Gendered Career Paths for Saskatchewan Educators: A Century of Change

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Abstract
Drawing on interviews, archival research and statistical data, this paper compares the status of women and men in the teaching profession in Saskatchewan through an examination of changes over time in the sex composition of teachers, marital status, geographic distribution, salary scales and administrative duties.

Résumé
En se basant sur des entrevues, sur la recherche d' archives et sur des données statistiques, cet article compare le statut entre les femmes et les hommes dans la profession de l'enseignement en Saskatchewan par l'examen des changements au fil du temps dans la composition des sexes des enseignants, de l'état civil, de la distribution géographique, de l'échelle salariale et des fonctions administratives.

Prevailing conventions set girls and boys on very different paths during the first half of the twentieth century. Their lives were defined almost as sharply as the common rhyme: "Little girls are made of sugar and spice and everything nice. Little boys are made of snips and snails and puppy dog tails." These conventions translated into gendered expectations and experiences for the women and men who became teachers in Saskatchewan. Drawing on interviews, archival research and statistical data, this paper compares the status of women and men in the teaching profession in Saskatchewan over the one hundred years since the inception of provincial status in 1905.[1]

The change is dramatic. The education sector in Saskatchewan grew from 1,300 teachers and 25,000 pupils in 1905 to 11,900 teachers and 174,000 pupils in 2005.[2] In 1905, two thirds of people granted a license to teach were trained out of the province (Calder 1955, 13) but by 2005, the Universities of Saskatchewan and Regina had facilities to educate enough teachers to satisfy demand. During the first half of the twentieth century, the majority of teachers taught for the first time in a one room rural school and lived with a local family (Hallman 1997). Teachers worked without electricity and running water, and did not have access to the resources of a principal or other teachers. Until pressure by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) lead to salary minimums in the 1940s, regularized hiring, and formalized dismissal processes, these solitary teachers were paid, hired, and fired at the discretion of 3,000 or so rural school boards (Corman 1999, 2006). Bargaining by the STF also led to salaries based on experience and qualifications. In 1905, over 95% of teachers taught at the elementary level, in contrast to 60% in 2001.[3] As women committed more of their lives to

teaching, the average level of qualifications and experience increased (Knight 1969; STF 1975). As women teachers continued their careers after marriage, the turnover of teachers decreased (Statistics Canada 1996).

By 2005, though, there were still two areas of gendered differences: women were represented disproportionately at the elementary level while men remained represented disproportionately at the secondary level, and women had not achieved even half of the administrative positions despite representing close to 70% of the teaching labour force.

To date three main studies exist on the changing pattern of the gendered nature of the teaching work in Saskatchewan. Irene Poelzer (1990) recounted the situation of women teachers from 1905-1920. The STF published selected highlights of the position of teachers from 1933-1983 to celebrate the fifty years of operation (McConnell 1983). Based on interviews with women who taught in Saskatchewan, Diane Hallman (1997) provided rich accounts of the experiences of women regarding their patterns of entry and exit, changing material conditions and educational ideologies. My analysis complements these seminal accounts by systematically comparing the position of women and men teachers from the inception of provincial status in 1905 to the provincial centenary.

Transformations in the Teaching Staff

Researchers on the pattern of the sexual division of labour in teaching in Ontario and Quebec argue that these patterns are historically and geographically distinct (Danylewycz *et al.* 1983). As documented by Poelzer, the early history of women teachers in Saskatchewan also has unique features given the much later settlement, around 1900; the character of settlement patterns, predominantly farm families, headed by male homesteaders; and the necessity to import teachers until local teenagers could be educated within the province (Poelzer 1990, 7).

When Saskatchewan formed a province in 1905, the small teaching force of 1,298 was almost equally composed of women (669) and men (629) (see Table 1). By 1910, most were elementary teachers and taught in rural schools - 2,000 teachers in rural schools as compared with 600 in urban centers (see Table 2). Many school trustees in urban and rural locations favoured male teachers. The shortage of qualified teachers, brought about by the rapid expansion of rural school districts, opened opportunities for women to enter the field because sufficient numbers of men could not be found (Poelzer 1990). Within a decade women numerically dominated the teaching force (see Table 1).

The continuing preference of some trustees for male teachers was demonstrated in a letter dated August 2, 1916 written by W. McQuay, Secretary-Treasurer of the Tuxford School District No. 2486 to Miss Evelyn J. Simpson, an aspiring teacher: "We were very disappointed to learn that you were a female teacher, whereas our advertisement was for a male teacher. There was nothing in your first letter to indicate that you were anything but a male teacher. True you signed (Evelyn), but boys and girls are both named Evelyn. The board has decided under the circumstances that your application is unsatisfactory." Preferential status for male teachers prompted women, in urban areas, to organize to achieve equal employment rights. For example, women teachers in Saskatoon formed the Saskatoon Women Teachers' Federation in 1918 (Kojder 1977).

Despite the preference for male teachers, the far-reaching impact of the war of 1914 to 1918 changed dramatically the composition of Saskatchewan teachers. Women entered the classroom to replace the men who joined the Canadian Expeditionary forces. Provisional certificates were issued to many women to overcome the shortages of teachers (Calder 1955, 19). Grace Cunningham reported that when she started teaching in 1918, at age 18, she had no training, "I taught for four months before going to Normal (teacher training) using a provisional certificate."

At this time, the solution to developing a permanent workforce focused on attracting men teachers, not providing opportunities for married women to teach. According to the R. F. Blacklock, Acting Deputy of Education, "practically all of our male teachers of military age had enlisted for military service before the enactment of The Military Service Act of 1917 and our schools are now in the hands of women and the older men" (GS 1917, 14). In response to the turnover of women teachers (now 77.3% of total), the Acting Deputy Minister proposed the "addition of large numbers of men to the teaching ranks" to achieve "permanency in the teaching profession" (GS 1917, 13).

In the last year of the war, 1918, women far out-numbered men teachers: 83% of the teaching staff was female. Between 1911 and 1918, the number of women teachers had increased from 1,381 to 5,047 as compared with a very small increase of men from 790 to 1,015 (GS 1918, 13). A higher proportion of men had rural jobs than did women as by 1920, 75.8% of men teachers had rural positions as compared with 68.2% of all women (see Table 2).

In the early part of the twentieth century, women teachers were almost all single. Convention dictated that women stop teaching at marriage and assume the unpaid domestic labour associated with being a wife and mother. Those who married farm men, during the homestead period, assumed heavy obligations on the farm, which precluded them from also teaching. Sophia Dixon, who started teaching in 1917, explained the prevailing attitudes, "Well, I am afraid the girls didn't really intend to make it a life profession. They probably expected to get married sooner or later. A man would be looking at something more permanent."

Consequently, the career paths of male and female educators diverged: men tended to teach long term or until they found a more lucrative career path and women quit at marriage, some never returning to the classroom. There was a constant flow of young women into the teaching workforce and out again at marriage. An observation by an Inspector of Schools in 1914 illustrated the rarity of a married woman teacher. He recorded 37 unmarried men, 7 married men, 126 unmarried women and only 6 married women employed in his district. His observation based on these statistics is telling: "the smallness of married men bears eloquent and convincing testimony to the fact that school teaching, particularly rural school teaching, has still very far to go before it attains the dignity of a profession" (GS 1914, 62).

During the 1920s, the number of teachers increased from 7,544 in 1920 to 8,415 in 1930 to coincide with increases in enrolment in both urban and rural areas. In this decade, the absolute number of women only increased by 60 teachers but the number of men increased by 811, with the consequence that the proportion of the teaching labour force that was male increased from 17% at the end of World War I to 28.4% in 1930. Throughout the 1920s, almost all teachers, both male and female, still taught at the elementary level. In 1925, there were 7,520 elementary teachers and only 193 teachers at high schools (see Table 3). The situation had not changed much by 1930.

Increases in salaries attracted men to the profession in the 1920s. The average salary for men with a first class certificate rose from $832 in 1915 to $1,387 in 1920 in rural boards (see Table 4). Salaries in urban boards rose 50%. Women, on average, were paid less than men during this period, but salaries for women increased commensurate with those of men. Louise Stewart provided a first hand example of the pay differential, "I got $300 less than the young man, who I had replaced and I was twice as good a teacher. Of course, I didn't know that I was suppose to rebel then. I didn't know anything about women's lib. And beside that, the school principal persuaded me to teach two of his (the principal's) subjects and you didn't refuse because, well, you didn't."

Debate over the merits of hiring married women as teachers continued throughout the 1920s. Few married women taught and in 1921, only 2% of married

women in Canada were in the labour force (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1921). Grace Cunningham, who began teaching in 1918, reported, "The first was a woman principal in the school where I taught and the year was, I believe, 1925. She was married in her home town at Easter time, but told no one except her landlady until the end of the term in June, for she would have been dismissed at once if the school authorities had known of it."

The stock market crash in 1929, the nine-year drought, and falling enrolments decreased the demand for teachers. By 1931, 375 teachers were listed as unemployed, and those in Normal School had few job prospects (*Leader Post* 1931, 3). Margaret Baker, who graduated in 1931 and finally got a job in 1933, explained, "I wrote and mailed over eighty applications for schools with no worthwhile results. I had no special or political pull. It was about one and half years later (when I found a job)." Total jobs fell from 8,415 in 1930 to 7,250 in 1935. This drop accounted for 14% of the 1930 teaching force.

Teachers' pay dropped sharply. For the vast majority of teachers, those in rural areas, their pay fell by over half in the period 1930 to 1935 (see Table 4). Phyllis George, who started teaching in 1932, commented, "Salaries that were $1000 or $1100 the year before dropped to $400 or less. " Even with the drop in pay, due to poor crops and low prices for agricultural products, the farmers that comprised the rural school boards had difficulties meeting teachers' paychecks. By 1934, unpaid salaries due to teachers were up to $775,000 (Calder 1955, 23). The total amount collected in school taxes dropped from $11 million in 1929 to less than $4.5 million in 1937 (Lyons 1986, 114). Vera Arthur explained the consequences for teachers, "In 1935, my wages were the government grant ($200) plus another $150. Some of which I did not get until 1942 because I had received a promissory note from the School Board and they didn't pay it until then." By 1936, only 343 teachers taught at the secondary level. Women held 33.2% of these jobs but as they comprised 67.2% of the teaching force, women were under represented at the secondary level (see Table 3). Salary was an enticement to teach at the secondary level. Fifty-three of the 114 women teaching high school with a first class certificate made more than $1,500 while only seven out of 1,147 women, with a first class certificate, teaching in elementary school had achieved that level of pay (STF 1937, 3).

The shortage of jobs during the depression attracted men to teaching positions and the willingness to hire men gave them an advantage. Some people felt strongly that men, particularly married men, should have been given preference for jobs during the 1930s. An article in the *STF Bulletin* in 1930 reported that a man at a teachers' convention had stated: "if the 55,000 lady teachers in Canada were eliminated from their positions, making way for men who are now walking the streets, the unemployment situation would be eased up considerably" (Hallman 1997, 9). He implied that women did not need the money and that any man, even without qualifications, can be an adequate teacher.

Thus, while the total number of teachers declined, the number of male teachers increased. As the proportion of women teachers shrank to 65.3%, the proportion of men teachers increased by 6.3 percentage points. As the number of teaching positions decreased and as rural salaries plummeted, men were attracted to urban schools and favoured by urban school boards. According to Irene Carleton, who graduated in 1929 from Teachers College, referred to as Normal School, "When I graduated there was no choice of where you taught. It was practically unheard of for a lady teacher to get into a village (or urban) school. I wrote over three hundred applications trying for any school." Prior to 1930, the proportion of all men teaching in rural schools was higher than the proportion of all women teaching in rural schools, but throughout the 1930s this trend reversed (see Table 2).

Despite these hurdles, some married women did manage to find teaching posts. In 1931, *The Leader Post* (1931, 3) reported that

"(f)ully 75% of married women who teach have returned to the profession" because they "are forced to make a living and keep others who are dependent on them." The 1931 Census reported that 7.7% of women teachers in Saskatchewan were married. Men were more likely to be married, at 41.9%.[4] In 1930, 1 in 10 women teachers were single and had never married, while only 1 of 2 men teachers were single and had never married (see Table 5).

During the 1930s, the newly formed Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) started to pressure the government to improve conditions. By July 1st 1940, a minimum salary of $700 came into effect, with a provision for overrides, and pressure by the STF generated the momentum for continued salary increases (Calder 1955, 28). Province wide contracts negotiated between the STF and the government regularized conditions of employment for women and men in terms of pay, performance review, dismissal, and benefits.

World events again intruded on the lives of Saskatchewan residents with the participation of Canada in World War II. As before, men left the classroom to fight in the Canadian forces (GS 1940, 27). From 1939 to 1944, the number of teachers declined by 300 and the proportion of men teachers dropped from 33% in 1939 to 19% in 1944 (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1943-44, 23). Desperate shortages of teachers lead to the use of provisional certificates and, as early as 1941, 94 students were released early from Normal School to teach (GS 1941, 26). Very few men attended Normal School, their presence dropping from 28% in 1937 to only 13% in 1942. Urban schools, especially secondary schools, absorbed men teachers. In 1944, 66% of all women teachers taught in rural schools as compared with only 47% of all men teachers - a difference of 19 percentage points. By 1945, the composition of the teaching force had reached a similar disproportional level as at the end of World War I: 75.7% female and 24.3% male. The demand for teachers opened doors for women to approach their lives more independently. They could make a choice not to marry and support themselves with their paycheque. According to a woman who began teaching in 1943: "I went into teaching because I wanted to be independent. Marriage was not a great concern. I wanted teaching to last my entire lifetime."

Prohibitions against the employment of married women were common until the mid-1940s and varied by school board. According to Marion Ruth Evans, "(w)omen teachers were required to resign when they became married in (my) district prior to 1940 and even for some years after." The shortage of teachers that started during this war provided opportunities for married women to return to teaching.[5] A woman who had stopped teaching at marriage in the 1930s, observed: "But when war broke out in 1939, and many of the men enlisted, there was a shortage of teachers, and women, even married ones, were asked to return to the teaching profession." In 1944-45, the shortage of qualified teachers resulted in 8,185 employed teachers, a decrease from the previous year (STF 1946, 11). Pressure mounted on married women to return to the classroom and by 1945-46, 13.9% of women teachers were married (Corman 2002). Articles in the *STF Bulletin* contained appeals to let married women teach and city boards, facing shortages of teachers, rescinded their prohibitions against the employment of married women (STF 1946, 14).

Superintendents of rural boards personally approached married women to return to the classroom. Gladys Menzies resumed teaching in 1949, ten years after her marriage, "I did not intend to teach after marriage but after our third child's birth and before our fourth the 'Inspector' or 'Superintendent' came asking me to teach or the school would close. I agreed." In the 1950s, opportunities for married women increased the most in rural one-room schools. For example, 50.4% of all women in one room rural schools were married in 1953-54 as compared with only 27.4% of women in city schools. By 1960-61, 75% of all women teaching in one room schools were married

while only 48.6% of all women teaching in cities were married (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953-54, 44,45; 1960-61, 21).

Even though married women were returning to the classroom, the imbalance that had reached a peak in the midst of the war steadily shifted, beginning with a return of the soldiers to the classroom. Male teachers returning from war were guaranteed a job back with their previous board (STF 1945, 38). In the five years immediately after the war, the number of men teachers increased by 522 while the number of women teachers decreased by 335. Consequently, the proportion of female teachers fell to 69.1% by 1950. Correspondingly, throughout the 1950s, the proportion of men graduating from Normal School gradually increased from 28% in 1949-50 to 33% in 1959-60 (GS 1949-50, 1959-60). Despite closing 1,000 rural schools by 1950, ten years later, 29% of teaching jobs were still located in the country or in villages with a population of fewer than 1,000, compared to 77% in 1910 (see Table 2).

The dramatic rise in the percentage of male teachers was in part due to the increase in the number of jobs available at the secondary level. Men gravitated to the newly emerging jobs at the secondary level as towns and cities grew in size. Prior to the leap in secondary enrolment, almost all female teachers and almost all male teachers taught at the elementary level (see Table 6). By 1953-54, 59.6% of all men taught at elementary schools and 40.3% taught at secondary schools, a difference of 19.3 percentage points. The spread for women was drastically sharper: 92.9% of all women taught at elementary schools and only 7.1% taught at secondary schools, a difference of 85 percentage points. The job opportunities at the secondary level created by an increase in high school enrolment did not increase women's representation at the secondary level. Men monopolized this growth sector (see Table 6).

Opportunities for both women and men to teach abounded throughout the 1960s; teachers could pick their employers. Overall enrolments increased greatly: a greater proportion of children were attending secondary school (from 1,126 in 1953-54 to 3,581 in 1969-70), and kindergarten had become an option. The number of teachers increased steadily (see Table 6). Both the absolute number of women and men in the profession grew but the increase in men outstripped the increase in women so that the proportion of women teachers continued to fall to 59.1% (see Table 1). Women still found combining a career in teaching with raising their children difficult to manage. As Hallman explains, the ability to return to their jobs after childbirth was not guaranteed until 1976 (Hallman 1997, 10).

In 1970-71 a higher proportion of women still taught in elementary schools (71.7%) than at secondary schools. The trend for men was the opposite, a higher proportion of all men taught at secondary schools than at elementary schools, up to 68.0% from 40.3% in 1953-54 (see Table 6). In other words, the absolute number of men teaching at the secondary level was higher than the number at the elementary level, a reversal from the 1950s. For men who were sole income earners, the huge pay advantage of teaching at the secondary level was an enticement. In 1960-61, the average pay received by elementary teachers was 66.8% that of high school teachers. By 1968-69, the difference was still large, with elementary teachers earning 73.1% of secondary teachers. Elementary teachers were paid $3,896 in 1960-61 and $6,023 in 1968-69 while secondary teachers received $5,831 in 1960-61 and $8,245 in 1968-69 (GS 1968-69, 62). Not only did men secure jobs at the secondary level but the number of men also increased disproportionately to that of women at the elementary level. In fact, overall between 1953 and 1970, the number of male teachers in the system increased by 134% while the number of female teachers increased by 39.5%.

Enticed by a paycheque, by the rewards of educating children, and by the opportunity to make social contacts, married women began to return to teaching, challenging and then reconstituting the

prevailing conventions. Married teachers embraced the opportunities created by the continued shortage of teachers (Hallman 1997, 9). By 1954-55, the proportion of married women teachers had increased to 42% (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963-64). For example, Irene Johanson, who started teaching in 1948, quit in 1950 and resumed her career six years later, explained, "My husband farmed and in the beginning preferred that I not teach. Travel to a distant school was out of the question. A few years later our home school two miles away was open and I applied, partly because I missed teaching and partly because we could use the money. I continued when I still found teaching more challenging and rewarding than straight housework." By the mid-1990s, three-quarters of women teachers were married (Hallman 1997, 10). With steadily improving state regulated maternity provisions, women increasingly returned to teach. For the first time, by the 1970s, the same proportion of men and women had never married (see Table 5).

Women lost ground during the depressed period of the 1970s while men did not. Demand for teachers leveled out due to the decline in enrolment from 244,000 in 1969 to 205,000 in 1977. There were almost 900 fewer active teachers in 1977 than in 1969; 64 unit schools closed between 1972 and 1977; and 97 schools had enrolments of fewer than 60 students (GS 1978, 30). Twenty-six teachers had their contracts terminated due to redundancy in 1981 (GS 1981, 26). By 1982, enrolment had declined to 1958 levels (GS 1982, 65). In the fifteen-year period from 1970 to 1985, the absolute number of women in the field dropped by 802 (12.4 percentage points) while the number of men increased by 459 (10.2 percentage points). The proportion of women teachers dropped to a new low of 52.4% in 1980-81, almost back to the level in 1905 (see Table 1).

The percentage of female teachers started to rise in Saskatchewan in the late 1980s. This decrease in male participation coincided with a decline in teachers' salaries in comparison with the Industrial Composite (CTF 1993). Few new positions continued to be available because, at marriage, women retained their jobs. By 1981, only one in five women teachers was single (see Table 5). New graduates, graduates from previous years, and teachers who wanted to re-enter the profession all competed for limited positions. Apart from men gaining advantage at the elementary level during economic downturns, such as the 1930s and 1980-81, four out of five teachers at elementary school were women by 2001 (see Table 7). Even by 2001, the elementary labour force was still dominated by women; women held 83.3% of all elementary jobs but children now had a fifty/fifty chance of a female teacher at the secondary level up from one out of three in the 1930s (see Table 7).

On the whole, though, women were still more likely to be channeled into elementary rather than secondary teaching, than were men. Of all men in the field in 2001, 63.7% were at the secondary level while only 27.4% of all women taught at the secondary level (see Table 6).

Positions of Authority in Schools

Despite forming the majority of educators over the last one hundred years, women have made slow progress moving into positions of authority in the school system. In the early period, advertisements for a principal clearly specified a preference for males: "Required: male principal. Experienced with university degree for Foam Lake S.D. #1885. Applicants to state age, experience with reference and salary expected" (*Saskatoon Star Phoenix* 1930, 16). Typically, in multi-classroom schools in the 1940s, women teachers reported to male authorities. Mary Virginia Nickel, who started teaching in 1942 observed, "there were 2 other men and 2 other women on staff. The men were principal and vice principal. The women were classroom teachers."

By 1955, the Staff of the Department of Education, not including the secretaries, reflected a predominance of men and only two married women were in positions of authority (see Table 8).

Twenty years later in 1975 only 11.4% of administrators were women (STF 1975). During this decade, women would continue to be overlooked for promotion to principal in favour of young, inexperienced men. Rita Tagseth, who took her first teaching post in 1944, explained, "Here is where I encountered discrimination against women. In the 1970s I was an experienced teacher hired to teach the primary room and a young man with no teaching experience was hired as principal simply because he was a man." He was replaced by a succession of two other young, under-qualified men before Tagseth was appointed the first woman lay principal in the school unit. Even then, her opinions were overlooked by her peers, "Women principals often view the elementary classrooms as being more important than men do. At the principals' meetings I attended, the elementary situation was rarely discussed. So as a principal of an elementary school that often meant that I was left out of the discussions."

Thirty years later, in 2004-05, the profile of the profession shifted again. Women made up 41% of administrators, including principals, vice-principals and department heads. Women, however, were still underrepresented in administration because they made up 68.7% of all educators.[6] A higher proportion of men were still more likely to move into supervisory positions than women. In turn, men were under represented as regular classroom teachers and also as special education teachers (See Table 9).

Family obligations continue to shape the lives of women and men teachers. The positioning of women and men in the early period was highly proscribed and regulated explicitly by gendered advertisements and hiring regulations. In the 1940s when pay for teachers was relatively low, a man with a dependent wife and children had a monetary incentive to take the responsibility of being a principal despite the longer hours associated with the job (STF 1947). By 2005, discriminatory regulations were gone. As noted by de Clercy (2007), for Saskatchewan, in general, and Hallman (1997), in reference to teachers, state legislation that treated women and men differently changed gradually in response to pressure from women's groups, professional associations and unions. The career decisions that women and men continue to make remain grounded in their duties and obligations as parents of children and as caregivers to their aging parents. Although men are helping out at home, women take the larger responsibility for childcare (Statistics Canada, 2003). Career interruptions related to child birth and competing demands between home and school continue to slow women's move up career ladders.

Conclusion

This essay has contributed a comparison of women and men in the teaching profession of Saskatchewan through an examination of changes over time in the composition of teachers, marital status, geographic distribution, salary scales and administrative duties. The gradual transformation to equivalent positions for women and men teachers was never guaranteed and is not part of "natural" progress. Rather, the transformation of the opportunities available to women and men in the school system are connected to economic cycles, national interventions in wars, changing gendered expectations regarding appropriate female and male behaviour, equal rights legislation and struggles to improve the conditions of women and the conditions of working people provincially and nationally. During periods of economic downturns, men took the best jobs available to them, and thus in these periods, the proportion of men hired increased. During World Wars I and II, the proportion of women teachers increased because a much higher percentage of men participated in the armed forces. As women pushed the boundaries of acceptable behaviour in the context of a shortage of teachers, more married women worked as teachers. The tendency for women to resign their positions at childbirth almost disappeared with state legislation providing

paid maternity leave and job security. Men initially took the jobs associated with the dramatic increase in the percentage of students at the secondary level because men, at that time, were more likely to have invested in the post secondary credentials required for these positions. This pattern is shifting as women make a long term commitment to a career as teacher. Although by 2005 women had not achieved the relative proportion of positions of principal associated with their representation in the teaching profession, the trend is toward parity. Of significance is the continued over-representation of women as elementary teachers.

Revisiting this century of dramatic transformations raises cautionary reflections. The conditions of public sector employment are tied to deliberate state policies, for examples, the *School Act* and public sector labour legislation. In turn, the particulars of state policy hinge on the configuration of economic conditions, social forces and political movements. The disastrous sweep of the financial crisis of 2008 highlighted the vulnerability of the Saskatchewan economy. In this context, a continuing improvement of the conditions facing Saskatchewan teachers cannot be taken for granted.

Endnotes

1. This research is part of a larger project that is based on histories of Saskatchewan teachers collected, Irene Poelzer and myself. Dr. Poelzer's collection is based on face-to-face interviews and also on information provided in writing by women who taught in Saskatchewan between 1910 and 1950. June Corman's collection is drawn from face-to-face interviews done by herself with women who taught in Saskatchewan. This research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and Brock University. Christine Ensslen, Lindsay Hayhurst, Heather Smith worked as research assistants for the development of this paper.
2. For 1905 data see Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Annual Report 1906, 9. 2004/2005 teacher data is from the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (personal communication) and is based on September 30, 2004.
3. There were 5,160 secondary teachers and 8,560 elementary and kindergarten teachers gainfully employed reported in 2001 census (Statistics Canada, 2001).
4. Census data includes all teachers regardless of employer.
5. Even as late as 1965, Saskatchewan schools could not find enough teachers to fill all vacancies and in that year schools hired 780 people with only probationary certificates (McConnell 1983, 56).
6. In comparison with men, women who entered the field of education tended to be regular classroom teachers (+5.4%) and special education teachers (+6.8%) and less likely to be principals and vice-principals (-12.8%).

Table 1 Percentage of Women and Men Teachers, Saskatchewan, 1905-2004		
Year	**% Women**	**% Men**
1905*	51.5	48.5
1910*	62	38
1918**	83	17
1920*	79	21
1930*	71.5	28.4
1940*	69.3	30.7
1945*	75.7	24.3
1950*	69.1	30.9
1960*	66	34
1970*	59.1	40.9
1975*	53.1	46.5
1975-76***	54.3	45.7
1980-81***	52.4	47.6
1990-91***	55.1	44.9
1995-96***	59.3	40.7
2003-04****	68.2	31.8

SOURCES
* Statistics Canada, *Historical Labour Force Statistics*, 1995, Cat. No. 71-201 CA1 D581 229
** Department of Education, Province of Saskatchewan. Annual Report 1918
*** Statistics Canada, Education in Canada: A Statistical Review
**** Province of Saskatchewan

Table 2 Percentage of All Women Teachers and of All Men Teachers Located in Urban and Rural Schools, Saskatchewan, Various Years, 1910 to 1959						
Year	**Women**		**Men**		**Urban**	**Rural**
	% Rural*	**% Urban***	**% Rural***	**% Urban***	**Total**	**Total**
1910	74.1	25.9	82.1	17.9	606	2,066
1913	66.0	34.0	79.4	20.6	1,222	2,920
1920	68.2	31.8	75.8	24.2	2,054	4,755
1926	65.0	35.0	70.6	29.4	2,607	5,172
1930	64.8	35.2	64.8	35.2	2,912	5,363
1938	66.2	33.8	57.8	42.2	2,713	4,689
1944	65.9	34.6	46.8	56.7	2,689	4,331
1946	63.2	36.8	49.8	50.2	2,815	4,216
1950	55.9	44.1	48.1	51.9	3,256	3,740
1959	31.3	68.7	25.7	74.3	5,979	2,494

*Urban schools include schools in cities, towns and villages. After 1951 schools in villages under 1000 are counted as rural.

SOURCES

Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Salaries and Qualifications of Elementary and Secondary Teachers, various years.

Table 3 Number and Percentage of Elementary and Secondary Teachers in Saskatchewan, by Sex, Select Years, 1925-36								
	Elementary Teachers				**Secondary Teachers**			
Year	Total#	Male#	Female #	Female %	Total#	Male#	Female #	Female %
1925	7,250	n/a	n/a	n/a	193	n/a	n/a	n/a
1930	8,273	2,126	6,147	74.3	255	n/a	n/a	n/a
1931	8,095	2,190	5,905	72.9	248	n/a	n/a	n/a
1932	7,975	2,211	5,764	72.3	294	n/a	n/a	n/a
1936	8,248	2,593	5,655	68.6	343	229	114	33.2

SOURCES

1929 from Calder p 17; Annual Reports, Department of Education, Province of Saskatchewan, 1930: 23,39; 1931:15, 27; 1933: 12, 22; 1934: 12, 20; 1936 from The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, *Bulletin*, September 1937, 3

Table 4 Average Annual Salaries Paid to Teachers Holding First Class Certificates by Sex, Select Years, 1930-1949/50				
Year	**Rural first class certificate**		**Urban first class certificate**	
	Female	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
1910	$703	$747	$730	$1,052
1915	$797	$832	$873	$1,298
1920	$1,279	$1,387	$1,352	$1,881
1925	$1,085	$1,181	$1,268	$1,809
1930	$1,142	$1,159	$1,255	$1,775
1935	$443	$523	$745	$992
1940*	$673	$712	$812	$1,082
1945-46	$1,188	$1,270	$1,364	$1,690
1949-50	$1,546	$1,600	$1,744	$1,969

* The legislation governing minimum salary came into effect until July 1, 1940.

SOURCES

1910-1935 from Annual Report 1935, p. 34; 1940 from Annual Report 1941, p. 26; 1945/6 from Annual Report 1945/6, p. 68; 1949/50 from Annual Report 1949/50, p. 64.

Table 5 Proportion of Teachers in the Saskatchewan Labour Force Who Were Never Married, by Sex, Saskatchewan, Various Years, 1911 to 1996			
Year	**Never Married**		**Teachers**
	% Females	% Males	Total #
1911	n/a	n/a	2171
1921	n/a	n/a	5495
1931	90.7	56.9	8415
1941	85.8	39.9	7755
1951	66.7	36.9	7641
1961	40.6	27.7	9517
1971	25.2	22.9	11840
1981	22.9	17.6	13750
1996	16.3	15.7	13710

*Never married refers to teachers who were single and had never been married.

SOURCES

Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, various years. Census data includes all teachers in the labour force.

Table 6 Percentage of All Women and All Men Teachers with Elementary and Secondary Designations, All Teachers, Saskatchewan, Select Years, 1936-2000.					
	All Females		All Males		Teachers
Year	k to 8%	secondary%	k to 8%	secondary%	Total#
1936	98.0	2.0	91.9	8.1	8,591
1953-54	92.9	7.1	59.6	40.4	6,294
1970-71	71.7	28.3	32.0	68.0	11,400
1980-81	72.7	27.3	33.7	66.3	12,120
1990-91	74.9	25.1	36.9	63.1	13,090
2000-01	72.6	27.4	36.3	63.7	13,993

SOURCE
Statistics Canada, 81-202, various years

Table 7 Number and Percentage of Elementary and Secondary Jobs Held by Women and Men Teachers, Saskatchewan, 1971 to 2001								
Year	Elementary				Secondary			
	Total#	Male#	Female#	Female%	Total#	Male#	Female#	Female%
1971	6655	1215	5440	81.7	4753	2590	2145	45.3
1981	6935	1600	5335	75.9	5150	3145	2005	38.9
1991	8130	1630	6500	80.0	4960	2785	2175	43.9
1996	8683	1770	6865	79.5	4825	2495	2330	48.3
2001	8560	1405	7155	83.5	5165	2515	2650	51.3

SOURCE
Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, various years.

Table 8 Staff, by Type and Sex, of the Department of Education, Saskatchewan, 1955		
	Male	**Female**
Minister	1	0
Deputy Minister	1	0
Educational Council	4	1 married
Supervisors and related staff	23	4 single
Superintendents of Schools	61	0
Teachers College Staff		
Saskatoon	11	5 single
Moose Jaw	9	4 (3 single, 1 married)
Teachers' Superannuation Commission	4	1 single

SOURCE
D. G. Scott Calder *Seventy Years of Progress in Education*. Regina: Government of Saskatchewan 1955.pp. 41-42

Table 9 Educators, by Type, in the Public School System, Saskatchewan, Percentage Female, 2004-2005	
Classification	**% female**
Classroom teachers	70.3
Special education teachers	90.7
Department heads	38.3
Assistant principals	37.9
Vice principals	43.0
Principals	40.0
All educators	68.7

SOURCE
Based on data provided by Saskatchewan Learning, Saskatchewan, personal communication.

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