professionals*, MacMillan, Melbourne.
- Benn, S. I. and Gaus, G .F. (Eds) (1983) *Public and Private in Social Life*, Croom Helm, London.
- Bertaux, D. (Ed.) (1981) *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, Sage Publications, California.
- Best, R. J. (Ed.) (1958) *Introducing South Australia*, Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science and Melbourne University Press, Adelaide.
- Bevege, M., James, M. and Shute, C. (Eds) (1982) *Worth Her Salt: Women at Work in Australia*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.
- Bronte, C. (1996) *Jane Eyre*, Penguin, London.
- Burley, S. (1992) *None More Anonymous?: Catholic Teaching Nuns, their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia, 1880-1925*, M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Burley, S. (2003) *Chapel, Cloister and Classroom: the Intersection of Class and Gender in the History of Catholic Girls Convent Schooling in South Australia from 1880 to 2000*, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Burstyn, J. N. (1990) Narrative versus theoretical approaches: a dilemma for historians of women, *History of Education Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2.
- Butts, R. Freeman (1955a) *Assumptions Underlying Australian Education*, Australian Council for Education Research, Melbourne.

- Butts, R. Freeman (1955b) Your children are frightened, *The News*, July 4, p.15.
- Caine, B. and Pringle, R. (Eds) (1995) *Transitions: New Australian Feminism*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Carmichael, D. R. (1956a) To parents who care ... a better deal for our schools, *The Advertiser*, February 25, p.5.
- Carmichael, D. R. (1956b) The President's Column, *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol.6, No.10 (November) p.15.
- Casey, K. (1992) Why do progressive women activists leave teaching? Theory, methodology and politics in life-history research, in Goodson, I. F. (Ed.) *Studying Teachers' Lives*, Routledge, London.
- Clarke, E. (1985) Female teachers in Queensland state schools: a history 1860-1983, *Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues in Queensland Education*, No.3, Department of Education Publishing Services, Brisbane.
- Cleverley, J. and Lawry J. (Eds) (1972) *Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education*, Longman, Victoria.
- Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia (1971) *Education in South Australia: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970*, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Cortina, R. and Sonsoles, S. R. (2006) *Woman and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York.
- Courtney, B. C. (1994) Are psychological models of adult development still important for the practice of adult education? *Adult Education Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 145-153.
- Curthoys, A. (1988) *For and Against Feminism: a Personal Journey Into Feminist Theory and History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Daniels, K. (1982) Women's history, in Osborne, G. and Mandle, W. F. (Eds) *New History: Studying Australia Today*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Darian-Smith, K. and Hamilton, P. (Eds) (1994) *Memory and History in 20th Century Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Davis, F. H. (1959) President's address, *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Second Series, Vol. 9, No. 5. (June).
- De Bats, R. (1986) *South Australian Teacher Supply and Demand: 1986 to 2000*, Tertiary Education Authority of South Australia, Adelaide.
- De Lyon, H. and Migniuolo, F. W. (Eds) (1989) *Women Teachers: Issues and Experiences*, Open University Press, Philadelphia.
- Dixson, M. (1976) *The Real Matilda: Woman and Identity in Australia, 1788 to 1975*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.

- Douglas, L., Roberts, A. and Thompson, R. (1988) *Oral History: A Handbook*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Dwyer, D. (2002) *The Married Woman, the Teaching Profession and the State in Victoria, 1872-1956*, PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne.
- Education Inquiry Committee (1945) *First Report*, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Elshtain, J. B. (1981) *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Ferber, M. A. (1987) *Women and Work, Paid and Unpaid: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography*, Garland Publishing Incorporation, New York.
- Fenner, C. (1942) *Education in South Australia: Present Tendencies and Post-War Possibilities*, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Ford, J. and Sinclair, R. (1987) *Sixty Years On: Women Talk about Old Age*, The Women's Press, London.
- Gamarnikow, E. et al. (Eds) (1983) *Gender, Class, and Work*, Heinemann, London.
- Gargett, C. R. (1958) Education a national responsibility, *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Second Series, Vol. 8, No. 6. (July).
- Gilligan, C. (1982) *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Gluck, S. B. and Patai, D. (Eds) (1991) *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, Routledge, New York.
- Goodson, I. F. (Ed.) (1992) *Studying Teachers' Lives*, Routledge, London.
- Graham, H. (1983) Do her answers fit his questions? Women and the survey method, in Gamarnikow, E., Morgan, D., Purvis, J. and Taylorson, D. (Eds) *The Public and the Private*, Heinemann, London.
- Grimshaw, P. (1985) Women in history: reconstructing the past, in Goodnow, J. and Pateman, C. (Eds) *Women, Social Science and Public Policy*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Grimshaw, P. (1991) Writing the history of Australian women, in Offen, K., Roach P. R. and Rendall, J. (Eds) *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Grimshaw, P., Lake, M., McGrath, A. and Quartly, M. (1994) *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble, Melbourne.
- Grieve, N. and Grimshaw, P. (Eds) (1981) *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

- Haseloff, W. (1999) *Australians Yesterday and Today: A Book of Memories*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- Hill, D. (2007) *The Forgotten Children: Fairbridge Farm School and its Betrayal of Australia's Child Migrants*, Random House, Sydney.
- Hoffman, N. (1981) *Woman's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching*, The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, New York.
- Holmes, K. (1995) *Spaces in Her Day: Australian Women's Diaries of the 1920s and 1930s*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards.
- Howard, A. (1984) *Women in Australia*, The Making of Australia Series, Bay Books, Kensington.
- Hughes, K. P. (Ed.) (1994) *Contemporary Australian Feminism*, Longman, Melbourne.
- Hunt, L. and Trotman, J. (2002) *Claremont Cameos: Women Teachers and the Building of Social Capital in Australia*, Edith Cowan University Press, Perth.
- Hyams, B. K. (1972) *State School Teachers in South Australia, 1847-1950: a Study of their Training, Employment and Voluntary Organization*, PhD Thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Hyams, B. K. (1977) The battle of the sexes in teachers' organizations: a South Australian episode, 1937-50, in Spaul (Ed.) *Australian Teachers: From Colonial Schoolmasters to Militant Professionals*, Macmillan, Melbourne.
- Hyams, B. K. (1979) *Teacher Preparation in Australia: A History of its Development from 1850 to 1950*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne.
- Hyams, B. K. and Bessant, B. (1972) *Schools for the People: An Introduction to the History of State Education in Australia*, Longman, Melbourne.
- Hyams, B. K. (1992) *From Compliance to Confrontation: 140 Years of Teachers' Unions in South Australia 1851 - 1991*, Auslib Press, Adelaide.
- Hyams, B. K., Trethewey, L., Condon, B., Vick, M. and Grundy, D. (1988) *Learning and Other Things: Sources for a Social History of Education in South Australia*, South Australian Government Printer, Netley.
- Jones, P. E. (1974) *Education in Australia*, Nelson, Melbourne.
- Josselson, R. and Lieblich, A. (Eds) (1993) *The Narrative Study of Lives*, Vol. 1, Sage Publications, California.
- Jewry, J. (1998) *Women's Lives 1920-1990: Their Experience of Family, Education and Work in the Construction of Identity*, M. Ed. Studies Thesis, Adelaide University, Adelaide.
- Kyle, N. (Ed.) (1989) *Women as Educators in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Australia*, University of Wollongong Press, Wollongong.

- Labrum, B. (1993) *Women's History: A Short Guide to Researching and Writing Women's History in New Zealand*, Bridget William Books and Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.
- Laidlaw, V. (1985) *The Development of the Infant School in the South Australian School System 1875-1925*, M. Ed Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Lerner, G. (1975) Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges, *Feminist Studies*, No. 3.
- Lewelyn, S. and Osborne, K. (1990) *Women's Lives*, Routledge, London.
- Lieblich, A. and Josselson, R. (Eds) (1994) *Exploring Identity and Gender: the Narrative Study of Lives*, Vol. 2, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Long, J. (1999) *Telling Women's Lives: Subject/Narrator/Reader/Text*, New York University Press, New York.
- Lortie, D. C. (1975) *School Teacher: a Sociological Study*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Malos, E. (Ed.) (1980) *The Politics of Housework*, Allison and Busby, London.
- Mares, F. H. (1958) *Education in South Australia*, The Fabian Society of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Masters, B. L. (1970) *The Recruitment and Training Branch of the South Australian Education Department, 1959-1967: A Phase in the Organisation and Administration of the Training of Teachers in South Australia*, M. Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Matthews, J. J. (1986) Feminist history, *Labour History*, No.50.
- McCann, P. (1995) *Older Women – 'Doing Things a Different Way': Ageism, Sexism and Leisure Activities*, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- McDonnell, R. M., Radford, W .C. and Staurengi, P. M. (1956) *Review of Education in Australia 1948 – 1954*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne.
- McGuire, A. (1999) *Junior Teachers and Pupil Teachers in South Australian Schools 1873 to 1965: an Historical and Humanistic Sociological Analysis*, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- McMurchy, M., Oliver, M. and Thornley, J. (1983) *For Love or Money: A Pictorial History of Women and Work in Australia*, Penguin Books, Melbourne.
- McNair, A. (1944) *Teachers and Youth Leaders: Report of the Committee Appointed by the President of the Board of Education to Consider the Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders*, H. M. Stationery Office, London.
- Middleton, S. (1992) Developing a radical pedagogy: autobiography of a New Zealand sociologist of women's education, in Goodson, I. F. (Ed.) *Studying Teachers' Lives*, Routledge, London.

- Miller, P. (1986) *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, Wakefield Press, Netley.
- Milne, A. (1986) *Sketcher in an Educational Landscape: A Selection from the Educational and Biographic Writings of Ann Milne*, Wattle Park Teachers' Association, Adelaide.
- Mitchell, J. and Oakley, A. (Eds) (1986) *What is Feminism?* Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Mullner, S. E. (1975) *A Bibliography on Education in South Australia 1875 – 1975*, Staff Library Bibliography No. 14, South Australia Education Department, Adelaide.
- Munro, P. (1998) *Subject to Fiction: Women Teachers' Life History Narratives and the Cultural Politics of Resistance*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Nelson, M. K. (1992) Using oral histories to reconstruct the experiences of women teachers in Vermont 1900-50, in Goodson, I. F. (Ed.) *Studying Teachers' Lives*, Routledge, London.
- Neumann, A. and Peterson, P. L. (Eds) (1997) *Learning From Our Lives: Women, Research, and Autobiography in Education*, Teachers College Press, New York.
- Nielsen, J. M. (Ed.) (1990) *Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings in the Social Sciences*, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Oakley, A. (1974) *Woman's Work: the Housewife, Past and Present*, Pantheon Books, New York.
- Oakley, A. (1981a) *From Here to Maternity: Becoming a Mother*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, U.K.
- Oakley, A. (1981b) Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms, in Roberts, H. (Ed.) *Doing Feminist Research*, Routledge and Kegan, London.
- Partridge, P. H. (1968) *Society, Schools and Progress in Australia*, Permagon Press, Oxford.
- Penny, H. H. (1958) Trends and problems in teacher training, *The Australian Journal of Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2.
- Personal Narratives Group (Eds) (1989) *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Pike, D. (1958) The History of Education in South Australia, in French, E. L. (Ed.) *Melbourne Studies of Education 1957-1958*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Prentice, A. and Theobald, M. R. (Eds) (1991) *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Probert, B. (1989) *Working Life: Arguments about Work in Australian Society*, McPhee Gribble Publishers, Melbourne.
- Purvis, J. (1981) Women and teaching in the nineteenth century, in Dale, R. et al. (Eds) *Education and the State*, Falmer Press, Sussex.

- Reid, H. M. J. (1992) *The Influences in the Lives of Six Successful Forty-Year-Old Women: A Sociological Study Using the Theory and Methodology of F. Znaniecki*, M. Ed. Studies, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Richardson, J. A. and Bowen, J. (Eds) (1967) *The Preparation of Teachers in Australia*, F. W. Chesire, Melbourne and Canberra.
- Ritchie, D. A. (2003) *Doing Oral History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Roberts, E. (1995) *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940-1970*, Cambridge, Oxford.
- Roberts, H. (Ed.) (1981) *Doing Feminist Research*, Routledge and Kegan, London.
- Robertson, B. M. (1994) *Oral History Handbook*, 3rd Ed., Oral History Association of Australia (South Australian Branch), Adelaide.
- Roughhead, C. and Gardner, K. (1986) *What's Her Story? Annotated Bibliography of Written Resources Which Take Account of the Contribution of Women to Australian History*, Ministry of Education (Schools Division), Melbourne.
- Rubin, D. C. (Ed.) (1995) *Remembering Our Past: Studies in Autobiographical Memory*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Rubin, L. B. (1979) *Women of a Certain Age: The Midlife Search for Self*, Harper and Row, New York.
- Russell, G. (1995) *Families as Active Crucibles of Change: A Humanistic Sociological Analysis of the Division of Unpaid Work in Family Households*, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Ryan, E. and Conlon, A. (1975) *Gentle Invaders: Australian Women at Work*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.
- SAIT (1951) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 1, No. 9 (October).
- SAIT (1952) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 2, No. 11 (December).
- SAIT (1953) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 3, No. 5 (June).
- SAIT (1953) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 3, No. 6 (July).
- SAIT (1953) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 3, No. 7 (August).
- SAIT (1953) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 3, No. 8 (September).
- SAIT (1953) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 3, No. 9 (October).
- SAIT (1955) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 5, No. 7 (August).
- SAIT (1956) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 6, No. 5 (June).
- SAIT (1958) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 8, No. 6 (July).
- SAIT (1958) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 8, No. 8 (September).
- SAIT (1959) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 9, No. 5 (June).

- SAIT (1960) *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 10, No. 1 (February).
- Saunders, K. and Evans, R. (Eds.) (1992) *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, Harcourt and Brace, Sydney.
- Scutt, J. A. (Ed.) (1987) *Different Lives*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.
- Scutt, J. A. (Ed.) (1992) *As a Woman: Writing Women's Lives*, Artemis Publishing, Melbourne.
- Scutt, J. A. (Ed.) (1993) *Glorious Age - Growing Older Gloriously*, Artemis Publishing, Melbourne.
- Secombe, M. J. and Zajda, J. (Eds) (1999) *J. J. Smolicz on Education and Culture*, James Nicholas Publishers, Melbourne.
- Shopes, L. (2002) Making sense of oral history, *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/>, accessed February, 2002.
- Sikes, P. J., Measor, L. and Woods, P. (1985) *Teacher Careers: Crisis and Continuities*, Falmer Press, London.
- Smith, T. (1956a) Crisis in SA Education, *The News*, August 29, p.21.
- Smith, T. (1956b) 'Pressure Cooker' teachers are not the right answer, *The News*, August 30, p.25.
- Smith, T. (1956c) Minister is not to be blamed, *The News*, August 31, p.19.
- Smith, Y. (Ed.) (1988) *Taking Time: A Women's Historical Data Kit*, The Union of Australian Women, Fitzroy.
- Smith-Rosenberg, C. (1986) Writing history: language, class, and gender, in Lauretis, T. (Ed.) *Feminist Studies: Critical Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1979) *Culture and Education in a Plural Society*, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1989) *Who is an Australian? Identity, Core Values and Resilience of Culture*, Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee, Adelaide.
- Smolicz, J. J. and Secombe, M. (1981) *The Australian School Through Children's Eyes: A Polish-Australian View*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- Smolicz, J. J. and Secombe, M. J. (1986) Italian language and culture in Australia: perceptions of Italian-Australian students in their own memoirs, in C. Bettoni (Ed.) *Altro Polo: Italian Abroad: Studies in Language Contacts in English Speaking Countries*, Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Smolicz, J. J. and Secombe, M. J. (1989) Types of language activation and evaluation in an ethnically plural society, in Ammon, U. (Ed.) *Status and Function of Languages and Language Varieties*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

South Australian Education Department (1949-1959) *Correspondence Files*, PRO, GRG 18/2, State Records, unpublished material.

South Australian Education Department (1956) Changes and developments in the Education Department since 1946, *Internal Memorandum*, Education Department Archives, unpublished material.

South Australia, Parliament (1945) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1944, Parliamentary Paper No. 44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1946) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1945, Parliamentary Paper No. 44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1947) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1946, Parliamentary Paper No. 44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1948) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1947, Parliamentary Paper No. 44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1949), *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1948, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1950) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1949, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1951) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1950, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1952) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1951, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1953) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1952, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1954) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1953, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1955) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1954, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1956) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1955, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1957) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1956, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia, Parliament (1958) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1957, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.

- South Australia, Parliament (1959) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1958, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australia, Parliament (1960) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1959, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australia, Parliament (1961) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1960, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australia, Parliament (1962) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1961, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australia, Parliament (1963) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1962, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australia, Parliament (1964) *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1963, Parliamentary Paper No.44, Government Printer, Adelaide.
- South Australian Public Teachers' Union (1945) *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 1, Vol. 31, No. 5 (June).
- South Australian Public Teachers' Union (1945) *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 1, Vol. 31, No. 8 (September).
- South Australian Public Teachers' Union (1947) *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 1, Vol. 33, No. 9 (October).
- South Australian Public Teachers' Union (1949) *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 1, Vol. 35, No. 9 (September).
- South Australian Public Teachers' Union (1949) *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 1, Vol. 35, No. 10 (October).
- Spaull, A. D. (Ed.) (1977) *Australian Teachers: From Colonial Schoolmasters to Militant Professionals*, Macmillan, South Melbourne.
- Summers, A. (1975) *Damned Whores and God's Police: the Colonization of Women in Australia*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.
- Sunday Mail* (1956) February 12, p.7.
- Tabor, B. (1979) *A History of the Pre-service Education and Training of State School Teachers in South Australia, 1945-1975*, M. Ed Thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Taylor, S. J. and Bogdan, R. (1998) *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*, 3rd Edition, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.
- Teachers Federation of Victoria (1986) *The Done Thing: Women Speak about Their Lives in Teaching*, Teachers Federation of Victoria, Melbourne.

The Advertiser (1951) July 6, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) January 6, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) July 7, p.14.
The Advertiser (1953) July 14, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) July 20, p.2.
The Advertiser (1953) August 11, p.13.
The Advertiser (1953) August 12, p.10.
The Advertiser (1953) August 15, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) August 20, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) August 28, p.4.
The Advertiser (1953) November 11, p.13.
The Advertiser (1954) January 28, p.19.
The Advertiser (1954) October 25, p.30.
The Advertiser (1955) January 19, p.19.
The Advertiser (1955) July 6, p.9.
The Advertiser (1955) July 6, p.16.
The Advertiser (1956), February 8, p.3.
The Advertiser (1956) February 13, p.2.
The Advertiser (1956) February 29, p.19.
The Advertiser (1956) March 1, p.13.
The Advertiser (2008) July 17, p.13.

The Education Gazette (1947) February 17, p.727.
The Education Gazette (1947) September 12, unnumbered supplement.
The Education Gazette (1948) October 15, p.185.
The Education Gazette (1961) May Supplement, p.19; p.78.
The Education Gazette (1972) November 1, p.341.

The News (1952) January 16, p.9.
The News (1953) May 18, p.7.
The News (1953) September 1, p.13.
The News (1953) December 12, p.4.
The News (1953) December 12, p.11.
The News (1956) February 9, p.6.
The News (1956) February 17, p.5.

The News (1956) March 2, p.6.

The News (1956) May 15, p.15.

The News (1956) May 15, p.26.

The News (1956) September 5, p.33.

The News (1956) September 13, p.27

The News (1960) June 22, p.5

The Oral History Association of Australia (South Australian Branch) (1989) *Oral History Handbook*, 2nd Edition, Adelaide College for the Oral History Association of Australia, Adelaide.

Theobald, M. (1985) *Julie Vieusseux: the Lady Principal and Her School*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.

Theobald, M. (1993) Writing the lives of women teachers: problems and possibilities, in Yates, L. (Ed.) *Feminism and Education*, Latrobe University Press, Bundoora.

Theobald, M. (1996) *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Theobald, M. (1998) Writing landscapes for a good teacher, *History of Education Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 29-36.

Theobald, M. R. and Selleck, R. J. W. (Eds) (1990) *Family, School and State in Australian History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Thiele, C. (1975) *Grains of Mustard Seed*, The Griffin Press, Netley.

Thomas, W. and Znaniecki F. (1958) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Dover Publications, New York.

Thompson, P. (1990) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Trimingham Jack, C. (1997a) *Kerever Park: A History of the Experience of Teachers and Children in a Catholic Girls' Preparatory Boarding School, 1944-1965*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney.

Trimingham Jack, C. (1997b) School History: Reconstructing the Lived Experience, *History of Education Review*, Vol. 26, No.1.

Trimingham Jack, C. (2003) *Growing Good Catholic Girls: Education and Convent Life in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Turner, I. S. (1943) *The Training of Teachers in Australia: A Comparative and Critical Survey*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Turney, C. (Ed.) (1969) *A Study of the Development of Education in New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

- Wagner-Martin, L. (1994) *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
- Wahlquist, G. (1953a) There are jobs for 700 teachers, *The News*, November 24, p.15.
- Wahlquist, G. (1953b) Teaching graduates are sent bush, *The News*, November 25, p.15.
- Wahlquist, G. (1953c) Teachers need more than this, *The News*, November 26, p.17.
- Webb, R. B. (1985) Teacher status panic: moving up the down escalator, in Ball, S. J. and Goodson, I. F. (Eds) *Teachers' Lives and Careers*, Falmer Press, London.
- Weiler, K. (1999) Reflections on writing a history of women teachers, in Weiler, K. and Middleton, S. (Eds) *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Weiler, K. and Middleton, S. (Eds) (1999) *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Westgarth, W. T. (1956) Emergency training and the trainees, *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, Series 2, Vol. 6, No.10 (November), pp.16-17.
- Whitehead, K. (1996) *Women's 'Life-Work': Teachers in South Australia, 1836-1906*, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide.
- Wilson, R. (Ed.) (1985) *Good Talk: The Extraordinary Lives of Ten Ordinary Australian Women*, McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, Fitzroy.
- Windschuttle, E. (1980) *Women, Class and History: Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788 - 1978*, Fontana/Collins, Melbourne.
- Yates, L. (Ed.) (1993) *Feminism and Education*, Latrobe University Press, Bundoora.
- Yow, V. R. (1994) *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Znaniecki, F. (1969) *Selected Papers on Humanistic Sociology*, Bierstedt, R. (Ed.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.