Tradition and Discipline

The Evolution of the Caring Teacher Subjectivity in the Poiesis of the Saskatchewan Educational System

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Theodore Edward Thomas, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, has presented a thesis titled, *Tradition and Discipline: The Evolution of the Caring Teacher Subjectivity in the Poiesis of the Saskatchewan Educational System*, in an oral examination held on September 1, 2016. The following committee members have found the thesis acceptable in form and content, and that the candidate demonstrated satisfactory knowledge of the subject material.

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Abstract

This thesis began as an exploration into the nature of teacher subjectivity and the ‘truths’ that make up our individual reality. It is the interplay of knowledge/power in the social that generates the discourses that shape the nature of the subjectivities we chose to perform as teachers. These discourses also shape the ‘truths’ that shape our present. To achieve this I have chosen to focus on the school inspectors’ reports to the Ministry of Education during the first twenty years of the Saskatchewan education system. In my analysis of these documents I utilize a Foucauldian lens coupled with Butler’s (2006) theory of performativity in an attempt to uncover subjectivities made available to teachers during this unstable, formative time. One such subjectivity made available was the ‘caring teacher.’ By 1916, 83 percent of the teachers in the province of Saskatchewan were women and the discourses that regulated the ‘proper’ expression of womanhood and the feminine in society were inevitably linked with this subjectivity and its performance.

The effect of the migration of so many young women into teaching shaped the profession significantly. Nowhere was that more true than in Saskatchewan and the prairie provinces where this migration lead to a profusion of small one room school houses managed by one teacher, predominantly female, teaching the entire elementary curriculum. The First World War and the fight by women for the franchise would provide a destabilizing effect on these discourses, straining their previous morphology. However, the historicity of the ‘caring teacher’ was also built upon earlier attempts at social engineering utilized by the government of Great Britain. The concept of care was employed by middle-class women to discipline the working-class in Britain in order to inculcate middle-class values. This same social engineering was brought to bear through the educational system in Saskatchewan to bring together dissonant communities while
simultaneously turning each little school into a center of calculation through which governmental intervention could influence the population. Foucault has referred to this as ‘conduct of conduct’ or governmentality. Moreover, the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity became a powerful interface for the articulation of the discourses of race and class, emerging as it did during a period when the province was moving out of its settler/pioneering phase. This ‘dispositif’ of truths and practices built on what had come before; care, for the self and others marked the boundaries of middle-class white respectability within the colonial context. Accordingly, middle-class values became an integral part of the educational experience, held in place as they were by a cadre of female teachers, practicing care. These discourses, shaped as they were by war, white hegemony, and suffrage, reveal how the women of the province expressed the ‘truths’ that shaped their perceptions of their reality. These perceptions reveal an essence that is not always in-line with the absolute essence of the historical narrative. As Prado (2000) insists, Foucault’s (1926-84) analytical approach rejects this absolute essence; it is the “antithesis of [such] essences,” and is in direct contrast to these narratives (p. 62). As such, this thesis is an examination of the contested histories that are often covered up and overrun by these traditional accounts. In the post-modern era, however, care has been de-evolved by accountability; middle-class values and white respectability have been displaced by corporate panopticism. What is the future of this subjectivity? Should teachers care for their students anymore, or should they adopt a more ‘business-like’ stance? It is only through a careful examination of the historicity of this subjectivity and a thorough problematizing of our present that we can rediscover this collective past.
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Dedication

This research is dedicated to the school inspectors and teachers that made the Saskatchewan educational system what it was during those heady first years. These are not the empty memories of days gone past, but our shared future in the making.

To my infinitely patient and supportive wife, Dr. Kathleen Bowler: you have been there since the beginning and never lost faith. My achievements in this endeavour could never have happened without your strength, wisdom and love.

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Introduction

We can use Foucault to form or reform ourselves as philosophers, historians or sociologists, but we can also use Foucault to inaugurate a critical engagement with our present and to diagnose its practical potential and constraints (Dean, 2001, p. 210).

We don’t see things as they are; we see them as we are (Anais Nin, 1903-1977).

This thesis utilizes a Foucauldian analysis to examine the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity and its place within the poiesis of the Saskatchewan educational system. Utilizing a Foucauldian analysis is a tricky thing. Foucault traversed three distinct areas of research in his career. His early work, which Prado (2000) describes as an “analysis of systems of knowledge,” was followed by his middle phase, with its focus on power/knowledge and the disciplinary discourses this relationship generates (p. 24). This relationship and its productivity were reflected in his genealogies of madness, sexuality, crime, and the clinic. His last phase of research focused on the ethics of the self, or the way in which systems of knowledge and disciplinary technologies come together to influence and shape the ‘truth’ of the self in the modern age. Truth and its multiplicity has always been a part of Foucault’s work. There is little doubt that the middle phase of research, that which is known for its emphasis on discipline and punishment, garnered the most attention from the public. Indeed, it is not unusual to read Foucault from the middle out and not from beginning to end; a mistake I made when I first began reading Foucault. As such, it is difficult to maintain the focus of any Foucauldian analysis through this shifting perspective. Often the researcher focuses on one aspect of Foucault’s oeuvre to the exclusion of the others. I utilize a different approach in this thesis. My focus is on the social technology of the ‘caring teacher’ and the ‘dispositif’ or discursive field that shaped it. A dispositif is the coupling of a set of practices with a regime of truth. Thus, it
is possible to recognize how systems of knowledge link up to form sets of practices and ‘truths’ that are shaped by modalities of disciplinary power. These truths and practices are then internalized by individual subjects, generating what we have come to know as reality. It is the way in which these truths are accepted and rejected that is of interest to me. These truths represent the norm on which individuals base their understanding of the world and their relationships with others. Such truths and their normalness, become essentially invisible to us. This dissertation seeks out the petite knowledges that are lost to that invisibility. An analysis of these lost truths and practices reveal the other side of the norm; what is left out, discarded, refused or refuted. Through such an analysis we can question how we as individuals have learned to accept things as they are and more importantly re-orient ourselves to discover the possibilities of how things could be. This ability is especially important to reflective practitioners such as physicians, sociologist, psychologists and teachers to name but a few. By unwinding the threads that make up the ball of yarn that is our chosen profession, we as reflective practitioners problematize our praxis and ourselves. Through such a process we come to understand how our professions became ‘all that’ and question our role in shaping that process.

As such, this thesis is not, as Dean (2001) writes, a “history of localized heterogeneous ontologies…add[ing] up to either a single form of human being or a single present,” but rather about how, out of many different ‘presents’ available, one came to represent the truth of teaching within a certain place and time (p.210). One must recognize that these different presents have tangible effects on how we consider ourselves or how we think about ourselves. As such, this thesis is more a history of the present than it is a history of the past. Its intent is not to produce another historical narrative, but to
widen the experience beyond the grand narrative that regarding the development of the educational system in the province of Saskatchewan. I do not want to explore the origins of this old romantic myth: hearty men and women, working the land, trying to give their children a better life and the young schoolmarm with the heart of gold, working to make the lone one room schoolhouse a place of learning and love. Rather, this thesis wishes to explore how the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity became so prominent in the pedagogical relationship in the twentieth century. Before the advent of state-sponsored schools, ‘caring’ was not part of the educational experience; discipline and punishment were central to education. How did this shift occur? What were the subjugated knowledges that represented a different perspective on the settler myth? This shift from punishment to caring is reminiscent of a similar occurrence in the penal system, when the focus of incarceration moved from retribution for the crime committed to reformation of the criminal.

The data required to achieve this was collected from the reports of the inspectors of schools provided to the Ministry of Education of Saskatchewan from the years 1905 to 1920. These diaries were submitted to the Ministry, bound with the Minister’s report to the legislature and published for the public yearly. After 1920, only the Minister’s speech to the legislature was so recorded. The data from this source was collected for the years 1905 to 1930. As well, data was collected from the provincial archives which included the Minister of Education’s correspondence with his school inspectors and his deputy for the years 1905-1935. The data was then thematically organized. Beginning with 12 original themes and then collapsing that into eight, data was collected regarding: attendance, teacher training, school buildings, grounds, teacher retention, World War
One, expenditures and debentures, to name a few. While the themes emerged from the data itself, they were organized to reflect the application of governmental reason into the emerging public school system. These themes represent the deployment of governmental mechanisms (strategies) and techniques (tactics) used to shape the nascent public school system. There was a layering of governmental tactics in many of these themes. The school inspectors often commented that if they could improve school attendance this would result in a longer school term. A longer school year meant more stable employment for teachers. Stable employment, would lead potential teacher candidates to consider the profession of teaching as a career rather than temporary employment. As such, it is possible to envision the inspectors’ comments as attempting to address three chronic problems associated with the fledgling school system: attendance, teacher retention and improving the general effectiveness of the school system. It is important to note that although these governmental tactics and strategies appeared to merge they retained their independent qualities. Attendance remained a concern to the inspectors above and beyond potential teacher issues, as many parents relied on their children as cheap farm labour. However, the inspectors’ attempts to redress the school system’s poor attendance rates were often undermined by the issuing of exemptions during the seeding and harvesting seasons by their own government. Through this lens one can perceive that while shaping the school system these governmental mechanisms also shaped the population, generating a dispositif of truths and practices that not only represent the ‘truth’ of the modern educational system in Saskatchewan, but also the role of the citizen within this nascent society. Many of these governmental interventions were thwarted by the citizenry or produced unforeseen consequences which inadvertantly shaped the
educational system of Saskatchewan in unpredictable ways. Over a year was spent collecting data from these sources and another six months was spent thematically organizing them. The effect of world events such as World War One and the suffragette movement are reflected in these thematic arrangements as well as the on-going process of state formation. All the school inspectors and educational ministers were male. Thus, the data reflects a masculine viewpoint on the role of women in prairie society at a particular time and place. This does not, in my view, limit its veracity or its potency. If, as Foucault suggests, our social reality is made up of contending truths, then the data collected represents one of these truths. As well, if as Curtis (1992) contends, the application of sound, reliable government rested on these previously unseen governmental actors, these ‘choice men,’ then the data collected reveals how these men thought ‘choice teachers’ should think and act. At this time the majority (83 percent) of the teachers in the province were young single women. Their voices were seldom heard. Many were young, hardly adults themselves, and as Danylewycz et al. (1991a) writes, socialized to be obedient to a patriarchal society (p. 86). However, all would be part of the shift in education that saw the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity emerge as a dominant force in the modern education system.

The dispositif that shaped the truth and practices of the ‘caring teacher’ have contracted and grown over time. As such, the local petite knowledges that have been papered over reveal the different, sometimes contradictory forces shaping this discursive field. The gatekeepers of this dispositif are those discourses already established within the field. As new discourses are introduced they cleave to the existing ones; in some cases extending their reach and in others shifting or blunting the direction of the older
established discourses. Thus, the ‘truths’ and practices that shaped the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity seem at times uneven and contradictory. As well, elements of this dispositif have shaped other subjectivities as they link up and merge with existing discourses generating new emerging subjectivities. Our concepts of what it means to be a professional or to have a professional attitude have been shaped to include at least a nod to the discursive field regulating the caring subjectivity. Dean (2001) refers to this shaping as the “authorities of truth” (p. 211). However, I have some problem with the term ‘authorities’ and its connotations of coercion. Subjects are not forced but shaped, willingly, to modify themselves to these subjectivities. There is always resistance to what this entails; however, the element of ‘truth’ associated with this remodeling is very persuasive. Of this, Dean (2001) writes:

Our present is one in which we are enjoined to take care and responsibility for our own lives, health, happiness, sexuality and financial security, in which we are provided with choices that we are expected to exercise, and in which we might feel that there is a possibility of some greater freedom in the forms of life we can live, and be safe and prosper in. It is also one in which a multiplicity of authorities, movements and agencies comes into play, seeking to link up our freedoms, choices, forms of life and conduct with an often uncertain mix of political goals, aspirations and governmental ends (p. 211).

It is important to remember that these “multiplicit[ies] of authorities, movements and agencies” have a historicity that is directly tied to the historicity of our choices (p. 211). It is the analysis of these historicises and their connection with each other that reveals what we have forgotten. Through the revelation of these forgotten, petite, knowledges we come to understand how we became what we are now. As we problematize our present we rediscover different avenues in our past.
Chapter one of this thesis utilizes a survey of education in the province of Saskatchewan conducted in 1918, better known as the Foght report, as a means of contextualization while examining the governmentality that generated the need for such an intervention. The report marked a particular nexus of events that impacted the development of the state, its educational system and the governmental discourses that attempted to manage the conduct of conduct. It marked a time when the Saskatchewan government could no longer avoid the necessity of direct governmental involvement in shaping the poiesis of the educational system. Whitehead (2003) describes poiesis as that which "produces or leads (a thing) into being," as such the use of the term suggests that the formation of the educational system in Saskatchewan was the work of many hands and not the vision of one individual. Chapter one will briefly outline some of the challenges and governmental interventions as well as the general state of politics in Saskatchewan at the beginning of the twentieth century. Chapter two will elaborate on Foucault’s concepts of power, subjectivity and the advent of the governmental project in the late eighteenth century, as well as Butler’s theory of performativity. Chapter three will explore the historicity of the discourses surrounding gender in and around the Victorian age, and their role in the colonizing project in Saskatchewan, particularly as it pertained to a largely female teaching force in the province and the subjectivities these produced. Chapter four will discuss the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity produced through this conflagration of ‘caring’ and the caring self,’ and the way in which this produces specific teacher subjectivities. The thesis will conclude with chapter five and an exploration of the possible ramifications of these subjectivities as well as their possible alternatives in the age of advanced liberal rule. Foucault wanted to know how we came to
invest so much human capital in identity and self and how that investment generated the ‘truths’ we have come to recognize of ourselves, or as Dean (2001) writes, the “true and false statements about who we are and what we should become” (p. 212). Scientists say that a gold fish does not realize that it exists in a bowl; it is incapable of learning from its past experiences, so every turn in its environment is a new and fresh experience. Are we “…lost souls living in a fish bowl, year after year;” or are we aware of the bowl in which we swim (Gilmour & Waters, 1975)?
CHAPTER ONE

The teaching body is in a state of migration. Teachers that fail to get professional standing in one province move on to the next. We need uniform regulation governing academic standing and professional certificates and the acceptance of professional standing as such in all Western provinces to stem this migration and weed out the incompetent and undesirable (Ball, 1909, p. 36).

1917 was a seminal year in the development of the Saskatchewan educational system. A new liberal premier, William Martin, replaced the former premier Walter Scott after Scott had become a liability to his party. Martin entered the Saskatchewan legislature after the 1916 election with a sizable majority of its seats along with a mandate to reform the school system begun under the former administration. School reform was much on the minds of the public. In general, there was a sense that the expenditures made on the educational system had not yielded the expected results. Eventually the government would commission an American educational expert, Harold W. Foght, to conduct a survey of rural education in Saskatchewan. This chapter utilizes his report as a means of contextualizing the governmental rationalities and tactics deployed by the Saskatchewan government to address the public’s concerns regarding the efficiency of the nascent Saskatchewan education system. The Saskatchewan Public Education League, founded in 1915, began a public campaign for better schooling in the province. That same year the league published a pamphlet (1915) of Scott’s address to the legislature, in which his views regarding educational reform were clearly outlined. Widely circulated in four languages, the pamphlet captures the zeitgeist of Saskatchewan’s educational concerns:
…the system itself should undergo a thorough overhauling and in some respects be radically changed, with the purpose of procuring for our children a better education and an education of greater service and utility to meet the conditions of our chief industry which is agriculture (p. 5).

Chief among these concerns was the procurement and permanency of the teaching profession. Saskatchewan’s educational system was plagued by teacher shortages. The pamphlet (1915) outlined the central role a teacher had in the education of young people in rural communities. The teacher of a rural school should be a “person of character and weight” who could “exercise the desired influence” both on the community and the children attending the school (p.7). However, as Martin’s Deputy Minister of Education, Augustus Ball (1907) wrote, improvement of the rural school situation in Saskatchewan required much more than a teacher of good character:

There is a distinct movement at some centers in the province towards making the school a real educational force in the community. This tendency should be encouraged by the department. At present our regulations act like a ‘strait-jacket’ and any community attempting to carry out broader views of education is immediately held up by them. Our iron-bound regulations and courses have hindered educational development in this province more than any other single factor (p. 4).

There was a sense in the public mind, as the Saskatchewan Public Education League pamphlet (1915) suggests, that the next generation was abandoning the family farms on which the province’s wealth was based (p.7). However, with a crippling teacher shortage province-wide, the government was often forced to hire untrained and unsupervised young men and women to keep its rural, short-term schools open. The school system, the pamphlet insists, would only be a “useful and successful” institution in as much as it generated students “fitted and willing” to make agriculture their life’s work (p. 6). Notwithstanding this laudable goal, roughly 60 percent of parents in the province
felt that a grade five education was a suitable achievement for their children. Scott, faced with a public that wanted a more efficient education system but did not want their children to leave the family farm, cautioned that school reform would be an ongoing project that would take years. It would be William Martin, however and not Scott, who would begin the process of addressing the “rural school problem” as it existed in Saskatchewan.

Martin’s government was equally aware of the public’s growing disenchantment with the Liberals’ attempts to manage the school system. To address these concerns, Martin’s government commissioned a study of the rural schools in Saskatchewan in 1917. The government’s choice to conduct the survey was Harold W. Foght, an American rural school expert. Foght would conduct a survey of the provincial rural school system with the hopes of finding governmental solutions to the ever-growing problem of how to provide an education to a largely rural populace while perpetuating the agrarian economy on which the province depended. As the province’s population had expanded, the dilemma had grown in complexity and cost. The Saskatchewan Public Education League pamphlet (1915) clearly stated the problem: the results obtained in rural schools were very uneven, some areas had yet to establish schools and the trustee system was “archaic and unsuited to the province” (p.10). Before its inception in 1905, the province’s school system had been under the control of the Northwest Territorial council situated in Winnipeg. When Scott’s Liberal government enacted the Homestead Act in 1905, people flooded into the province so fast that the existing school system was overwhelmed. Under the Act, settlers could claim one-quarter-section of Saskatchewan land (160 acres) on the condition that they develop it for agriculture (Slough & Youck, 2007). This offer was
freely circulated throughout the United States and Europe. The resulting land grab-populated the prairie province with small farms spaced every half mile. It was during this period that Saskatchewan grew to become Canada’s third largest province by population. However, that population remained predominantly rural, with only 31 percent of those new immigrants living in urban centres (Anderson, 2007). As fast as the land was settled, the government organized it into school districts to provide a tax base for what seemed an educational system in constant flux. According to Scharf (2006), the North-West Territory School Ordinance of 1884 defined the basic unit of local school districts by “geographic size, number of ratepayers and number of students;” nothing else was considered (p.6). Each district was to be thirty-six square miles, no more than nine miles apart and containing at least four resident heads of families and ten students (p. 6). The schoolhouse was to be located at the centre of the district as close to the nearest village as possible; if no village existed, then the school would stand alone. Although the marked physical parameters as well as the requisite students and families that defined a school district would change throughout this period of rapid growth, it left but one solution to meet this challenge: a one-room school house with one teacher trained to teach an elementary curriculum to all levels. These teachers would be overseen by a cadre of school inspectors who would monitor curriculum, teacher decorum, school buildings and the physical plant and report back to the central government in Regina. The school, by governmental decree, was to be on one acre of land, fenced and planted with trees and shrubs. The school was to be clearly demarcated from the surrounding prairie through such environs. Seldom were the schools actually fenced or trees planted to break the prairie wind. It would be more than a decade before the school inspectors and the
government could convince the local trustees in charge of school monies that the school was the centre of the community life and as such should be aesthetically pleasing. As A. Kennedy, the inspector for the Weyburn district wrote in his annual report (1912) to the government:

… one is almost ashamed to admit that in a great majority of the districts the school is below the general standard of the community… every element of beauty that is brought to bear results in better men and women and a more thrift, prosperous and attractive community (p. 45).

A fundamental principle was introduced through an amendment to the Territory School Ordinance in 1886 that tied the boundaries of any separate school district to those of the public districts in Saskatchewan. Sissons (1959) contends this was significant as it:

…recognized one school, the product of the co-operative efforts of neighbours, as a natural thing in any community, and a separate school, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, as a recourse to be had only when religious differences could not be composed (p. 256).

Schools in the new province would be a community affair, and as such, the government would enshrine within its educational regime a respect for the local community values and conditions. This is one of the characteristics of the early Saskatchewan educational system: governmental respect for local control. This ordinance cemented the notion in the Saskatchewan population that local matters were best dealt with by local individuals. It particularly appealed, according to Scharf (2006), to the homesteaders and their self-image as independent self-sufficient individuals (p. 5). The respect granted this discourse by the government would prove problematic in the future. The government retained control over the “selection of textbooks, enforcement of regulations, school attendance, teacher certification, normal schools, teacher institutes, examinations, inspection of schools and curriculum” and in doing so had considerable
control over what was taught and how it was taught through its Council of Public Instruction (p. 5). This council would become the first Board of Education in 1901. However, the hiring and firing of teachers remained the purview of the local trustees. This in turn set up a duality of governance that would define another of the characteristics of this nascent system. Foght, in his report of 1918, would focus on this duality of governance as one of his solutions to the Saskatchewan ‘rural school problem.’

According to Scharf (2006), under the jurisdiction of the Council of Public Instruction, local ratepayers were responsible for “administration and managerial supervision of the school(s) in their districts” and the teachers employed by them (p. 7). Three trustees were elected by the members of the community, and charged with the responsibility to hire teachers, administer the schools and set the rate of taxation (p. 7). The board was obliged to have an annual meeting in which the past and future operations of the school district could be discussed. These meetings were open to the public. The state in turn provided inspectors, set curriculum and curricular materials, and established courses of study. Thus, the responsibility of hiring of teachers was placed at the local level while the central authority focused on developing and maintaining the proper standards of education. This led to a confusing over-lap of authority. Desperate for staff, school boards often hired teachers with little or no Normal School training. Although short in length, Normal School or Teacher College training was essential to the success of the teacher managing a rural school on their own. This shortage of teachers forced the government to issue provisional certificates that ultimately undermined any attempts to modernize the curriculum or the system of governance to stabilize the migratory tendencies of the teaching pool.
Scharf (2006) writes that eventually the state established a grant structure for schools that reflected 1) teacher certification, 2) average daily student attendance, 3) inspectors’ reports on the school’s operations, 4) the number of additional teachers and 5) the number of students in advanced classes (p. 6). In short, this grant structure introduced the discourses of supervision that would govern the funding of Saskatchewan’s school districts. As well, these same discourses regulated the funding levels of multiple teacher schools and the different funding structures for the elementary and secondary levels (p. 6). Although the government maintained control of the governance and organizational structure of local jurisdictions, it had not enshrined in legislation the child’s right to an education and the state’s duty to provide it. This was probably due to the system of duality of governance or the respect for parental rights that were enshrined in English Common law (see Foucault, 2007). However, there still remained much of the province, which for various reasons, had failed to establish school districts. Of this lack and the failure of some school districts to form, Toombs (1962) writes:

There were many reasons for school boards’ failure to function. Ignorance of the law and lack of capable men [sic] within the district; local disagreements; inability to speak the English language; apathy on the part of residents; fear that through the organization of school districts, all language and religious privileges would disappear… all these factors made impossible the operation of local control in some foreign speaking communities (p. 48).

This is another of the defining characteristics of the educational system in Saskatchewan: it would be used as a governmental tool of inclusion, bringing together individuals born on different continents, speaking different languages and with little or no understanding of each other. In short, it would define what was a citizen rather than who was a citizen. This was an on-going governmental intervention that had begun in Great
Britain during the eighteenth century and carried on throughout the Victorian era (see Foucault, 2007). These discourses are not solely responsible for the rural school problem in Saskatchewan; there are many others. However, through a careful reading of the Foght report (1918), it is clear that Foght was aware of the ruralness of Saskatchewan. He was also well aware of the respect that the Saskatchewan government had for local input. Foght (1918) made it very clear in his report that he considered such respect an anachronism. In the preamble of his report Foght wrote: “the province is overwhelmingly agricultural and pastoral… the total population in 1916 was of 647,835; 471,673 or 72.24 percent” is considered rural (p.10). Foght (1918) dismissed the northern portion of the province as “practically unsettled,” describing the land as “being of Laurentian origin, a broken country of granite... covered with scattering timber” and as such unsuitable for development (p.9). Foght arrived at the topographical and economic conclusion that Saskatchewan was an agriculture province and this endeavour more than any other would fire the province's economic engine:

Outside of farming and stock raising, the industries include lumbering, flour milling, fishing, coal mining, the fur trade, and some manufacturing which, while by no means unimportant, do not employ a large percentage of the population. The foundation and mainstay of the economic activities’ of Saskatchewan are its rich and abundant soil. Out of it comes practically 90 percent of the people's wealth (p.10).

In the same preamble, Foght (1918) is critical of the Saskatchewan education system, writing that it “is no longer adequate for modern uses” and the people of Saskatchewan had “failed” to utilize their schools as they should (p. 8) Chronic teaching shortages in rural districts were caused by “abnormal opportunities in other occupations and other causes…” that have “conspired to make it difficult to…keep in the profession [an] adequate number of well-prepared and properly trained teachers” needed to
administer the growing number of rural schools (p. 8). In short, the government was employing outdated models of educational management and this had resulted in the ‘rural school problem.’ The survey was a stinging indictment. The report pointed out the many problems associated with the systems of governance employed by the Scott and Martin governments. However, it also took for granted the discourses that established this governance. Foght (1918) did not consider who had the educational expertise to speak for the system or how the people of Saskatchewan viewed its role in this new society.

Discourse, particularly governmental discourse, refers to the way in which knowledge is constituted within social practices, subjectivities and power relations. As such, Foght failed to acknowledge the governmental discourses and their associated social practices that had shaped the nascent system. According to Weedon (1987), discourse is more than a way of thinking and producing meaning; it has force and impact. Discourse “constitutes the ‘nature’ of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects” it seeks to modify (p. 108). The term was used extensively by Michel Foucault (1926-84) to describe the product of the relationship between power/knowledge within a historical-philosophical research framework. The ambition of such research, according to Foucault (1978), was to:

…find out…what are the connections that can be identified between the mechanisms of coercion and elements of knowledge, what is the interplay of relay and support developed between them, such that a given element of knowledge takes on the effects of power in a given system where it is allocated to a true, probable, uncertain or false element such that a procedure of coercion acquires the very form and justification of a rational, calculated, technically efficient element… (p. 50).

Thus, as Foucault (1978) contends “knowledge which is acceptable at a certain point in time” and power that “merely cover[s] a whole series of particular mechanisms
definable and defined” induce behaviours that reflect our understanding of the world around us and our position within reality (p.51). Discourses have real and imagined impact; they also have a historicity. However, as Foucault (1978) insists, with this historical-philosophical analysis there can be “no foundational recourse, [or] escape within a pure form” (p. 55). As a result, there can be no return to the original field where discourse does not already exist. People have always generated discourse. Thus it was impossible to return to a place where the education system could be made anew. Foght’s attempt to rebuild the province’s educational system ignored the historicity of the discourses generated by two successive Liberal governments. The term historicity refers to the actuality of events and the actions of individuals within a historical context as opposed to historical myth or legend. These discourses had been growing in a capillary fashion since before the province’s formation, entwining knowledge and power in such a way as to generate a ‘truth’ regarding the role of education in Saskatchewan society. The report is remarkable in that Foght does not address the genesis of these discourses, but rather accepts them as a defect that must be corrected. His solutions were too simple: tear down the system and begin anew. Base the new system of governance on the rural U.S. model. However, it is odd that the government of Saskatchewan dismissed the survey so thoroughly; expert knowledge is usually not so easily cast aside. As an educational expert, Foght was one of the new emerging governmental actors on the stage of twentieth century state formation. As Ball (2013) writes, the new state schools in the early twentieth century were “part of a matrices of other building, bureaucracies and practices,” that constituted a “grid of power and knowledge” that was essential to state formation (p. 43). Expert knowledge was crucial to the development of this matrix. To reject expert
advice on how to improve this nascent system was to tamper with the development of these governmental edifices. Nevertheless, Foght had problematized the regime of governance in the Saskatchewan educational system without addressing the governmental discourses that had, in fact, generated the problems associated with that governance. The report was doomed from the start. It did not address the way in which the hierarchy of governance was generated, how authority was allocated, how the ‘truth’ of the system was established or the way in which those within the regime (teachers, trustees and inspectors) were disciplined by that truth. The report and the Saskatchewan government’s rejection of many of its recommendations represent a cleavage in the discursive field that generated this regime of governance. Cleavages in discourse, such as the Foght report, reveal inconsistencies in that field’s formation. As Foucault (1980) writes, these inconsistencies are the results of the sublimation of “subjugated” or “disqualified” knowledges (p. 82). Such knowledges question and trouble the hegemony of traditional historic narratives, which are often accepted as unshakable truths, while revealing truths that have been lost to time.

Foght, through his insistence on school consolidation and municipal governance, dismissed the Saskatchewan governmental principles of local control, duality of governance and the need for the system to be inclusive. Consequently, Martin’s government rejected Foght’s report as untenable. The syncretism of these principles and their ultimate support by the government of the day generated yet another characteristic of the education system that is particularly instructive to understanding the development of teacher subjectivities in these early years: scarcity.
1.1 Scarcity and security: the art of liberal reason and governmentality

By the time Foght conducted his review of the province’s educational system, scarcity had become a salient feature of the Saskatchewan school system: not enough resources, not enough trustees, not enough equipped and supported schools, but most importantly, not enough teachers. The percentage of foreign trained teachers in Saskatchewan dropped from a high of 66 percent in 1906 to 25 percent by 1915, leaving the provincial Normal Schools to make up the difference (Annual report, 1916, p. 11). Even as Saskatchewan grappled with this shortage, new school districts continued to be formed, trustees elected and school houses built. This generated more pressure for the government to manage the crisis. In 1917, the year of the Foght review, the government was forced to issue 937 provisional teaching certificates (Annual Report, 1917, p. 12). Many of those receiving these certificates were, as Foght (1918) would later write, “mere boys and girls, seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years of age, with meager academic qualifications” holding permanent standing in the teaching profession (p. 113). Such a statement brings into question the effectiveness of the governmental interventions intended to ease the teacher shortage. Davidson (2007) labels government interventions, such as the Foght review of the rural school problem in Saskatchewan as, “governmentality,” a term coined by Foucault. For Foucault (1991a), governmentality is defined by three characteristics:
The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections; the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex, form of power, which has as its principal form of knowledge political economy as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led toward the pre-eminence of this type of power that may be called government over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs [knowledges].

The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administration state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually became‘ governmentalized’ (pp. 102,103)

Rose (1996) contends that governmentality consists of “ordering themultitudinous affairs of a territory and its population in order to ensure its well-being” while simultaneously managing the various governmental interventions, edifices, personnel and the authority associated with each. Modern “liberal mentalities of rule” according to Rose (1996), became dependent on “rendering intelligible and practical” the syncretism of the individual and population in order to mark out the ambit of governance (p. 44). This form of liberalism emerged as a political force in the eighteenth century and grew in the twentieth. Miller & Rose (2008) define it as a philosophy that limits the exercise of power by political authorities while obliging these same authorities to promote “self-organizing capacities” of individual subjects and groups (p.59). Its goal is to ensure the well-being, security and continuation of the state and its citizens. Davidson (2007) links such political actions with the exercise of pastoral power that “take[s] as the object of their techniques and practices the conduct” of individuals (p. xix). As such,
liberalism and the governmentality associated with it, focus both on the individual subject and the population as a whole.

There are, as Ball (2013) writes, two “techniques and two politics” involved in this form of liberal rule: discipline and regulation (p. 45). The two intertwine in the purpose of population management. Discipline is “anatomo-politics and regulation is biopolitics” (p. 45). The former’s focus is the individual body and the latter is concerned with the regulation of population. Biopolitics, or bio-power, is concerned with the internal dangers and risks associated with management of the population and the state.

The three governing principles of the Saskatchewan educational system, local control, the duality of governance and the need for the system to be inclusive, reflect this concern for both the individual and the community. It was not enough for the government to educate its population. Individuals had to be molded into responsible free citizens. As Ball contends, through this lens, discipline is “individualizing” while biopolitics is “globalizing” (p. 45). Both play a fundamental part in the establishment of the social norm that regulates the population. One may see governmentality and bio-politics as the heir to the pastoral power of the church; the government assumes the role of the church and becomes the benevolent shepherd of the flock.

Scarcity and its management by governmental intervention, Foucault (2007) contends, involves the deployment of an apparatus of security (p. 34). An apparatus of security is a governmental mechanism associated with this form of bio-rule. In an expansion of his analysis of power relations, Foucault contends that it is through an apparatus of security that governments, whether directly or indirectly, attempt to shape the subjectivities of its citizens to meet certain governmental and political goals.
Apparatuses of security began to emerge at the start of the eighteenth century when European nation states began to look for new governmental mechanisms to manage their populations. The inspectors of the Saskatchewan educational system are representative of an apparatus of security. Their function was to anticipate and monitor the educational system for inherent flaws and to provide solutions. As J. A. Calder wrote in his annual report of 1908, this cadre of inspectors allowed the Department of Education of the government of Saskatchewan to “exercise considerable control and restraint in the best interests” of the citizens of the province (p. 11).

Foucault (1995) writes that it was the rise of the bourgeoisie that made possible the birth of the liberal society with its focus on the rights and freedoms of individuals. However, as Hunter (1994) reminds us, personal freedom is not always to the benefit of the individual citizen; it has a political manifestation as well:

Significant private freedoms associated with ‘liberal societies’…far from being the expressions of democratic institutions or popular resistance, were means by which the administrative state pacified fratricidal communities (p. 43).

The governments of Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century adapted their governmental mechanisms and techniques to manage the population in an attempt to condition the population’s acceptance of these new rights and freedoms in a way that would ensure the best outcome for all. Security and its use by governments are directly tied to these increasing rights and freedoms granted the population in a liberal society. This governmental focus was, in part, directed toward shaping the population to accept and manage these new rights and freedoms responsibly, thus fulfilling a political aim in which the government had a vested interest. As Rose (1996) writes, the state’s objective for good rule was to “fuse” the obligations associated with a free acting subject with the
responsibility of maximizing one’s own existence (p. 46) To achieve such a union the state surrounds its subjects with a “web of vocabularies, injunctions, promises, dire warnings and threats of interventions” to achieve a perceived social norm, aspects of which can be real or imagined (p. 46). According to Ball (2013), this approach viewed the population, as “a resource [which] had to be garnered and nurtured” through the “mundane objectives of the administrat[ive] state:” social order, responsible government, economic prosperity and social welfare (p. 44). Although Foucault (2007) places these emerging governmental mechanisms historically at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Europe, it would not be inconceivable to imagine the government of Saskatchewan grappling with such problems after its formation in 1905. Like Great Britain during the industrial revolution, the rapid growth of Saskatchewan’s immigrant population, challenged the province, as Ball writes (2013), with “new and specific economic and political problems” requiring “very complex technologies of securities” (p. 57). The state school became a key element in this strategy, a “place of cleanliness, order and productivity” that inculcated students into the behaviours associated with responsible citizenship (p. 56). W.S. Cram wrote in his annual report of 1914 regarding the role of schooling in molding the citizenry of the province:

We have great educational problems to solve in this new growing country. But none greater or more fraught with meaning to the future of our land than the moulding into one body the diverse elements of this Canadian west (p. 80).

Thus, the security of the state was tied to educating its citizens. The ability of the state to inculcate these responsibilities within its citizens required a functioning education system with well-trained teachers and modern facilities. The school inspectors were the means by which the state could promote this process. They were part of this apparatus of
security. The emerging political rationality was, as Foucault writes (1982), an extension of the pastoral power exercised by the church in the sixteenth century; however, in this “form of pastoral power,” “salvation in the next world” is replaced by ensuring it in this one (pp. 783, 784). Through this political reasoning, salvation takes on new meanings. Salvation is ensured through good “health, well-being (that is sufficient wealth, standard of living)...protection against accidents,” while the security provided by the state to pursue these goals replaces the religious aims of the traditional pastorate (self-denial, self-reflection, caring for oneself and others) (p. 784). According to Foucault (2007), an apparatus of security is part of a larger set of mechanisms, that allows the “basic biological features of the human species” to become the object of political strategies (p. 1). Through an analysis of these mechanisms Foucault sought to:

investigate where and how, between whom, between what points, according to what processes, and with what effects, power is applied. If we accept that power is not a substance, fluid, or something that derives from a particular source, then this analysis could and would only be at most a beginning of a theory, not a theory of what power is, but simply of power in terms of the set of mechanisms and procedures that have the role or function and theme, even if they are unsuccessful, of securing power (p. 2).

In Foucault’s (2007) concept of governmentality, an apparatus of security became a necessary part of the modern art of governance. Classic nineteenth-century liberal dogma had realized that a “totally administered society” was not possible (p. 33). With the rise of the concept of ‘society,’ a new dilemma appeared on the horizon for many European states: how is government possible (p. 33)? How does government limit its actions and interventions “such that things will occur for the best” within society while not resorting to forceful intercession (p. 33)? For Miller and Rose (2008) these “indirect mechanisms” of rule enabled governments to set up far flung colonies around the world,
greatly increasing the wealth and productivity of the state while administering and managing them from afar (p.33). These developments in the rationality of governance were made possible, write Miller and Rose (2008), because “in various technical ways” these far off colonies were “mobilized” or brought into “centers of calculation” through the formation of maps, reports, drawings, articles and books, which would not be distorted in the long journey home, unlike an oral story. Expert knowledge was used to define, demarcate and classify these exotic locales. This generated a concept, that is, a set of knowledges often full of misrepresentations and caricatures but supported by expert knowledge. It can be said that such a mechanism came into play in the formation of the education system as the Saskatchewan government attempted to govern far-flung communities in the province. According to Stoler (1995) the inspectors’ reports of each of their school districts represent a “social geography” (p.1). These in turn led to “specific strategies of [governmental] rule” that, within the context of the Saskatchewan educational system, shaped specific teacher subjectivities. This exercise of power would be combined to produce a syncretism or an attempted amalgamation of different cultures, thoughts and ideas that would further ‘define’ the cultural practice, the place and the people in a way that would eventually alter both the perceptions of those colonized by this process and the colonizers themselves (p. 34). Of this relationship Foucault (2003) writes:

It should never be forgotten that while colonization, with its techniques and its political and judicial weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonization, or an internal colonization, on itself  (p. 103).
As such, the school system in Saskatchewan can be thought of as a colonizing institution. It would be the tool used to satisfy the government’s insistence that the population be inclusive, turning each and every little one room school into a ‘centre of calculation’ for the government to, in many ways, colonize the province. Of this phenomenon, Foucault (2003) contends that:

To say that power took possession of life in the nineteenth century, or to say that power at least takes life under its care in the nineteenth century, is to say that it has, thanks to the play of technologies of discipline on the one hand and technologies of regulation on the other, succeeded in covering the whole surface that lies between the organic and the biological, between body and population. We are, then, in a power that has taken control of both the body and life or that has, if you like, taken control of life in general – with the body as one pole and the population as the other (p. 253).

The result is that the conduct of individual students becomes intertwined with the conduct of the population. For Stoler (1995), the emergence of bio-power as a political rational represents the union of the disciplined subject with the regulating effects of liberal governmental reason. Rose (1996) suggests that this form of governance does not seek to set out the “norms of individual conduct,” but rather relies on a series of “truth claims of expertise” and the “the devices of social rule” generated by public servants including teachers, inspectors and trustees (p. 40). As such, the decisions of the Saskatchewan government to intervene in the educational choices of its citizens were enacted or abandoned on the power of the ‘truths’ supplied by these experts. This must not be seen as government “extend[ing] its tentacles throughout [the] society,” but rather that the citizen subject is, as Rose (1996) writes:
...governed through society, that is to say, through acting upon them in relation to a social norm, and constituting their experiences and evaluations in a social form...where the subject invented in the nineteenth century was subject to a kind of individualizing moral normativity, [this]...was a subject of needs, attitudes and relationships, a subject who was to be embraced within, and governed through, a nexus of collective solidarities and dependencies (p. 40).

Modern liberal political reason, what Rose (1996) refers to as “advanced liberal rule,” refines this form of governance further. Replacing the reliance on expertise with “rationalities of competition, accountability and consumer demand” thus allowing the citizen subject to assume responsibility for their own existence (p.41). Generating subjects that through their “regulated choices [and] aspirations to self-actualization” effectively self-regulate their behaviours in accordance [with] prescribed norm (p.41), thus, coining of the phrase ‘managing the conduct of conduct.’ As Davidson (2007) writes, “conduct is the activity of conducting,” but it also refers to “the way in which one conducts oneself” and let’s oneself be conducted (p. xix). In other words, the exercise of conducting governmental mechanisms consists of “guiding the possibility” of and “putting in order the possible” outcomes, while managing the risk associated with governmental intervention (p. 789). For Beasley & Peters (2007) politics becomes inseparable from “modern forms of biology,” thus, the art of governance is bound to the art of living and the “truth and subjectivity” of the individual (p. 145). Biology and politics are fused in this form of liberalism, hence the term: bio-politics.

The government of Saskatchewan insisted that the rural school be placed in the middle of the school district, regardless of where that was. This edict was often ignored or abused by local rate payers, particularly in the early years of the formation of the province. J. A. Calder (1908) commented in his annual report:
...persons do not scruple through the medium of correspondence to misrepresent the actual physical conditions in connection with the school site and endeavor to mislead the department into approving locations which upon investigation afterwards are found unsuitable (pp. 8,9).

Often schools were built and subsequently torn down to be rebuilt at the centre of the district. This form of resistance shapes further governmental interventions. As such, resistance to conduction is an essential element in shaping the possible fields of conduct. Moreover, it is an essential element. According to Davidson (2007), resistance injects an “ethical component” that allows one to move “between the ethical and the political” providing an analysis of their many points of contact and intersection (p. xxi). It is at these points of contact that Beasley & Peters (2007) contend that the relations between the government and the governance of the self merge, and the freedom of the individual becomes a “resource” rather than the hindrance (p. 132). Thus, the relationship between the individual and the community, the community and the government, or the government and the individual can be seen as an inherently unstable, a complex interplay of power descending and ascending through the societal hierarchy. If as Foucault (1982) asserts “to govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of actions of others,” then counter-conduct is to structure the field of political action and the governmental intervention associated with that field (p.790). Through this lens, it is possible to view the first twenty years of the Saskatchewan educational system as a time when governmental techniques on the local scale were being linked up, both with each other and the central authority, generating both foreseen and unexpected results. This may also explain how the interventions proposed by both the Scott and Martin governments in Regina appear, on the surface at least, so halting and uncertain.
1.2 Inspectors: the apparatus of security

Foucault (2007) writes that an apparatus of security has specific features and can be divided into three modalities. The first can be simply described as the admonishment “thou shall not:” thou shall not kill, thou shall not lie and thou shall not steal. This modality is represented as a simple binary, the prohibition against a certain action. Foucault refers to it as the legal modality. The second modality is found in a series of “supervisions, checks… inspections” and controls designed to be exercised so that the ‘thou shall not’ will never be attempted. At one end, these checks and balances seek to identify a problem before it occurs. At the other, once the probation has been breached, a series of punishment techniques, “obligatory work, moralization, correction” and finally reintegration are introduced in an attempt to moderate behaviour. Foucault (2007) refers to this as the disciplinary modality (p.4). The third modality is security. It is of the same matrix as the other two, but focuses on the probability of the event or phenomenon. This modality represents a further step in the governance of conduct. The event, phenomenon or individual, is both within the disciplinary mechanism and outside it. Accordingly, with the performance of an act that transgresses the disciplinary mechanism “a series of adjacent, detective, medical, and psychological techniques appear” situated in a “domain of surveillance [and] diagnoses” that are then applied to the deviant individual (pp. 5, 6). This modality is not all legal or all disciplinary but rather some of both, and is associated with management of risk. In short, the apparatus of security “inserts the phenomenon in question,” ‘thou shall not,’ into a series of probabilities (p. 6). Thus, “reactions of power” to the phenomenon have certain characteristics: they are inserted with a calculation of cost while establishing “a bandwidth” of acceptability that can be
measured, recorded and reflected in the next similar intervention (p.6). In this way a
“completely different distribution of things and mechanisms” begins to take shape during
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p. 6). Foucault (2007) provides this example:

…in the tradition of the Middle Ages and the Classical age, the legal
code concerning theft was very simple. If you consider the
[contemporary] body of legislation concerning not only theft, but
theft by children, the penal status of children, mental responsibility,
and the whole body of legislation regarding what are called, precisely,
security measures, the supervision of individuals after they leave a
penal institution, you can see that getting these systems of security to
work involves a real inflation of the juridico-legal code (p.

Security, therefore, is not about discipline, punishment or the breaking of a legal
code. It involves an expansion of laws, surveillance, statistical data, disciplinary
techniques and governmental mechanisms intended to modify conduct while measuring
and managing the risk associated with certain behaviours. Thus, for many of the
inspectors of Saskatchewan schools there was a pressing need to inculcate the immigrant
populace in the importance of the schooling within the community and the importance of
education to the country as a whole. It was the means by which the rights and freedoms
associated with a liberal democracy could be secured for all. J.G. McKechnie (1916),
inspector for the Silton district, reflects on this in his annual report:

In this connection it is well to remember that education is not a local
but a national benefit. Good work done in one school benefits not only
that district but the whole country. Therefore no land should be exempt
from the burden of supporting education. (p. 105)

Foucault (2007) writes that these governmental rationalities do not appear as
successive elements; there is no legal era followed by a disciplinary era and finally a
security era. These modalities involve “a series of edifices” in which the governmental
mechanisms are changed and perfected, as the correlation between “juridico-legal
mechanisms, disciplinary mechanisms and the mechanisms of security” become increasingly intertwined and complex (p.8). For Foucault there is a history associated with the disciplinary techniques generated by these governmental mechanisms, in any given society or sector in any given time. Often these techniques take up each other and multiply on each other, only to be redeployed “within a specific tactic” of governmental intervention (pp. 8, 9). It is the history of these governmental interventions that is of interest. How they became interconnected, and how they work through each other and shaped the practice of the teaching profession in the province and the subjectivities of the teachers with unexpected results. One such example was the way in which the government of Saskatchewan addressed its teacher shortage. The provisional certificates issued by the government provided the means to address this issue however, such actions also resulted in a teacher cadre that was inexperienced and poorly trained, which is hardly the results the government envisioned.

An apparatus of security, according to Foucault (2007), has specific features which are unique to its operation. Firstly, unlike a disciplinary field which requires an enclosed space, and only exists “insofar as there is a multiplicity and an end;” an apparatus of security opens up to encompass as much as it can (p.12). Secondly, an apparatus of security endeavours to manage “the problem of the uncertain, the aleatory” present within modern societies (p. 11). As such, there is an element of normalization associated with it, in that an apparatus of security attempts to establish the parameters of the phenomenon. In doing so this governmental apparatus “integrates [the] individual phenomenon within a collective field, but in the form of quantification,” thus, establishing a scale of acceptability (p. 60). Thirdly, there is a correlation within the
mechanism of an apparatus of security “between the technique of security and population as both object and subject” (p.11). In short, the population is the object to be governed while it also remains the subject that governs, paralleling the need for the freedom of the individual that is required to conduct conduct. This correlation between the population as both object and subject of governance introduced the notion of economy into this governmental rationality. The term ‘economy’ in this sense is utilized as it was perceived in the eighteenth century. Economy therefore refers to “the wise government of the house for the… good” of all within (p. 95). The word ‘economy’ marked a form of government that “through a series of complex processes” designated the “level of reality” as well as the “field of intervention” by which government could intervene in the lives of its citizens (p. 95). As such, an economy of government demarcated the depth and length of governmental interventions. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to be able to measure cause and effect and the probability of achieving the desired result. These governmental mechanisms (strategies), such as an apparatus of security, involved the deployment of a cadre of school inspectors, utilizing a series of techniques (tactics) that were legal, administrative and also disciplinary to monitor the effectiveness of the governmental intervention on the local level. One would find similar governmental techniques or tactics being utilized in health, architecture, manufacturing, and commerce to name a few. These mechanisms generate norms that determine the success of the technique, but also allow the collection of data to inform further interventions and adjustments to the field. These governmental strategies and the economy associated with it were focused not on securing, protecting or expanding territory, but rather on the government of oneself. Foucault (2007) describes this as “morality,” but it goes far beyond the governance of the
self; it includes the governance of others, which is politics. As stated above, politics involves the use of economy, which reflects the art of governing well (pp. 93, 94). Foucault contends the individual who attempts to govern the state must first “know how to govern himself at one level; at another, his/her family, and lastly, his or her goods and lands” (p. 94). Correspondingly when the state is governed well, “fathers know how to govern their families and wealth” and will “also conduct themselves properly” as citizens (p. 94). Foght (1918) reflects this economy in his report as he recommended that all school inspectors be men and women of distinction, with post-secondary degrees or experience in a successful business adventure. Of the selection of school inspectors, he wrote:

…certainly, if college graduates cannot be found who have the other essential qualification, such as successful experience, administrative ability, etc., it is better to take the ‘self-made’ man who has the latter qualifications (p. 35).

Every year during the period of 1905 to 1920 the Department of Education in Saskatchewan published the school inspectors’ reports on their district in an annual report. The inspectors were the ultimate governmental authority in every school they examined; they had the power to close a school, fire teachers and replace the trustees. Their presence, however, was somewhat limited due to terrain, population and distance. It was these men who made the decisions to issue the provisional certificates to the teachers Foght (1918) referred to as “mere boys and girls” (p. 113). The school inspectors were all educated, propertied men, in charge of a largely female and rural workforce. The inspectors, reports on their school districts reflected the government of Saskatchewan’s attempt to generate a notion of the province’s population. In essence, they were charged with the gathering of data that would inform and generate a relationship between rural
and urban communities, allowing the government to ‘act from a distance.’ The
disciplinary, legal and security techniques employed by the inspectors reflect what
Foucault (2007) referred to as, the emerging:

…technologies of security within mechanisms that are either
specifically mechanisms of social control, as in the case of the penal
system, or mechanisms within the function of modifying something
in the biological destiny of the species (p. 10).

The uncertainty of such interventions can be seen in the introduction of
mandatory attendance laws in the Saskatchewan educational system. Introduced in 1909,
this governmental intervention was intended to address child labour on family farms.
Many of the provinces’ citizens utilized their children as cheap farm labour. This was a
concern for the government, as Augustus Ball (1909) inspector for the Yorkton district,
commented in his annual report:

I sometimes think that steps will have to be taken to prevent child-
labour on the farm, for its results are bound to be a menace to the
physical, mental, and moral development of the children in portions
of the province (p. 34)

Ball was an interesting man. Born in London in 1873 as one of nine children he
graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1895. He began his educational career
teaching in Fort Qu’Appelle, and became a school inspector in 1905. In 1912, he became
the Deputy Minister of Education in William Martin’s Liberal government. It was a
position he would hold for sixteen years, save for two years’ absence serving with the
Canadian Expeditionary Force from 1916 to 1918. Much of the legislation that helped to
establish the Saskatchewan educational system passed through his hands.

The mandatory attendance law was repeatedly ignored; ratepayers didn’t want it,
while trustees did not want to enforce it and bring the law to bear on a neighbour. It was
clear that the government considered the matter closed regardless of the way in which it was addressed at the local level. A problem had been identified and the government had acted. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the inspector’s reports reveals that this governmental strategy was intended to address more than child labour. Many of the inspectors assumed that if attendance rates grew so would the length of the school year. As Moose Jaw district inspector W.T. Hawkings (1912) wrote, improving attendance was an indicator that the population of the province was aware of the importance of education and displayed a willingness on the part of parents to forgo using their children as cheap farm labour (p. 58). With the advent of a longer school year, the teacher cadre could grow and mature, leading to better teacher retention and thus stabilizing the chronic shortage of teachers. The law on attendance addressed the mandatory number of days children under the age of fourteen had to attend school. It would not reach its full impact until the government appointed a provincial attendance officer, D.S. Carmel, in 1917, and charged the provincial police the task of enforcing it. Even with the efficacious coupling of application and enforcement, the government allowed an exemption from the law during seeding and harvesting. There were 63,728 exemptions issued in 1917; 50 percent of the school age children between the ages of seven and fourteen applied for and received an exemption from the law (Annual Reports, 1917, p. 15). The mandatory attendance laws led to revisions in the collection and interpretation of statistical data, which eventually brought about the standardization of those attendance statistics across Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. It is very clear that these events were far more than a simple dyad of cause and effect. These governmental mechanisms built upon each other, were taken up in different ways, thwarted, revised and reintroduced.
This particular governmental strategy was one of many used to secure the rural school as a site of governmental intervention in the lives of the citizens of the province. Much like the fencing and beautifying of the grounds of the school, the aim of this strategy was to set the school apart from the rest of the community, marking it as a special place, a ‘centre of calculation.’ The inspectors engaged with attitudes regarding schooling that were as diverse as the immigrant population. They attempted to alter those perceptions through the deployment of a series of governmental techniques that would bring the public view of education into line with government policies. Thus, the scarcity of teachers in Saskatchewan was both a collective and individual phenomenon. The inspectors’ reports provide a gauge to the effectiveness of governmental techniques employed in managing that phenomenon. It is necessary to acknowledge the rather stumbling nature of this procedure. The government did not even codify their inspectors’ reports until 1917. The individual reports often reflect different techniques of measurement rather than standardization. Some reports are quite short and contain little information while others rely solely on anecdotal observations that cannot be verified. In the 1916 Annual report to the Department of Education, the shortest inspectors’ report is one and a half pages while the longest is over thirteen pages in length. Each one is unique and yet part of the greater whole. It is the relationship between state power and state knowledge which totalizes and individualizes these reports and the subjects that made them. Once all is known regarding an individual, he or she becomes both an object of study and a known, delineated, subject. Thus, the inspectors’ reports are on the one hand personal observation, and on the other governmental discourse.
With the unprecedented population growth experienced throughout the first twenty years of the province’s existence, it is possible to understand the difficulty associated with trying to comprehend the situation while labouring inside it. There were too many variables in the equation. Foght (1918), however, was clearly critical of this attempt to manage the school system. He was unequivocal in his criticism: what the inspectors were doing was not supervision. Professional supervision “as now understood,” Foght wrote, “has little place in the present educational system” in Saskatchewan (p. 33). Foght pointed to the American system in which supervision was decentralized and reached upward from the local level to county or township as the proper model for school supervision (p. 37). Foght insisted that “the open country and the small village schools have no provisions for close, effective supervision” and even in the towns and cities this most important unifying function was not in place (p. 33). The province’s “newness,” the rapid growth of the school system and the vast distances needing to be covered make any kind of oversight virtually impossible. This lack of supervision, as Foght (1918) noted in his report, removed a prominent support from rural teachers (p.33). According to Foght “the men that are in charge of these duties are properly called inspectors” they are appointed by the Government and are “representatives of the Department of Education, charged with carrying to the people and local schools the educational policy” of the government of Saskatchewan, but that was all. “They attempt to visit schools once a year” travelling through bad weather and on bad roads which “interfere with the completion of these rounds;” however “this is incidental inspection only” wrote Foght (1918), it cannot in any “sense of the word be construed as professional supervision of school work” (p.33).
The data collected and returned to the central government in Regina by the inspectors may not have formed an accurate picture of education in rural Saskatchewan as rural schools were seldom inspected more than once a year due to time constraints and weather. However, it was through these governmental mechanisms (local control, the duality of governance, the need for the system to be inclusive, scarcity and the notion of the economy of governance) that the government sought to shape the educational system to reflect its own political agenda. It is not that the government set out to make the citizens of Saskatchewan become, as Foucault (1982) writes “more and more obedient,” but rather the government sought to encourage “a better invigilated process of adjustment” that was more “rational and economic” in its productivity and communication (p. 788). As such, the cadre of inspectors in Saskatchewan was more than a disciplinary regime in this educational milieu; it was a regime of security trying to gauge the probable outcomes for the government. It is easy, therefore, to understand that in so many of the inspectors’ reports of this era, one finds that the teacher stands at the centre of the all the woes associated with the ‘rural school problem.’ However, I would assert that the three modalities of power found in this apparatus of security, one legal, one disciplinary and one governmental, have a unique history in Saskatchewan. Through the lens of this history, the chronic teaching shortage and the inspectors’ reports, one can begin to see the multiplying of each of these modalities as well as their deployment and redeployment into thousands of small one room school houses. Their effect on the formation of teacher subjectivities in the nascent system cannot be underestimated.
1.3 A few good men…

How did these governing principles emerge in Saskatchewan, and why were they so powerful? They are, in their essence, Ryersonian. They developed in Ontario several decades before the formation of the province of Saskatchewan. Reverend Egerton Ryerson was the superintendent of Ontario’s schools from 1844 to 1876; his impact on Canadian schooling as a whole cannot be denied. Ryerson was a prodigious writer and his views on education were widely circulated through the publication of educational pamphlets and quotes in several of the editorial pages of Upper Canadian newspapers. He seemed to enjoy debating his detractors in the public press. Education was much in the minds of the populace in Upper Canada during his tenure. Ryerson’s publications where anticipated and read with great enthusiasm by the public. The ambiguity of the citizenry regarding the merits of universal and compulsory education is clearly revealed in his and his detractors’ letters to the editor. The Foght (1918) report would revive those same debates in Saskatchewan 40 years later. If it were not for Ryerson’s prodigious and public support for educational change, it is unlikely the zeitgeist of the citizenry of Upper Canada would be known. Prentice (1977) refers to individuals like Ryerson as school promoters, describing them as “generally progressive, even democratic in tendency and as reflecting broad popular need” within the society (p. 14). For Prentice, Ryerson and his ilk, propertied, protestant and middle class men of business, were responding to what they perceived as a fundamental shift in societal understanding of the nature of children and their place in society (p. 21). Childhood was now seen by society as an important and unique phase of life during which children need to be nurtured and protected. Such new perspectives required new governmental mechanisms and techniques. To understand this
governmental shift, it is necessary to understand why Ryerson and his supporters were so passionate about educational reform.

Schooling in Upper Canada before the Ryerson era, as Prentice (1977) writes, was largely taken for granted by government officials and the populace. Education was considered voluntary and the bailiwick of the family. The fundamental educational institutions were considered to be the workshop, the field and the household (p. 15). There were very few large educational institutions. Most that existed were affiliated with religious institutions. These schools followed the monitorial method, and taught the ‘three R’s,’ largely through rote instruction. Furthermore, schools as, Ball (2013) writes, were often associated with many of the social ills they sought to address, namely delinquency, filth, moral degradation and disease. Rather than remedying these problems, schools were viewed by the public as exacerbating them. Ball contends that teachers and learners “were positioned within systems of inspection and comparison and terror,” bound by a “payment by results” system that could not be reliably tested (p. 42). Roberts (1971) writes of the school conditions in the late nineteenth century:

Under appalling conditions in our school the staff worked earnestly but with no great hope. The building itself stood face on to one of the largest marshalling yards in the North. All day long the roar of a work -a-day world invaded the school hall, where each instructor, shouting in competition, taught up to sixty children massed together. From the log book it is clear that rarely did a week pass with all teachers present. Fortunately for the size of the classes anything up to a quarter of the pupils would stay away too, perhaps in sympathy. One of our dominies, a frail young Scot, had, we thought, the disgusting habit of coughing into his handkerchief, then staring into it. We could not as yet spot the active consumptive looking anxiously for signs of hemorrhage (p. 105).

In short, the majority of Canadians avoided sending their children to these fetid classrooms and satisfied themselves with a minimal education. Many parents simply
looked to the practical experiences of family run enterprises to round out their children’s education (p.107). Curtis (1992), while agreeing that a shift in governmental rationality did occur, places the beginnings of this internecine strife within society as a whole rather than the educational realm. State formation in Upper Canada required governmental intervention into the lives of its citizens in order to proceed. Of this he writes:

State formation in the 1840s involved political centralization, a process that paradoxically depended for its success upon a new kind of political decentralization and created potentially competing or antagonistic interests in center and locality. Effective political centralization demanded the creation of local government bodies able to execute central policy. But once in place, such local bodies might pursue their own interests (p. 16).

State formation, according to Curtis (1992), required “increase[ing] the power of the central authority to know local conditions” as well as “increase[ing] the power of local authorities” to bring their own governmental issues in line with other municipalities. In short, generating a norm by which the flow of power through local and governmental edifices would be apparent to the citizenry (p.198). Central to achieving this goal was a “new breed of state servant” previously not seen in Canada: the government official. In particular, government inspectors and the apparatus of security that generated them (p.4).

In many ways Curtis is correct; the progenitor of the governing principles of the Saskatchewan educational system cannot be attributed to a single individual. However, part of this shift in government rational was certainly social. As Prentice (1977) writes, there was a perception, growing out of the Victorian era, that society was an inherently dangerous place for children. It was thought that schools could be a safe site in which future citizens could prepare themselves for their roles in society. The middle-class populace of mid-nineteenth-century Britain regarded class respectability, or the lack of it,
as a failing “of morality rather than [that of] class conflict” and as such, it was the responsibility of parents to provide their children with a moral education (Skeggs, 1997, p. 43). These middle-class anxieties regarding the moral failings of society led to the regulating of sexual subjectivities and the ‘repressive hypothesis’ as noted by Foucault (1990) in *The History of Sexuality*. However, they also generated, as Deacon (2002) writes, new disciplines and transformed others (p. 451). It was the “discipline inculcated through education” that formed “new social and occupational categories:” the policeman, the resident physician, the missionary, “not to mention the proselytizing …educator” of which Ryerson was one (p. 451). Thus, state institutions needed to be strengthened so that they could be interventionist rather than laissez faire. Governmental interventions needed to work both from above and below. As Curtis (1992) insists, the “paternalistic government by members of appointed elites” had to be swept away in favour of a system of representation in which men and women of good moral standing would provide the ideal example of the ‘good citizen’ (p. 5). In Foucauldian terms, these interventions had to function on the level of the individual as well as the political body. As such, Curtis’s (1992) analysis provides the larger societal view rather than focusing on the actions of one man. He points to the concatenation of standardization, inspection and bureaucracy as a barometer of governmental intervention:

The development of inspection in mid-nineteenth-century Canada [is] an index of a process of state formation…the centralization of relations of economic and political power and authority in society. State formation typically involves the appearance of the reorganization of monopolies over the means of violence, taxation, administration, and over symbolic systems. In mid-nineteenth-century Canada…the development of such relations entailed what Corrigan and Sayer have called ‘cultural revolution’: a fundamental transformation of the ways in which individuals and groups understand, value, and experience their relations with themselves and others (pp. 5, 6).
There was, Curtis (1992) writes, a “systematic” effort pursued by the imperial government and the colonial parliament to “educate the people” in the “ideological, moral, and behavioural requisites” of this new form of governance (p. 6). Accordingly these behaviours would include a “…willingness [in the population] to cede legitimate political activates to representatives, follow procedures, and to respect the legitimate rights of others” as well as educating their children on the means to interact with these new forms of state invention (p. 6). For both Prentice (1977) and Curtis (1992) this new form of governmental rationality was the result of the union of liberal thought and bourgeois culture on the social level. One could refer to it as the ‘bourgeois-ification’ of society. This phenomenon can be described as a shift in governmental rationality, but it is best thought as an intensification of governance. With the increasing productivity of power functioning throughout the social body, there was a need for new governmental strategies and tactics to manage the population. The concept that a truly representational government could only be achieved through the actions of ‘choice men’ is present in both authors’ analyses. For Prentice (1977), the inculcation of middle class values, along with associated class struggle, was the engine that generated the ‘educational debate’ in Upper Canada. For Curtis’s (1992), however the social aspect of this new government rationality was less important than the ripple effect that these new governmental practitioners had on the flow of power and knowledge throughout society. He argued that these new practices and interventions by the government in the lives of the populace were necessary elements in state evolution and formation. Foucault (2003) places the emergence of this new intelligibility in governance at the beginning of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries in most European states. They would re-emerge in the
colonial sites many years after. This new rationality represented a shift in which conflict or war moved beyond physical aspects of state formation and into the realm of politics. In other words, war would no longer be fought to defend the boarders of the state or to defend the rights of the sovereign, but rather war would become part of the historico-political field. Before the emergence of this new grid of governmental intelligibility, history functioned to “demonstrate the states’ right to establish its sovereignty” and through the recounting of its many exploits “illustrate the legitimacy of public right” that the sovereign alone controlled (p. 141). After this shift, history would serve a function in the political field. It would be articulated as part of a struggle between varying political viewpoints as they contested for the legitimacy associated with the public right. Of this Foucault (2003) writes:

History thus becomes a knowledge of struggles that is deployed and that functions within a field of struggles; there is now a link between the political fight and historical knowledge... We cannot understand the emergence of this specifically modern dimension of politics unless we understand how, from the eighteenth century onward, historical knowledge becomes an element of the struggle: it is both a description of struggles and a weapon in the struggle (pp. 171, 172).

Thus, according to both Curtis (1992) and Foucault (2003), state formation or the maturing of state politics, required the history of the state to be disassociated from the exploits of the king. History could only become a political tool if it was a history of the people and eventually the history of the nation. This governmental shift in thinking, this historico-political struggle, was not one of violence but utilized history as a wedge. As Foucault (2003) writes, history is always associated with public right (p. 163). As such, Ryerson and his ilk waged a struggle to push educational reform on a political level in Upper Canada while claiming to represent the historical right of the populace to better
their lives and those of their children. It was an argument that was difficult to resist, as the immigrants that flooded into Saskatchewan for their 160 acres of free land discovered. The focus of the debate shifted from the rights of parents to educate their children free of governmental intervention, to the necessity of education and finally to the type of education, the length of that education, and the government’s ability to supply that education. The debate in Upper Canada on mandatory education, as well as the inspectors’ reports in Saskatchewan clearly demonstrate the wake of power flowing through the social body as this new governmental rationality took hold. Those who opposed these changes in attitude, reason and ‘truth’ were portrayed, as Prentice (1977) writes, as “men of narrow or reactionary…mind” (p. 14).

It is important, according to Foucault (2003), to examine this new governmentality in terms of its “tactical polyvalence,” or the way in which it produces and integrates new and previously independent governmental mechanisms (p. xx). One must reject the “juridical representation of power, conceived of in terms of the law, prohibition and sovereignty” and look beyond the surface inscription of the discourse. Examine the way in which the discourse is affected by its relationship with other unknown or unarticulated knowledges (p. xx). In order to understand the significance of this change in governmental rational it is important to look deeply within what Ryerson and the school promoters were trying to achieve. What are the knowledges that were subjugated in order to bring about the general compliance that followed? Resistance to these government interventions are common and necessary because as Foucault (1982) states “since the sixteenth century, a new form of power [the state] has been continuously developing” which cannot be defined as a “terminal” or a “fundamental mechanism” but
rather as something that “entertain[s] complex and circular relations” with other older established forms of power (p. 782). Resistance and the freedom to choose were essential to the flow of this new polyvalent power through society. Curtis (1992) agrees, pointing out that the social conflict over education in Upper Canada may have other constitutive elements, but was not limited or defined by them:

…class and other social conflicts were fought out, in part, on the terrain of public education, but in an idiom that became increasingly ‘educational’ as the system of public education was itself solidified. The more general process of creating state interests, detached, to a certain extent, from their class origins, is a constitutive element of state formation (p.9).

The establishment of new governmental rationalities gave rise to government edifices that legitimated the claim that these previously unseen civil servants were necessary to the functioning of good government, were the right of the people, and laboured on behalf of the people. While these claims legitimized the right of these individuals to discipline, it also legitimated the right of the populace to disregard, dismiss or refuse the directives of the central authority. As such, this circular underpinning legitimizes many professional edifices: doctors, lawyers, teachers and psychologists, to name a few. We are free to conform or resist the edicts of these professionals, but we bear the consequences of that decision. The same mechanism was at work with these new state-sponsored civil servants, as their work in turn strengthened the legitimacy of the governmental rationality that deployed them. Foucault (2003) takes this further, insisting that the emergence of the state as a new form of political power eventually leads to a previously unknown entity: the concept of a nation (p. 167). Foucault holds that this form of power also eventually leads to a form of racism. As the “norm of discipline and the norm of regulation intersect” those that are incapable of or unwilling to self-regulate are
ostracized and dismissed for endangering the collective good of the society, state or nation (p. 253). This concept of a nation in Canada and Saskatchewan is deeply wound around the colonial project.

Foucault (2003) has referred to the circular underpinning of legitimatization integral to this form of power as the “disciplinarization of knowledges” or the disciplining of disciplines (p. 173). It was the “tactical polyvalence” of the new governmental rationality that allowed governments, through different mechanisms and techniques to interconnect previously separate, distinct and local knowledges. These local knowledges, which Foucault (2003) describes as “smaller and more artisanal in nature,” were part of a larger “development of technological knowledge in the eighteenth century” and should be viewed in terms of their polyvalent nature and their overlapping multiplicity (p. 180). But for Foucault, such state intervention, whether indirect or direct, reconfigured many disciplines through annexation, as well as attempts at generalization. He describes four ways in which this was achieved:

…eliminating or disqualifying…useless and irreducible little knowledges that are too expensive in economic terms…normalizing these knowledges…[making them]…fit together …communicate with one another…this makes not only knowledges, but also those who possess them, interchangeable…hierarchical classification of knowledges allows them to become…inter-locking…starting with particular and material knowledges…and ending with the most general forms, with the most formal knowledges which are also the forms that envelop and direct knowledge…finally …a pyramidal centralization that allows these knowledges to be controlled which ensures that they can be selected and both that content of these knowledges can be transmitted upward from the bottom and…transmitted downward from the top (p. 180).

In short, this grid of intelligibility had four goals: selection, normalization, hierarchicalization and centralization of knowledges (p. 181). Inspection, writes Foucault
(2003), was essential for the distribution and use of these new knowledges (p.181). Inspection was also essential in keeping these forms of knowledge centralized, thus ensuring that the circular underpinning of legitimation reinforced the public right of the inspectorate, the new knowledges, and the state itself. Inspection and similar governmental mechanisms functioned as a conduit for the flow of power, making it possible for the government to intervene at the local level, while allowing the local level to shape the field of intervention to fit its needs. Inspection brought to bear an apparatus of security that allowed this new governmental rationality to, as Foucault (2007) writes, “grasp the effective reality” of things “mak[ing] its components function in relation to each other” (pp. 46, 47). In short, regulating and removing the distinctive characteristic associated with a particular individual, location, object or function to achieve a norm.

One can clearly see this overlapping of governmental discourse in the development of the educational system in Saskatchewan. The government defined the size of the school district, the placement of the school within and the length of the school year, and regulated the size, shape and capacity of the school. Government regulation also determined the size of the blackboard, the placement of windows and the make and model of the physical plant in the school. In 1917, the government hired Jean E. Brown as the director of School Hygiene (Annual report, 1917, p. 13). Students in the rural schools of Saskatchewan would now be examined yearly for ‘defects’ by itinerant nurses. R. F. Blacklock reported to then Education minister W.M. Martin that he looked forward to the time “when every child in our schools shall have the advantage of a health inspection at the expense of the state” in his annual report to the legislature (p. 13).
All this may seem to be characteristic of a discipline regime; however, it is not. As Foucault (2007) writes, “discipline is essentially centripetal,” it functions in an enclosed space (p. 44). Discipline encloses, concentrates and focuses; it works on the level of the body. As Foucault insists, “in disciplinary regulation, what is determined is what one must do” and consequently that which is undetermined is what one must not do (p.46). A disciplinary regime functions in the concrete, whereas the apparatus of security functions in the realm of possibilities. In other words, an apparatus of security is essential for this new governmentality to function. Of this, Foucault (2007) writes:

…both ideology and technique of government, should in fact be understood within the mutations and transformations of technologies of power….An apparatus of security…cannot operate well except on the condition that it is given freedom…no longer the exemptions and privileges attached to a person, but the possibility of movement, change of place, and processes of circulation of both people and things (pp. 48,49).

Through this process the educational inspectors in Upper Canada and Saskatchewan delivered this new form of governmentality to the populace. According to Curtis (1992), much of this “moral character” remained and was “ascribed… to men of property” (p.6). It was believed by many political theorists that much of this ‘character’ must be “implanted” into the population through training in state institutions (p. 6). Education became one of the state institutions charged with implanting these notions. The interests of commerce, the security of property, the political and religious liberty of the individual became the norm to which to aspire (p.6). Within this scope, the inspectors’ reports from Saskatchewan “particularly [in the] context of policy initiatives and conflicts between nascent central and local educational authorities,” give the reader a glimpse of how the flow of power from the central authority and back again produced the governing
principals of the educational system: local control, the duality of governance and the need for the system to be inclusive (p. 8).

1.4 A few good women…

Foght’s recommendations to reinvent the inspection system of Saskatchewan schools could never be implemented. The inspection system, as in Upper Canada fifty years earlier, was an essential cog in the machine of state formation. Replacing this system would have delayed this crucial development. Moreover, there was little guarantee that an American-style inspection corps would have functioned well in Saskatchewan. The models that Foght (1918) recommended, Ohio and New Jersey, had larger populations, and had been in existence much longer than the province (p. 37). Only North Dakota had a similar population in 1917. North Dakota’s population was estimated at 706,992 people (“Estimates of population,” 1917). Saskatchewan’s population in 1917 was 647,835. However, it is important to note that North Dakota joined the union in 1889. By 1917, the state had been in existence twenty-eight years, while Saskatchewan had been a province for no more than twelve (Anderson, 2007). The immaturity of the province’s governmental mechanisms is evident in a speech given by Duncan P. McColl (1905-1912), then Deputy Minister of Education:

It is well in all school-work, as in every other work to have higher aims and ideals to ‘hitch your wagon to a star;’ but after observing somewhat closely for a number of years the conditions of our schools in the Territories and in the Province formed from the territories, I have come to the conclusion that in our educational aims and ideals the bond of connection between the wagon and the star should be sufficiently elastic, to allow the wheels to roll around for some years at least on solid ground – in other words to meet conditions as they actually exist (p. 4).
McColl was replaced by Augustus Ball in 1912. It was he who oversaw the implementations suggested by the Foght report. He was equally unsure of the ability of the provincial education system and those that administered it, to implement the changes suggested in the report. In a memorandum written to then Minister of Education William Martin, Ball (1918b) outlines his misgivings:

Dr. Foght was evidently unaware of the constitutional difficulties [if he was aware] …his recommendations would either have followed a different course to conform with a narrow[er] prospect…the public is not in a position to determine the relative value of alternative systems, never having had experience of the larger unit of administration. It [the report] suggests the simplest and most desirable changes…the public will not understand why effect cannot be given them…If such constitutional limitations are real, the public should be informed in some suitable way, possibly through the press, and then too much will not be expected in the way of legislation (pp. 1,2,3).

It is important to note that both men are representative of what Prentice (1977) and Curtis (1992) refer to as the ‘good men’ needed to educate the populace in the new emerging governmental rationality of representational government. Yet both dismissed the Foght’s recommendations for a more measured approach to the development of education in the province of Saskatchewan. Staying the course however, would have unforeseen consequences.

By 1918, the number of teachers in Saskatchewan was 5,734; of these, only 16.7 percent were male. Women made up 83.3 percent of the teaching work force. As Augustus Ball reported in the annual report of 1918, “gradually but very surely the men are being displaced by women not only on the elementary level” but in the teaching work force as a whole (p.13). The significance of this number cannot be underestimated, particularly in light of this emerging governmental discourse and the role education had in disseminating it. If representational government relied on the services of ‘a few good
men’ to inculcate the physical, moral and mental embodiment of this new form of
governmentality, then how did the women at the local level internalize this discourse?
Moreover, how did the prevailing discourses surrounding femininity and its expression in
society combine with this governmental discourse of good men and good government?
The gendered discourses surrounding women in 1918 were quite different from those
surrounding men. As Foucault points out in *The History of Sexuality* (1990), the concept
of the Victorian age being a time of sexual repression is a chimera. Foucault insists that
the same governmental mechanisms that sought to regulate education also sought to
regulate sexual subjectivities. The Victorian age, according to Foucault (1990), oversaw
the development of an ever expanding regime of collection and dissemination of
information regarding the sexual habits of the population. These practices were infused
with the “will to knowledge,” which “persisted in constituting” the science of sex (p. 12-
13). If, as Curtis (1992) contends, it was charged to ‘good men’ to “reshape cultural
institutions in the image of bourgeois values of regularity, orderliness, predictability,
reliability, sobriety, intellectualism, respect for property, religion, and the ever-elusive
‘cheerful and willing obedience’ to authority,” how did these discourses shape the
subjectivities of the young women who taught in all of those little one-room schools in
Saskatchewan (p. 14)? What did these ‘good women’ think of inculcating their students
with the responsible expression of the rights and freedoms granted them in a liberal
society? For Skeggs (1997), there is a “conflation of caring for [and] caring about” that is
prevalent in the discourses surrounding women at the end of the Victorian age (p. 56).
There is a great deal of symmetry between the notion of economy being introduced into
government and the notion of ‘caring for and caring about’ being introduced into the
pedagogical relationship. The prevailing attitude of the time was that a woman who was not capable of caring for others could not care for herself (p.56). Through caring, Skeggs (1997) writes, women were “offer[ed] the means to value, trade and invest in themselves” (p. 56). Thus, it is possible to view the ‘caring subjectivity’ as the gendered doppelganger of the ‘good men’ discourse of which Curtis (1992) and Prentice (1997) write. Butler (2006) would tend to agree as she insists that subjectivities are performative and the performance is dependent on the discursive elements present at the time of the performance. In the same vein, Salih (2002) writes, that there is no subjectivity “that is not social,” as each of these subjectivities, the ‘good man’ and the ‘caring woman,’ are a result of the social discourses that shape them (p. 55). I would propose that all subjectivities are nothing if not performative, thus the subjectivity of the largely female teaching staff would have found itself profoundly affected by the nature of these new governmental mechanisms and the ‘good men’ who imposed them. As this discursive framing was part of the colonial subjectivities associated with the formation of the province, their performativity can be a nexus for many other subjectivities. Of this Butler writes in the preface of Gender Trouble (2006):

> Many of these debates have centered on the status of ‘construction,’ whether race is constructed the same way as gender. My view is that no single account of construction will do, and that these categories always work as a background for one another, and they often find their most powerful articulation through one another. Thus, the sexualization of racial gender norms calls to be read through multiple lenses at once, and the analysis surely illuminates the limits of gender as an exclusive category of analysis (pp. xvi, xvii).

In order for this thesis to explore the poiesis of teaching subjectivities in Saskatchewan, it must also explore the female subjectivities available to women during the first twenty years of the twentieth century. The majority of teachers working in the
Saskatchewan system were women. The mass movement of women into the teaching profession in the early twentieth century has been much discussed by educational historians. This migration would have profound results. Eventually, the vocation of teaching and the profession itself would become associated in the public mind with the feminine regardless of the teacher’s gender. Accordingly, the exploration of teaching subjectivities, particularly in Saskatchewan at this time, is tightly wound around the societal and governmental discourses governing the expression of female femininity and sexuality in our society. It is through this discursive framing that the subjectivities available to all Saskatchewan teachers, male and female, can be found. However, it is important to recall Butler’s (2006) warning that gender and sexuality make up a powerful interface, the subjectification of which may delineate other social subjectivities. In the case of Saskatchewan, race is a particularly potent generator of discourse and often associated with the articulation of these sexual discourses.

The time period indicated above represents a period during which these discourse were not only forming but experiencing cleavages, reversals and stalemates. After World War One, these discursive elements would solidify and return to a previous state. However, the generation of these discourses at a time of state formation inevitably links the state, the emerging concept of state-sponsored schooling, and governmental discourses with the generation of teacher subjectivities. As state formation moved into the twentieth century, how did the flow of power from the central authority to local level and back again constrict or produce the subjectivities of teachers in the province? How did the gender divide between the governing body (inspectors) and the governed (teachers) mitigate subjectivity formation? Even in its present state the educational
system of Canada employs significantly more women: 84.7 percent at the elementary and kindergarten school levels (“Job futures”, 2014). Moreover, how does this discursive framing shape the subjectivities of teachers in the present, given that our society has moved into an era of advanced liberal rule with its associated focus on what Gleeson & Gunter (2001) refer to as “corporate behaviourism” (p. 150)? Do teacher subjectivities continue to generate a powerful interface through which other discourses shaping race and gender can be articulated? Is it possible that the vestiges of these discourses remain and are articulated through the management panopticism of the post-modern era?

Curtis (1992) refers to an analysis such as this thesis as historical sociology. Historical sociology studies the ways and means by which social structures are shaped by social processes; social phenomena then shape institutions and the people within. However, this thesis could also be referred to as a genealogy in the Foucauldian sense. The term ‘genealogy’ however, is contested. Dean (1999) argues that genealogies are “grounded in the present” and as such, attempt to use history to show that present norms or values are contingent, and have come out of past acts of domination or oppression (p.41). Ball ((2013) contends that the task of a genealogy is “to expose a body totally imprinted by history” (p.33) However, Foucault (1980) defines genealogy as:

…the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today (p.83).

I prefer the term genealogy rather than historical sociology. Like Dean, I contend that the purpose of a genealogy is to examine how the present has become problematized. Genealogies examine the evolution of truth in the social. Genealogies cannot be read as linear narratives, as the truths that make up a lineal narrative are often refuted or
displaced by the genealogical method. The accepted normality of our social truth is
actually made up of multiple, often contested truths. It is this perceived normalcy which
often shrouds possible alternatives. As such, I cannot claim to reveal the ‘truth’ of the
poiesis of the Saskatchewan Education system, nor will I. All I can do is reveal the
inconsistencies that have been masked by the grand narrative and allow them to offer the
reader a previously unknown or unrealized possibility. It is then up to the reader to decide
how much weight to give these possibilities while measuring their impact on the
historical data. My goal is to historically problematize the poiesis of teaching
subjectivities in this province. We must remember, as Mills (2003) implies,
“discourse…is not the equivalent of ‘language,’” it is that which “constrains or enables”
writing, speaking, thinking, and acting (p.55). Ball (2013) contends that discourses
“speak us” we do not “speak discourse” (p.20). Knowledge is thus a claim to power (p. 13).The practices of claiming power are also the practices which shape our subjectivities
and ‘truths,’ which are:

…validated within more or less coherent systems of knowledge,
which also shape the way we think about illness criminality and
learning. Again there is a duality – an internal focus on the way in
which scientific knowledges are produced, the social construction of
scientific truths or material conditions of thought, and an external
focus on the ways in which these knowledges produce classes and
categories of subjects, endowed with specific characteristics and
requiring particular forms of intervention or practices (p. 13).

As Rose (1990) writes, when these practices are coupled with the art of
government, they take on a greater dimension:
First, the personal and subjective capacities of citizens have been incorporated into the scope and aspirations of public powers. This is not only a link at the level of abstract political speculation. It is also a link at the level of social and political strategies and institutions and techniques of administration and regulation…subjectivity now enters into the calculation of political forces about the state of the nation, about the problems and possibilities facing the country, about priorities and policies (pp. 1,2).

Ball (2013) asked his reader: “Do we really need another book about Foucault?” My answer to such a question would be no. However, if the question is rephrased to Are there not practices and their associated truths, personal, governmental or otherwise, that Foucault and his theories can help us unwind? Then, my answer is yes. The next chapter of this thesis will focus on the how Foucault’s theories can help unwind the formation of teacher subjectivities.
CHAPTER TWO

So, so you think you can tell
Heaven from Hell, blue skies from pain.
Can you tell a green field from a cold steel rail?
A smile from a veil?
Do you think you can tell (Gilmour & Waters, 1975).

Shift the sand to find the seeds of the universe… (Pattison, 2002, p. 1).

Just as the monks of Tibet shift the grains of sand that nature has worn from the Himalayas to use in the great mandala of life, our modern educational system shifts students. Differentiated and sorted, their accomplishments and failures recorded and measured, students are placed into an unfolding educational universe that is supposed to reflect their own lives’ mandalas. The educational system and the teachers associated with it shift and mould students to fit a future world they cannot envision. Throughout this process, teachers are expected to remain cognizant of their own experience of being shifted and moulded by the same social forces. “Reason, or the ratio of all we have already known, is not the same that it shall be when we know more,” wrote William Blake; (1788) but what happens to what we have known once we know more? Is it lost, replaced, or incorporated into what we have already known or experienced? This chapter will explore Foucault’s theories of power/knowledge, the power technologies that are generated by this relationship and their deployment by the Saskatchewan government in its education system. The three aspects of experience, “truth, power and ethics,” writes Ball (2013), are very evident in schooling and the learner (p. 42). The organization of these three “within a field of knowledge – pedagogy, as an area of political intervention” are a form of relation reflecting the way we think about ourselves and those around us (p.
42). The form these relations take, and how they generate the ‘truths’ we live by, was one of the great puzzles that occupied the imagination of Michel Foucault throughout his life. This chapter attempts to place this theoretical puzzle into the historical and social context of the formation of the Saskatchewan educational system. Its purpose is not to generate a grand narrative, but rather to peer into the spaces between the assumptions of what happened. In short, this chapter attempts to discover the sand and the hand that poured it, rather than the mandala itself. Part one of this chapter will review Foucault’s power/knowledge relationship and how each is implicit in the creation of the other. It will also explore the nature of the power technologies, how these technologies are associated within the pastoral and disciplinary power relationships that form the pedagogical relationship, and the historicity of that relationship. Particular attention will be given to the examination technology and the way in which this technology links pastoral care with a disciplinary regime through the generation of a ‘norm,’ as well as how this norm links these regimes, power technologies and discursive formations to the conduct of governance. Discipline was concerned with the “regulation of individual dressage,” as Stoler (1995) refers to it, while biopolitics focused on the political regulation and promotion of the species. Pastoral care, with its historic underpinnings in Christianity, emerges in the modern era of politics as a new form of governmental rationality. The apparatus of security associated with this form of biopolitics is one of many governmental mechanisms utilized in the ‘conduct of conduct.’ The inspectors of the Saskatchewan educational system personified this mechanism. Their duties focused on the school inspection and teacher examination. Examination was one of the many power technologies (tactics) used by these men to govern the conduct of teachers; it is also a
technology that would become one of the most useful tools for teachers to govern their students. Such technologies have a history of deployment and use. This history, in turn, sheds light on the inconsistencies that mark the emergence of new knowledges and subjectivities subjugated in the deployment of this governmental mechanism. Part two of this chapter will briefly draw upon the work of Macmillan (2009) and Deacon (2005, 2006) in an attempt to show the historical emergence of this power technology (examination), particularly how it generates a perceived truth of the self and its grounding in the pedagogical relationship. Part three will focus on Foucault’s notion of governmentality and the way in which the modern art of governance attempts to condition the soul ‘for its own good.’ Part four will draw on Butler’s work on gender (1993, 1997, 2006) and will focus on the way subjects assume subjectivities while attempting to explain the means by which certain subjectivities within certain contexts become viable.

2.1 Power/knowledge relationship

Foucault, Deacon (2002) writes, sought to understand “how and why…we in the west” have engaged in an “arduous and incessant search for the truth” that has led us to surround ourselves with “intricate and powerful systems” intended to manage the way we think about what we do (p. 435). Foucault (1984) was interested in discovering the “ensemble of rules” that ultimately led to “a certain result” or the production of a ‘truth’ (p. 127). These truths are validated, as Ball (2013) writes, “within more or less coherent systems of knowledge which also shape” the way we think about certain things: like madness, sexuality, discipline and learning (p. 13). There is a duality in Foucault’s work on power/knowledge. This duality is both internal and external: internally
power/knowledge produce knowledges and “the social construction of scientific truths or material conditions of thought” (p. 13). This in turn, helps to externally shape the ways in which we use “these knowledges [to] produce classes and categories of subjects” requiring “particular forms” of practices and interventions (p. 13). These interventions can be exercised by government or the self; however, these relationships are never static but constantly in flux. They are local and unstable. Ball (2013) writes that these relationships “operate inside other relations (economic, sexual, familial)” and are based on “individual choices, interactions and behaviours” while producing “more general social patterns” that in turn continue to shape further interventions (p. 31). Foucault would refer to these as “games of truth;” however the use of the term ‘games’ is unfortunate as it implies ultimately, a winner and a loser. In these games there is no winner or loser; simply the flow of power through the actions of an individual, an institution, or a theoretical edifice. Of this Foucault (1984) writes:

> The word “game” can lead you into error: when I say “game” I mean an ensemble of rules for the production of the truth. It is not a game in the sense of imitating or entertaining… it is an ensemble of procedures which lead to a certain result, which can be considered in function of its principles and its rules of procedures, as valid or not, as winner or loser (p. 127).

Much of Foucault’s (1984) body of work has focused on the relationship between games of truth and “coercive practices” such as the penal system, or the “forms of theoretical or scientific games” along with “the analysis of the riches of language and the living being” that constitute the modern art of existence (p.113). However, just before his death in 1984, his work had evolved and began to focus on “the practices of the self” which he described as “an exercise of self, upon the self by which one tries to… transform one’s self” in relation to a generated norm (p. 113). This shift in focus may
have been an attempt to address concerns that his earlier work was too deterministic, as
the practices of the self reaffirm an individual’s freedom to choose. Ball (2013) writes
that Foucault was as much concerned with “modalities of freedom” as he was interested
in “power, discipline, subjectification and normalization” associated with these practices
(p.4). I feel that such statements are generated in order to counter the belief that these
coercive practices are lurking behind each social or institutional edifice. Through
Foucault’s histories one also finds that things, - to put it bluntly, - “weren’t as necessary as
all that,” and consequently, events could have unfolded differently through the counter-
balance of freedom (p.4). Like Foucault, this thesis is interested in the way in which the
games of truth became ‘all that,’ and the way in which individuals condition themselves
to become ‘made subjects’ despite the freedom to choose or because of it. Ball (2013)
reminds us that in order to understand the relationship between freedom and discourse, it
is important to consider the relationship between these truth games and episteme.
Episteme is, according to Ball, a complex set of relationships between knowledges: a
“unitary practico-cognitive structure, a regime of truth or general politics of truth” that
provides clues, codes and rules that “define problematics” and their possible solutions
within a range of possibilities and practices (p. 21). In this sense, the truth games
represent a “nesting” of discourse within episteme that “makes [discourses] possible” and
allows the discursive formations and their relationships to “constitute episteme,” a
circular underpinning that reinforces the legitimacy of both (p. 21). Through this
analytical lens, the inspectors’ reports represent the episteme of education in the province
at the poiesis of the Saskatchewan school system, while the discourses nested within that
episteme generated and shaped the subjectivities of the teachers within.
Prado (2000) has characterized Foucault’s early work, the archaeologies, as “analyses of system[s] of knowledge,” his middle phase, the genealogies, as pertaining to “modalities of power” and his final work as the “ethics of the self” (p. 24). Archaeologies, according to Ball (2013), function to examine the rules and regulations associated with systems of knowledges; while genealogies attempt to reveal the “epistemological (claims of truth)” claims of different knowledges (p. 5). These three domains must not, Prado emphasizes, be thought of as linear or as part of a hierarchical structure (p. 24). Any attempt to organize them into continuous or hierarchal order would, in essence, mask the power/knowledge relationship that is implicit in the creation of the very strategic and tactical social knowledges Foucault sought to reveal. Prado (2000) describes a Foucauldian analysis as the “antithesis of essences,” placing it in direct contrast with such a linear narrative (p. 62). As Foucault never engaged in a direct analysis of the educational system, it is particularly difficult to discern his opinions on the subject. Of this Deacon (2006) writes:

While there are many references to education and the school throughout Foucault’s work, he never devoted a specific study to the field as he did for madness, health, knowledge, crime, sexuality or identity. The best-known of his discussions of education occurs in Part III of Discipline and Punish but his analysis here is intermingled with parallel discussions of military, monastic, economic, judicial, medical and of course penal manifestations of disciplinary techniques (p. 178).

It would be simple to assume that Foucault viewed education as a disciplinary system. It would also be foolhardy not to acknowledge the disciplinary techniques associated with that system. However, schools and schooling are both disciplinary and pastoral; they function to establish and reinforce a norm. This, according to Ball (2013) is a “secular political pastorate” in which there is a linking of care, management, discipline
and regulation (p. 29). In short, these management techniques function to both control the way in which a student’s body acts in an enclosed space while conditioning the student’s thinking regarding themselves as a free individual within this institutional context. This pastoral and disciplinary dyad conditions all present within the institution. Student, teacher or administrator: no one is above or beyond its reach. Of this Foucault (1995) writes:

Discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise …the exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induced effects of power and in which conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible (pp. 170, 171).

Recall that it was Foucault (1982) who asserted that modern forms of government assumed the pastoral power formerly exercised by the church, replacing “salvation in the next world” for surety in this one (pp. 783, 784). Thus, the pastoral element of the pedagogical relationship is, in the modern sense, governmental. However, the pastoral element of the educational relationship is underpinned and legitimized by its disciplinary regime; the individual’s willingness to submit to self-correction legitimatizes both the pastoral correction and the discipline associated with it. Self-correction is viewed as a fundamental part of the pedagogical relationship, and it is deeply dependent on another powerful power technique: the examination. Furthermore, individuals who cannot care for themselves through self-correction cannot care for others. Thus, without the capacity for self-improvement or correction, a pastoral-pedagogical relationship cannot form.

Through this lens the role of inspection in the Saskatchewan educational system was not merely to discipline or replace teachers or trustees. It was to condition each of
the players in the game of truth to accept the rules and play by them, to self-correct when necessary, to accept the burden of ‘truth’ laid upon them by themselves and others and to seek to assume their proper place within the hierarchy of the regime. Such difficulties are outlined in Elbow district inspector H. A. Evert’s (1918) annual report:

In a province where so many races of people are intermingling, bringing to us as they do ideals, habits, and customs, from countries whose social and political status is so different from ours, and which is often antagonistic to democratic principles underlying the political, economic and social life of our commonwealth. Children must be taught to properly appreciate and value their country, and to identify themselves fully with it by learning the duties which devolve upon them as citizens. Only in this way can they ever exercise the franchise intelligently. Real patriotism must be based on knowledge (p. 140).

Foucault (2000) would observe that schools are “apparatus[es] of knowledge transmission,” whose function in society was to “bind the individual to a process of production, training or correction” by “guaranteeing [the] production …of a particular norm” which is then internalized by the individual (p. 78). For Ball (2013), schools were “in many respects an expression of humanity and a demarcation of the limits” of that humanity (p. 48). In other words, they were a differentiation between who was worth the investment of time and training and who was not According to Foucault (1980) such relations of power and knowledge are found in many other state edifices; they constitute a “dispositif,” a system of institutional, physical, legal, discursive and governmental relations that functions to increase the flow of power through the social body (p. 194). Ball (2013) refers to these dispositifs as a coupling of a set of practices with a regime of truth (p. 53). As such, schools and schooling are bound within a power/knowledge relationship and are fundamental to state formation. To view education as no more than a disciplinary system is to miss the way in which this power/knowledge relationship
produces subjects. Deacon (2005) contends that central to a Foucauldian account of educational systems is the development of educational methodologies through which “individual and collective subjects could be managed, their context regulated, their capacities augmented” and their potential maximized (p. 85).

In an interview given six months before his death, Foucault (1984) discussed the pedagogical relationship between teacher and student, and its influence on the production of both subjects and truths. Here the focus of the analysis was the individual’s freedom to engage in this conditioning: to modify themselves willingly or to resist. Freedom, Foucault insisted, is essential for relationships of power to function. Thus, the educational relationship is, as Besley writes (2002), “the government of individuals, the government of the souls, [and] the government of the self by the self;” all three are reflective of the pastoral-disciplinary dyad (p. 419). These power relations and technologies, as they appear in our educational systems, provide a space where individuals (whether student, teacher or administrator) can outfit themselves with the ‘truth.’ It is the internalization of these ‘truths,’ Prado (2000) writes that generate a “docile body” on which the rules or discourses may be inscribed. Implicit in this internalization is the relationship between free individuals: the penitent and the priest, the patient and the doctor, or the teacher and the student. Foucault (1982) contends that ‘the other’ is essential to the functioning of power, and the person on “whom power is exercised [must be] thoroughly recognized and maintained” in order for a “whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible inventions” to open up (p. 789). Butler (1997) would agree, writing that the ‘other’ is essential to the performance of the self.
2.2 Power…

What is power? How does it manifest itself? Power manifests through relationships. Power, Prado (2000) writes, is an unfortunate term in that it implies a singularity. In reality, power is a “complex set of relations” between sovereign individuals (p.68). What seems “natural” to Ball (2013), is really the result of “clashes of forces,” many of which seem invisible to us (p. 34). Everything has a history. However, Foucault sought to bring to light the histories of things that have no history: the subjugated, the deviant, the forgotten and the erased. As such, to understand our modern concepts of sanity, justice, or heterosexuality in the Foucauldian sense, one must understand the historic development of madness, criminality and homosexuality and how these developed at the same time as the others and along the same lines. To understand the productivity of power, as Foucault (1991a) insists, one must:

…make visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness which imposes itself uniformly on all (p. 76) .

Power, as Carabine (2001a) writes, operates through forms of expert knowledge grounded in a form of juridico-discursive judgment most often associated with the sovereign (p. 277). Foucault (1982) contends that power is that which “brings into play relations between individuals (or groups),” working to “modify actions and behaviours” of each individual (p. 786). Power is not held by an individual, but flows through capillary action affecting the entire social body. It is neither evil nor good; the property of either tyrant or benevolent king. It is not, as Foucault (1982) writes, “a renunciation of freedom, [or] a transfer of rights” (pp. 788-789). Power “incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult” a range of possibilities, actions and practices (pp. 788-
It does not co-opt freedom, nor is it tyrannical; on the contrary, in its movement through the social body, there are always contested areas, regions of confrontation between freedom and power. Freedom is a condition necessary for the exercise of power. Without “…the possibility of recalcitrance,” power would be domination (p.790).

Foucault (1980) contends that power historically functioned in feudal societies through “signs and levies” (p. 125). Signs such as “loyalty… rituals, [and] ceremonies” and levies in “the form of taxes, pillage, hunting, [and] war” provided a visible wake through which the transfer of power from the ruling lord to family, friends, and loyal subjects could be observed by others (p. 125). However, Foucault (1990) writes that there is no “all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled” (p.94). This is not a simple binary relationship between the oppressors and oppressed. Power operates from below as much as it does from above and emerges from local conditions; it is not imposed. Tracing the evolution of power from its grounding in this divine right, Foucault (1980) contends that there was by the beginning of the seventeenth century a “veritable technological take-off in the productivity of power” as societies became more stable and the complexity of governance grew (p. 119):

I believe one must keep in view the fact that along with all the entire fundamental technical inventions and discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a new technology of the exercise of power also emerged, which was probably even more important than the constitutional reforms and new forms of government established at the end of the eighteenth century (p. 124).

This is a fundamental aspect of the power knowledge relationship. As new relays of power opened up to accommodate a growing population, new knowledges and technologies began to take hold, all infused with the will to know and the will to power. Such capillary growth can clearly be seen in the early formation of the Saskatchewan
educational system. The aleatory nature of the development of these early governmental power relays is clearly reflected in the inspectors’ reports of the first ten years:

The ‘boom idea’ predominates the building [of schools] more than is required for the present needs…placing the district under unnecessary financial obligation…the result will be that where a district is labouring under a large debenture indebtedness, the taxes will be high and the teachers’ salaries and school equipment will suffer (Nivins, 1907, p. 46).

The same is seen in the report of Augustus Ball (1907) of the same year:

A survey of the educational conditions reveals the outstanding features of unequal taxation for education purposes, management by local boards that cannot generally be called efficient and the degrading of the teaching profession into a temporary occupation (p.38).

In the early years districts were being formed exponentially. In 1905 Saskatchewan had 896 school districts; by 1908, the number had risen to 1745. One can only imagine how quickly systems of management, new technologies and knowledges were introduced, developed, ejected or adapted to meet this pressing demand. These developments were directly reflective of the productivity of the flow of power from the central authority to the local level. Establishment of a school district brought with it a myriad of governmental interventions: taxation, building debentures, election of trustees, erection of buildings and the hiring of the first teacher. Each intervention increased the depth by which the government penetrated the local community, collecting and disseminating information while shaping the populace to accept the necessity of the government’s presence in the community. The population, according to Ball (2013), becomes a “sort of technical-political object of management” that operates and is managed on the “basis of what is natural” and therefore predictable within a bandwidth of normality (p.58). This was a direct result of the growth of the human sciences in the
Victorian age; the population becomes an object of study and intervention. This appears, as Ball (2013) contends, within different discursive formations. First, the concept of accommodation began to be seen as a natural aspect of population: individuals, once enlightened, could be “reflective, analytical, [and] calculating,” and therefore could transform themselves and their environment (p. 59). Secondly, Ball (2013) writes, there was a perceived natural “desire or self-interest” that allowed the modification of the population by government based on that self-interest (p. 59). Third, the population was viewed as a series of “constants and regularities – patterns of behaviours [and] distributions” that the government could regulate through a series of “statistically determined norms” or standards (p. 59). It was these standards that the inspectors of schools attempted to inculcate into the population through education, with the teacher as the biological model. This is very apparent in the reports of several inspectors as they battled with the Victorian perception that children were simply small adults, and so should be providing an income to support the family. The incongruity of this attitude in the modern era is plain in the annual report of Elton Hutcherson (1908), inspector of Regina schools:

    After carefully observing the number of pupils enrolled I have come to the conclusion that a more stringent law regarding… attendance should be enforced. The present law is made for rural schools and does not meet the requirements in cities and towns. It should be an offence for people to employ boys from 8 to 14 unless they produce a certificate that they have attended school the required time (pp. 44, 45).

    By 1912, this discourse had grown to encompass the length of the school term and the shortage of teachers, particularly the granting of provisional certificates to untrained teachers. This is reflected in Howard Evert’s (1912) annual report:
Attendance is a problem in the rural schools. New locals are where the attendance is the shakiest. Trustees are not enforcing the mandatory attendance ordinances of the School Act. Short term schools have the worst attendance. Changing the short term school for a yearly one is meeting resistance; the chief objections are cost and difficulty of securing attendance during the winter months. Teachers without special training or those having low qualifications seem to lack the necessary information as well as the skills to impart it (pp. 68, 69).

In 1918, the year of the release of Foght’s review of the rural school problem, the discourse of attendance had become tightly entwined around a norm that enveloped the school, teacher and citizen. W. M. Martin writes in his annual report of 1918:

I am pleased to be able to report a growing interest in the yearly school… a good teacher has much influence in stimulating the desire for a yearly school. Indeed it seems to me that the good teacher is the essential feature in almost every school improvement. He makes the people feel that it is good and then they want it… they form clearer and truer views as to the things that are ‘worthwhile’ and they have the means to gratify at least some of the awakened aspirations for their children (p 101).

It is important to note that by 1918 the child labour issue has been sublimated and is no longer part of this discourse. Child labour, particularly on the family farm in the second year of the Great War, must have been a growing issue in terms of rural school attendance, so much so that the government began to issue exemptions to older students during the harvest. However, the discourse’s focus is now on the teacher as a component in an on-going governmental intervention to modify the way in which the parents think of the role of schooling in their children’s’ lives. This growth provides an example of the productivity of power and its ability to flow and generate new knowledges.

Foucault (1980) contends that as the productivity of power begins to invade the social body during the enlightenment, it came to manifest itself in the “social production and social service[s]” of several European countries (p.125). As a result, Foucault (1980)
insists the productivity of power had to function on the level of the “bodies of individuals” to influence “their acts, [and] attitudes” to be more efficient (p.125). As a result, systems of governance had to “undertake the administration, control and direction of the accumulation” of the population (p. 125). This led to a “real and effective ‘incorporation’ of power” in the social body—a linking of micro (disciplinary) and biopolitics (p. 125). In education, methods of school discipline succeeded “in making children’s bodies the object of highly complex systems of manipulation and conditioning” while the pastoral aspect of the pedagogical relationship habituated students to a regime of self-modification to a particular norm (p. 125).

It is, as Prado (2000) writes, the body that bears and manifests the regulating effects of discourse through its “habits and gestures, in its postures” as well as its speech (p.36). It is the “tiny influences on bodies” that produce subjects defined “by what they take to be knowledge about themselves” and the way in which this self-knowledge conditions their subjectivity (p. 36). The body supports a self that does not recognize itself as a product of these influences, but exists prior to the regulating discourses. It is the relationship between power/knowledge (pouvoir and savoir) that is central to the way in which knowledge is generated on the correct method of how one is to act and how one frames their understanding of the world. It is these discourses which define truth, regulating what can be said, where it can be said and by whom. In short, it is the knowledge that we as individuals regard as a natural part of a definable universe.

Gore (1993) writes that the slash Foucault used between the words ‘power’ and ‘knowledge’ functions to hold “the words together and apart, showing both their presupposition of each other and their difference” that is unique to this relationship (p.
Knowledge and power are implicit in the creation of each other; “there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge,” writes Gore (p. 54). As such, the same circular underpinning that is evident in the discipline/pastoral relationship exists in the power/knowledge relationship. Power manifests itself in the actions of individuals, through their knowledge of the world and the way in which they come to know themselves and others. This view refutes the Cartesian notion of the subject. As Prado (2000) contends, the subject “has the illusion of [being] a substantial unity” when it is in fact the “multifaceted effect of regulating discourse” (p. 58). He writes:

Power’s enabling and inhibiting of behavior is the enabling and inhibiting of acts that constitute subjects... The totality of past and current actions enables and inhibits things an individual might do and does. By doing some things and not doing others an individual – an inscribed docile body – shapes and defines his or her subjectivity. Doing or not doing something always involves beliefs and usually values because they both are the bases for action and are generated, enhanced or diminished by action (p. 72).

The power technologies can be divided into a tripartite system of surveillance, classification and regulation. Prado (2000) adds examination and a normalizing judgment to these three (p. 63). Gore (1993), in her examination of the micro-power dynamics in schooling, observed eight different power technologies brought into play by teachers to condition the responses of their students (p. 168). This tripartite system of discipline is evident in the admonishments of the Foght (1918) report:
Many of the schools are meeting the community’s needs; however they are looking for a ‘standard of attainment’ [the norm] the requirements of which have not been defined by the central authority. What is needed is: Teachers with specialized training [classification] in rural schools which intend this calling to be their permanent occupation. A school plant which meets the need of a rural community and equipped with proper devices related to the education of rural children. A course of instruction [regulation] and methods of teaching that are in accord with these first two goals (p. 61).

Foght clearly demarcates an incomplete disciplinary regime, one that has yet to generate the hierarchies that allow individuals to be surveyed from above and below. Once these hierarchies are generated, individuals within can be surveyed, classified and regulated both through their position in the hierarchy and their own internalized judgment of the norm. For Foght (1918) the adoption of a mature governmental regime, along with its associated discipline, would have stabilized the migratory tendencies of the teaching population. Such a regime would have given teachers what Skeggs (1997) describes as, “the means to value, trade and invest in themselves” through the professional ranking associated with such a hierarchy (p. 56). It is this observation of self and others that generates a normalizing judgment or ‘gaze,’ and it is this lack that Foght attempted to accentuate. Prado (2000) has described this gaze as an “invidious comparison with a favored paradigm, whether real or imagined” by those within the professional enclosure (p.63). Examination, as a power technology, functions to confirm the hierarchical structure and the normalcy associated with this favored paradigm. In short, the examination establishes the perimeters of the disciplinary field while “treat[ing] those tested in the most appropriate and supposedly beneficial manner,” allowing individuals to trade or reinvest in their skills (p. 63). A constant lament of the school inspectors was the lack of professional development by Saskatchewan teachers. The only hierarchy available
by which the teachers could invest in their skills was the teacher certification system. Because of the chronic teaching shortage, teachers with provisional certificates were often paid the same or better salaries than those holding second-or-third class certificates. In such an environment, the incentive to improve was minimal.

Eventually, those that are subject to this power technology self-correct to bring themselves in line with the favoured paradigm; this in turn both individualizes and totalizes the subject. Once all is known regarding an individual, he or she becomes both an object of study and a known, delineated, subject. Thus, subjects and subjectivities are produced or constricted by the productivity of the power/knowledge relationship and these totalizing/individualizing forces. On the one hand, the power/knowledge relationship categorizes the individual, by generating specific expert knowledge, imposing as Foucault (1984) writes, “a law of truth on him [sic] which he [sic] must recognize and which others have to recognize in him;” [sic] while on the other hand supporting the notion that each individual has a unique subjecthood (p.781). This totalizing/individualizing aspect is part of the pastoral power relationship. With the rise of Christianity in the Middle Ages a new governmental relationship arose between governed and governing that Foucault (1982) contends was fundamentally different from the sovereign/subject relationship (p.783). Royal power requires the sacrifice of the subject to support the throne. Pastoral power requires the individuals’ submission. Pastoral power cannot be exercised “without knowing the inside of peoples’ minds,” exploring an individual’s inner most secrets; it is a power which “implies a knowledge of the conscience” and the ability to move it in one direction or the other (p. 783). Whereas the sovereign power is exercised through the sovereign right and requires no
understanding of the subject. Thus, there is a reciprocal relationship in the Christian
relationship between the shepherd and the flock which characterizes this individualizing
and totalizing function. The shepherd’s salvation is dependent on the survival of the flock
and his/her willingness to sacrifice for the preservation of the flock, while the flock’s
submission is in turn is “secured through two techniques that the flock should exercise on
itself: self-examination and guidance of conscience” (“Care of the self and pastoral
power,” 2007).

Self-examination, as Carabine (2001a) writes, functions to reconfirm the norm.
Through the guidance of a conscience individuals measure their relation to the norm. The
penitent is guided through the self-examination and a form of unburdening occurs which
brings the penitent back into harmony with the community and the universe. The
confessional is historically one site at which the power technology of the examination is
employed. Foucault (1990) writes that confession is a ritual “in which the speaking
subject is also the subject of the statement;” however, Butler (2005) views this as a
‘becoming’ of sorts, a generation of a subjectivity tied to the discursive frame (p.61).
However, both analyses agree that the confession manifests that which it names. As
Carabine (2001a) suggests the role of the confidant or shepherd has not vanished from the
modern landscape, it remains as “an important ritual of power” through which a specific
technology is enacted to generate a body on which discourses can be written and power
enacted (p.276). Stripped of its religious context in the modern era, the confessional still
functions to create a site in which power can be productive or constrictive: the
boardroom, doctor’s office, psychiatric couch or classroom. A known individual can be
collected, observed, ranked, detailed, disciplined and corrected. Thus, the disciplinary
relationship is tied to the pastoral, through inculcation of the norm. This is particularly
evident in the pedagogical relationship; it is through this “complex arrangement of social
forces” as Ball (2013) writes that the truth of the individual becomes known (p.30).

2.3 Examination, truth and the practices of the self…

In ancient times, truth was not discovered but produced; it relied on a
confrontation between combatants. This mode of veridiction shifted away from the
testing game or contest to that based on the inquiry and the testimony of the witness
under the influence of the Greeks, according to Macmillan (2009). This shift marks a
crucial development in “the will to knowledge in Western societies” allowing “later
[historical] emergence[s] of power/knowledge dispositifs” that functioned to increase the
productivity of the power/knowledge relationship. With this development, Macmillan
(2009) writes, the truth “becomes a universal characteristic of all beings” just waiting to
be revealed (p. 161). For this form of veridiction to have validity, the uncovering of the
truth must be reproducible (p. 162). The examination, as well as self-examination
emerges during the eighteenth century as unique means of deriving the truth, contends
Macmillan (2009), replacing and incorporating the inquiry mode of veridiction. The
inquiry attempted to discern an emerging truth, to uncover or realize the truth, whereas,
the examination pursues the possibility of truth, a virtuality of truth. Thus, the
examination still “refers to a form of knowledge that conforms to the ‘truth-method’
model,” but it opens “whole new fields of objects” that become “targets of a positive
form of power” that in turn produce mechanisms, facts, strategies and targets of
intervention (p.164). Thus, specific knowledge of the individual is generated through the
examination of ‘other’ and the self. The truth is no longer something that will emerge
when the facts are acknowledged by all, but rather when the potentiality of a fact is recognized by all. The truth is no longer solely tied to concrete forms, but to the possibility of actions. This powerful technology does not need “testimony” or the “reactualization of a fact,” but the “virtuality,” the possibility of the production of knowledge and the possibility of a ‘fact’ (pp. 164,165). All that is needed to confirm the truth is the preponderance of evidence. Through this process, Foucault (2000) insists:

…knowledge…was no longer about determining whether or not something had occurred; rather, it was about whether an individual was behaving …This new knowledge was no longer organized around the questions: ‘Was it done? Who did it?’ It was no longer organized in terms of presence and absence, of existence or nonexistence; it was organized around the norm, in terms of what was normal or not, correct or not, in terms of what one must do or not do (p. 59).

Through this lens, one can discern the importance of the examination as it is deployed in a pedagogical relationship: it functions to confirm the parameters of the field of discipline, it delineates the norm and it imposes a ‘truth’ upon the examined. However, it is important to remember that this is a probability of truth, not a confirmed truth. As such, the possibility of resistance exists and the ‘other’ may reject the imposition of this truth or the self-modification associated with it. Resistance, according to Ball (2013) operates “at a multiplicity of points in different forms, in many small acts and passing moments,” but without the freedom to choose, power cannot flow and its productivity is blocked (p. 32). The examination links the micro-power relations of a disciplinary regime with the macro-power relations of governance of souls (see Macmillan, 2009; Ball, 2013). As such, it is essential to both pastoral (governmental) and disciplinary relationships. It is a fundamental aspect of an apparatus of security as it represents a conduit through which power can flow from the local level to the central authority.
Examination implies surveillance from above and placement within a graded hierarchy.

By utilizing a criterion, the examination functions to confirm the normalization associated with that criterion and establish a bandwidth of acceptability, while calculating the cost of intervening into the field. The power technology of the examination, insists Foucault (2007), functions within the disciplinary regimes associated with uncountable governmental and institutional edifices (p.6). In modern government rational, it functions to generate simple to complex overlapping social and power relationships. It is this power technology which has the ability to condition the subjectivities of both the subject and the object with its normalizing gaze. In the educational milieu, Foucault (1995) writes, the power/technology examination:

…enable[s] the teacher, while transmitting his [sic] knowledge to transform his [sic] pupils into a whole field of knowledge… the examination in the school was a constant exchanger of knowledge; it guaranteed the movement of knowledge from teacher to the pupil, but it extracted from the pupil a knowledge destined and reserved for the teacher (p.178)

This is a very specific action within the pedagogical relationship. Schooling, as Ball (2013) writes, has a schizophrenic nature based on the contradictory notion of uniformity and individuality; as such the examination judges and demarcates each student while it conditions both teachers and administrators, through the collection of data, to self-condition and refine their pedagogy in the face of the collected knowledge. Teachers update their knowledge of their flock, making adjustments in their pedagogy to maximize their care. In short, the power/knowledge relationship within this technology legitimatizes itself through its generation of specific knowledge of the individual and the examiner. It is a circular underpinning, as the knowledge collected both refines and legitimates its use. It is the generation of specific expert knowledge that encourages the individual to self-
monitor. This relationship between expert knowledge and the self-modifying individual, Foucault (1984) contends, is essential:

One cannot care for self without knowledge. The care for self is of course knowledge of self… but it is also knowledge of a certain number of rules of conduct or of principles which are at the same time truths and regulations. To care for self is to fit one’s self out with these truths. That is where ethics is linked to the game of truth (p.116).

To ‘know one’s self’ was to understand these imposed truths and to respond accordingly, either with rejection or self-modification. Foucault (1990) contends that this practice of outfitting one’s self with the truth is grounded in the Greco-Roman age. The Greeks and Romans attempted to institute a form of ‘care of the self’ which was considerably different from that found during the Middle Ages and the development of the Christian confessional. This form of self-monitoring was not rooted in piety or for the glory of oneself or God. It was a practiced austerity which was thought to strengthen the bonds within families and through this from family to community, community to government. This was similar to the attempted goals of the Saskatchewan government to use schools as ‘centres of calculation’ connecting each of its small farming communities through the common commitment to so many one-room schoolhouses. The rural school became essential to the government’s intervention into the lives of its citizenry. As J. A. Calder (1908) wrote in his report to parliament, the circulars issued to the trustees of schools warned against any expenditure not “justified by reasonable needs” and that through such devices the Department of Education was “thus able to exercise considerable control and restraint” in school districts where the trustees did not place the interests of the community first (p. 11).
Foucault (1990) refers to this practiced austerity as a journey into the “arts of existence” and claims that such practices gave “rise to relationships between individuals… and finally, to a certain mode of knowledge and to the elaboration of a science” (p. 44). It was common to employ a guide or mentor in the pursuit of these arts of existence. This wiser teacher would guide the young in the art of conditioning their appetites. This pedagogical relationship was not institutionalized, but it had a known structure that could vary from teacher to teacher. It relied on practices of self-deprivation, self-examination and sacrifice to one’s community. Foucault (1990) writes that a “whole art of self-knowledge was developed,” with “precise recipes, specific forms of examination and codified exercises” that were both personal and social, with the power technology of self-examination at its core (p. 58). Deacon (2006) refers to these practices as the ‘technologies of the self.’ He writes:

Characterized by individualizing and totalizing tendencies operating in tandem, they [technologies of the self] began likening kings to shepherds tending their flocks, with numerous implications for the relationship between master and servant, teacher and pupil, and parent and child. Greek and Roman practices of mastery of the self gave these techniques a particular gloss, which were taken further by early Christian monastic and penitential practices (p. 436).

Deacon (2006) contends these same practices were eventually institutionalized by the church. The self-examination power technology was expanded, particularly through the use of the confessional and utilized in the pedagogical models of the clergy during the middle ages. This technology was refined as it was brought to bear on a populace: bishop to priest, abbot to monk, and priest to flock, power flowed through the hierarchy of the church. Through site specific rituals; the monastery cell, the loneliness of isolation, the confessional, and the rule of silence, the church expanded its pastoral control over a
specific populace. This was no longer the guided pedagogical relationship of the Greeks and Romans, though it retained many of its original characteristics: self-examination, austerity, self-denial and sacrifice to one’s community. However, new practices were added and new relays of power introduced. The Power technologies intensified, allowing the priest to examine his flock, the bishop to examine the priest and each to participate in the management of the populations’ habits, sexuality, attitudes and conduct. As knowledge was collected regarding the flock, the church developed a criterion which delineated the norm. This criterion was continually modified, through different edifices, the confessional, the poor house and the infirmary, until the most efficient application of power was achieved. However, it must be remembered, that the church, while concerned with the populace, was a community within a community. These disciplinary technologies were site-specific. Prado (2000) writes that a disciplinary regime can only function in “a place closed in upon itself” (p.63). However, the confessional provided a site in which pastoral power techniques could interface with the populace at large. It was through this semi-governmental mechanism that the church conducted conduct. As a result, the church, building on the ‘arts of existence’ perfected by the Greeks, generated one of the first models of a disciplinary institution, one which would eventually be reproduced in the barracks, the hospital, the psychiatric ward and the school. The confessional centered the power technology of self-examination at the heart of this disciplinary regime. This technology would be adapted by the new disciplines emerging from Enlightenment thought, eventually arriving at the examination that we know today. Foucault elaborates on this site of power and its relationship with the production of truth in *The History of Sexuality* (1990):
Since the Middle Ages at least, Western societies have established the confession as one of the main rituals we rely on for the production of truth…with the resulting development of confessional techniques, the declining importance of accusatory procedures in criminal justice, the abandonment of test of guilt…and the development of methods of interrogation and inquest…the setting up of tribunals of Inquisition: all this helped to give the confessional a central role in the order of civil and religious powers (p. 58).

The confessional and the confession were adapted through a series of site-specific power technologies to become a means by which the truth could be written on the individual. This same ‘truth’ when removed from its religious connotations, would eventually be constituted as a science. Foucault explored these techniques in terms of their constitution of the science of sex during the Victorian age in *The History of Sexuality* (1990); however these procedures are present in many of the applications of this power, whether pedagogical, medical or psychological (p. 116). Foucault (1990) describes this procedure as beginning with the inducement to speak that would be then “reinscribed” in scientific terms (p. 65). The examination must be “thorough, meticulous, and constant,” and the confession displaced to generate a clinical distance (pp. 65, 66). As such, the confession was no longer, “concerned solely with what the subject wished to hide, but with what was hidden from himself [sic]” (p. 66). It was therefore necessary for those things hidden to emerge naturally. Foucault (1973) writes of the “gaze” instrumental to this unburdening of the penitent:

No light could now dissolve them in ideal truths; but the gaze directed upon them would, in turn, awaken them and make them stand out against a background of objectivity. The gaze is no longer reductive, it is, rather, that which establishes the individual in his [sic] irreducible quality. And thus it becomes possible to organize a rational language around it (p. xiv).
This demonstrates the multivalent nature of the pastoral power mechanism. It could generate specific knowledges through several disparate sites and through several different power techniques: examination, confession, decipherment and modification. Once the deviation from the norm was revealed it had to be interpreted, a process Foucault (1990) has described as having two stages. The confessor had to first assimilate the truth of the individual and then record it. Through this procedure, the “obscure truth” was verified and the “revelation of confession” could be coupled with “the decipherment” so that the true meaning or nature of the problem could be revealed (pp. 66, 67). This procedure allowed the penitent to master his own truth, but also allowed the confessor to lay on the penitent a regulatory normalizing truth. In this way, the ‘other’ becomes integral to the operation of these power techniques. Lastly, the information obtained during the confession was “recodified as therapeutic operations” (p. 67). This removed the confession from its traditional association with error and sin, and placed it under the “rule of the normal and the pathological,” essentially subjecting the information gathered from medical, psychological, pedagogical or any other evaluation through the preponderance of symptoms. Butler (2005), however, contends that this power technology reconstitutes the individual; a process which involves a ‘becoming.’

Confession in this context presupposes that the self must appear in order to constitute itself and that it can constitute itself only within a given scene of address, within a certain socially constituted relation. Confession becomes the verbal and bodily scene of its self-demonstration. It speaks itself, but in the speaking it becomes what it is… Moreover, confession does not return a self to an equilibrium it has lost; it reconstitutes the soul on the basis of the act of confession itself. The sinner does not have to give an account that corresponds to events but only make himself manifest as a sinner. Thus a certain performative production of the subject within established public convention is required of the confessing subject and constitutes the aim of the confession itself (p.113).
Butler (2005) argues that confession and self-examination, as elaborated by Foucault, is the practice of “externalizing or publicizing” oneself and that through this process one is subjected to “the violence of self-scrutiny and the forcible imposition of a regulatory discourse” that in turn shapes subjecthood (p. 113). This act of performativity or becoming inevitably led to an act of correction; however, the act of transgression is “not avowed as a theft and is not socially constituted as a fact until it becomes manifest through the act of confession” (pp. 113,114). Thus, without the ritual and the discursive framing associated with it, the performance cannot occur. Through the socially constituting act of performativity, the site-specific ritual of the confessional and the regulatory discourse associated with it, the subjectivity of the individual is both produced and constrained.

Deacon (2006) writes that the modern school system emerged in the nineteenth century as a “disciplinary response to the need to manage growing populations” and the perceived shortcomings of past systems (p. 181). The increasing societal changes stemming from a changing economy, new labor roles and the consequential perceived loss of morality associated with unstable class relations left many of the citizenry of both England and France disillusioned with the existing systems of societal control. For Deacon, this was caused by “the waning authority of mainstream” religions as well as the “declining guild system” and the ineffectiveness of the traditional governmental disciplinary institutions, such as the prison or the workhouse (p. 179). At the same time, the educational institutions reliant on the Lancasterian System in which older and more experienced students taught the younger and less advanced, were thought to be overcrowded, “arbitrarily managed, abusive, [and] ineffective,” while “exacerbating labor
shortages and producing delinquents” (p.179). Parents viewed these institutions as an intrusion on the authority and prerogative of the family unit. Similar comments can be found throughout the Foght (1918) report:

The district school is unquestionably responsible for the following fundamental weakness from which all are suffering: non-attendance …irregularity of attendance; and a great wastage in attendance due to lack of interest in prescribed school work (p.29).

He went on to point out a very disturbing trend in the early education system in Saskatchewan:

The rural schools are full of ‘over age’ pupils that long fulfill the age requirements long before they complete the elementary school course. Non- English schools have a greater rate of over-age students (p. 44).

Foght (1918) compared the graduation rates of non-English to English rural schools and found that 4806 students were attending grade one in non-English schools; but by the time those students reached grade eight, only 39 students had finished the prescribed course of study to be eligible for high school. However, many of these 39 did not attend, as this would have meant leaving home to go to school in one of the larger communities. Most students returned to farm labour, content to have a grade eight education. The graduation rates in the English schools were not any better, as inspector J.H. Gallaway (1917) commented in his report on the Wilkie district:

This shows that there are in Grade one over 30 per cent of all pupils enrolled, while less than 14 per cent [have advanced beyond] grade five” (p. 117).

According to Gallaway’s figures, 1,225 students were enrolled in grade one in the Wilkie district while those students advancing to junior form (grade eight) numbered 49 (p. 117). The growing pains associated with establishing a national education system in Great Britain, the overcrowding, labour shortages, poorly kept physical plants and
ineffectual management, were experienced once again on the prairies of Canada a century later.

Deacon (2006) insists that this discontent was exacerbated by the previous system’s reliance on corporal punishment to motivate students (p. 179). The subject of corporal punishment was never raised in the inspectors’ reports examined. However, the inspectors’ concerns with the moral character of the students were clearly evident, particularly in Rouleau district inspector Gordon Griffin’s annual report (1918):

In carefully guarding of the morals of the pupils teachers should supervise carefully and constantly the condition of the [water] closets and outbuildings. This is sometimes neglected. These places are too often sources of corruption for childhood. Parents would prefer to have their children grow up in their native wildness without such so-called education than have their hearts and minds befouled and debauched by the vile words, pictures and insinuations which sometimes meet the eye here (p. 99).

It is clear, according to Deacon (2006), that a new approach to schooling was required (see Bushnell, 1996; Jones & Williamson, 1979; Stone, 1964). The confession with its ability to motivate individuals to self-correct in accordance with the prevailing norm, seemed to present an opportunity. If the offending student could be persuaded to admit their mistake and ask for penance, then corporal punishment would only be required in the most arduous cases. For the new approach to take hold, however, a more effective use of the productivity of power was needed, one that would reach to the individual as well as the body. As a result, schooling, not unlike the penal system, began to shift focus; from coercion to motivation. Deacon writes that this was only made possible by “pay[ing] attention to the implicit, possibly innate, assuredly calculable, future potential of the young,” and their natural ability to adapt (p. 180). The perceived lack of regulation in schools, the associated lack of ‘humanity,’ would eventually be
dismissed as schools and schooling turned towards what Foucault (1995) would refer to as a greater economy of coercion (p. 179). Relations of power and their related technologies needed to function at the level of the individual students’ body, shaping them and proactively intervening in the future behaviours of students. Not unlike the shift in the discovery of an emerging ‘truth,’ the probability of a student’s action became the focus of the educators’ intervention. This is the foundation of an apparatus of security, but within an enclosed space. It has in many ways been the downfall of the modern educational system; its apparatus of security, which functions to intervene, is limited to the school enclosure. Once outside this enclosure, the school’s ability to intervene is superseded by other governmental, societal and parental mechanisms.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Foucault (2000) writes, new forms of social control were operating in England and France through the emergence of a new industrial class (p. 68). Moral societies, religious groups and temperance leagues began to spring up to counter the moral disintegration associated with rapid urbanization. These self-help societies functioned to police their citizenry in an attempt to balance the judicial authority exercised upon them by the state. Foucault (2000) contends that these groups provided the means by which the individual could balance “political power, because the latter possessed a formidable, terrifying, and sanguinary instrument – penal legislation” that could be viewed as arbitrary and unjust. (pp. 62-63). Foucault contends that the government would, in time, essentially co-opt this form of self-conditioning, removing the need for these groups and generating a new form of “polymorphous and polyvalent” power whose productivity was not focused on morality, but rather on the definition of an acceptable range or norm that would eventually filter its way into every aspect of a
citizen’s life (pp. 82-83). This was a necessary step in the generation of the laissez-faire approach of government. Without the self-discipline inculcated by these social groups, the government could hardly trust its citizens to act in their own best interests. The educational regime, with its system of self-conditioning and correction would function as one of these norm-generating institutions. As such, it was one of the many governmental edifices that would find itself modified by these forces. These institutions of power would, as Ball (2013) writes, form a “relay of micro-powers” or an “archipelago” of power, even though the bearers of that knowledge were not necessarily working towards the same goal. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the Victorian era, schools and schooling had begun to shed their reputation as badly managed institutions. Through national education schemes, the behaviours, attitudes and morals of students and parents alike were modified to correspond with the accepted bandwidth of a norm, which continued to adapt to changing societal conditions.

The power technology of the examination was essential to this intensification. It produced specific knowledge of the individual, which was then used by the moral societies to totalize the subject and by the individual to self-condition their subjectivity. As such, the focus of the knowledge emerging from the examination is not “understood in terms of facts,” according to Macmillan (2009), but rather “in terms of a whole range of possible actions, of virtualities” that could be translated into acceptable/unacceptable behavior. (p. 164). One must remember that this was not deterministic; new behaviours, attitudes and morals were always being introduced to the field. Rejected or accepted, there is progression of norms. Through this intensification of governance, the ‘truth’ of an individual was not in his/her action, but rather in the possible range of action available
to them. The effect of such changes produced in education a “new and more positive disciplinary regime” according to Deacon (2006), whose focus became the “development of children’s minds and bodies and the improvement of moral attitudes and behavior” rather than the physical disciplining of the body (p. 180). The productivity of the relationship between power and knowledge was brought to bear to produce and restrict the possible range of subjectivities available to the populace. Teachers, as pedagogues, were expected to model such subjectivities and their students were expected to internalize them. Macmillan (2009), writes that Foucault saw this shift as the beginning of the “era of social orthopedics” (p. 166).

2.4 Governmentality…

As Foucault (1982) implies, this multivalent pastoral power began to spread out and by the eighteenth century was linked up with to other newly formed institutional edifices. Instead of the pastoral power of the church operating in close proximity and rivaling political power, the two introduced “an individualizing ‘tactic’ which characterized a series of power edifices:” the family, hospital, prison and of course the classroom. These institutional edifices allowed power to flow to the populace in an increasingly efficient manner, forming what Deacon (2006) has referred to as “blocks of capacity” that connect and support each other in more or less increasingly constant ways (p. 183). Of this phenomenon Deacon (2006) writes:

These ‘regulated and concerted systems’ fuse together the human capacity to manipulate words, things and people, adjusting abilities and inculcating behavior via ‘regulated communications’ [discourse] and ‘power processes’ [an apparatus of security] and in the process structuring how teaching and learning take place (p. 183).
As these interlocking power relations and their capacity to act on the actions of individuals at the local level evolved, they came to be more under the purview of the state. It was a natural result of their capacity to expand, interlock and support each other. There was little choice as no other institution, with the possible exception of the church, had the capacity to manage (or mismanage) the multivalent nature of the discourses being produced. Foucault (1982) contends that this new form of political power [the state] had been “continuously growing” since the sixteenth century; but far from ignoring the individual citizen “or looking at the interests of the totality… a class or a group,” the state’s power is both individualizing and totalizing (p. 782). As Foucault contends, the modern state is much more than an impersonal, monolithic institution:

I don’t think that we should consider the ‘modern state’ as an entity which was developed above individuals, ignoring what they are and even their existence, but on the contrary, as a very sophisticated structure, in which individuals can be integrated, under one condition: that this individuality would be shaped in a new form and submitted to a set of very specific patterns (p. 783).

These interlocking, mutually supportive institutions represented, as Ball (2013) writes, a “new kind of state” with new state actors, “teachers and head teachers and inspectors” who represented a modality of power, centered in the state’s bureaucracy (pp. 40, 41). Schools became, according to Foucault (1995), “a multiple network of diverse elements – walls, space, institution, rules, discourse” all made up of different elements, different natures and different levels (p.307). For Ball (2013) these new schools, constituted a ‘grid of power’ linking to “matrices of other buildings, bureaucracies and practices” that would eventually include many other nascent governmental systems: health, legal and the emerging psychological sciences among others (p. 43). In short, schools and schooling began to assume an “intermediary socializing and civilizing role”
between the child and family, family and community, and community and government (p. 43). In many ways it was the notion of ability and the *naturalness* associated with this notion that Ball (2013) insists is at the heart of these hierarchical matrices. Ability, for Ball (2013), is “as an effect or articulation of the norm” and becomes a knowledge that relates “pedagogy to population” making possible the notion of “management, distribution and entitlement” in the education milieu (p.51). The school made possible the concept that the learner was “essentially the proprietor of his/her own person and capacities” within a “framework of liberal progress individualism,” a political ideal that had evolved to become a favoured paradigm (p. 52). The learner emerged as subjectivity that articulated a norm that all should aspire to (p.52). However, it was not just the learner whose subjectivity was constrained or produced through this process, but the teacher as well. Deacon (2006) remarks that in the everyday educational context, it seems in many ways, that it is the teacher “performing under the critical gaze” of both the student and the administrator, and is the subject through which and upon “power is exercised” (p. 184). Ball (2013) contends these intensifications essentially “mark the beginnings of a pedagogy that functions as a science” and through this and the other emerging human sciences, power was “circulate[d] through finer channels” throughout the social body (p. 52). These emerging human sciences began to:

…colonize and operate the institutions of modern power in particular ways, through their knowledges and technologies, and those institutions, like the school and the teacher, made certain forms of knowledge possible, indeed necessary …they structured ways of knowing and exercised power that brought into existence esoteric regimes of power/knowledge (p. 53).

Ball concludes that it possible to recognize the effects of this intensification of the capillary capacity of modern power through what MacNaughton (2005) calls the
“officially sanctioned developmental truths of the child” (p. 30). The ‘truth of the child’ was a truth generated through the educational system, but other ‘truths’ were generated through this process of intensification regarding different aspects of the modern society. Health regiments, fiscal regimes, lifestyle choices: all evolved through this intensification of the productivity of power to generate truths by which an individual could maximize the productivity of his/her life. According to Foucault (2005) this process also generated truths regarding the very nature of government and governmentality. Governmentality, according to Foucault (1991a), is defined by “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections” as well as “the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex, form of power” (pp. 102, 103). This form of power became preeminent in the west over all others “resulting in …a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses “that generate specific knowledges, and through which the “state of justice of the Middle Ages is transformed into an administrative state” as modern governance become increasingly ‘governmentalized’ (pp. 102, 103). Due to this shift or intensification in the raison d’état of the state, the state was de-centered as a source of power. As Foucault (2008) contends, the state became less an entity and more an effect: the state “is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentality,” a dispositif of practices tied to a regime of truth (p. 77). The raison d’état is such practice. One must envision the state as “that which exists,” but does not yet exist as much as needed (p. 4). The raison d’état in modern governmental reason was not the expansion of borders or the nature of the relationship between states, but rather a form of internal maximization. With the advent of the notion of a liberal society in which citizens, as Curtis (1992) writes, “cede legitimate political activities to
representatives, [and] follow procedures,” a new relationship between those that are
governed and the governing body was needed (p.6). This relationship required a means
by which governmental intervention could be limited to that which was necessary to
bring about the maximization of the populace and the government. Thus, the focus on
ability as an effect of or articulation of a norm. The state while establishing, demarcating,
and articulating the norm, nevertheless accepts that norm represents a range or standard
of deviation. As such, the subject as well as the state becomes the site of examination,
evaluation, and modification. The state’s legitimacy lies not in its ability to defend or
enlarge its borders, but in the rational and the application of its governmental reason. Its
interventions must be calculated to bring about the desired effect without seeming, as
Foucault (2008) writes, “clumsy, [or] inadequate” otherwise, it risks losing its legitimacy
and authority in the minds of the subjects it governs (p. 10). It is important to note that
Foucault places this shift or intensification historically at the middle of the eighteenth and
nineteenth centuries. However, the annual reports made to the Ministry of Education of
the province of Saskatchewan clearly reveal a similar struggle to measure the degree and
effect of each governmental intervention into the educational system during the poiesis of
the province as a member of a confederation of states. The use of governmental
inspection and the reports generated through this mechanism clearly outline the struggle
to articulate what was, and is, of both provincial and national interest to the fledgling
provincial government. The way in which governance develops, the way in which
“governing…expands, how it contracts, how it is extended to a particular domain, and
how it invents, forms, and develops new practices,” Foucault (2008) contends, has a
history that is often outside the inevitability of a traditional narratives of this edifice (p.
6). By de-centering the traditional narrative, it is possible to examine what is underneath: that which has been subsumed. This is essential to understanding modern governance, as it sheds light on the way in which these blocks of capacity were limited to that which was perceived as necessary and achievable. To appreciate what was thought to be possible, right and necessary in the minds of the government officials, reveals that which was considered unnecessary, unimportant or even dangerous at that time. It is through such analysis that the wake of power as it moves through the social body is revealed. In other words, the flow of freedom and resistance, which is integral to the flow of power through these governmental edifices (of which the norm is one), becomes apparent. This in turn makes it possible to comprehend which subjectivities become available to the subject.

Accordingly, in *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), Foucault sketches out some of these histories as a means of exploring how these ‘blocks of capacity’ intensified the system of governance throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This analysis of the historicity of modern governmental reason sheds light on the seemingly inexplicable rejection of the Foght report (1918) as well as the forces that gave birth to the modern educational system in Saskatchewan and its associated teacher subjectivities.

Traditionally, Foucault (2008) writes, it was the legal system that blunted and limited the power of the sovereign. However, the legal system was also constitutive of the state and therefore outside the *raison d’État* (p. 8). As such, the legal system could only legitimize or delegitimize governmental intervention into the lives of its citizens. Foucault (2008) insists that as this new governmental reason began to take hold in the modern era, an important transformation occurred: a “principle of limitation” that unlike the law would be intrinsic rather than extrinsic to the art of governance (p. 10). It was
through this limitation that the test of the effectiveness and efficiency of government could be verified. Thus, the “domain of fundamental freedom,” as Foucault (2008) writes, is separated from “the domain of possible governmentality” by the action between those that govern and those that are governed (p.12). The art of governance is disassociated from the “principle of right” and enters the age of what Foucault refers to as “critical governmental reason,” which can be expressed through the notion of ‘political economy’ (p.12). Political economy is a “general reflection on the organization, distribution…of powers in a society” that functions to limit the excess tendencies of government (p.13).

Accordingly, political economy does not seek to discover “the natural rights that existed prior to the exercise of [this] governmentality,” but rather the naturalness that is part of or “specific to the practice of government,” which for Foucault represents its epidermis or indispensable shell (p. 16). As such, it is possible to see the scarcity of qualified teaching staff in the formative years of the Saskatchewan educational system as a natural outgrowth of state formation. To intervene governmentally into this natural feature, as Foght recommended, was to court disaster. Although it seems irrational, the governmental solution to the teaching shortage in Saskatchewan was not to intervene. The teaching shortage would have to ‘work itself out;’ however, such a non-interventionist stance exacerbated the problem as qualified teachers left the field or relocated to other provinces with stable teacher populations.

As Foucault (2008) contends, a shift in the focus of governmental reason occurred in the modern era with the introduction of the notion of political economy: from the legality or illegality of the government’s instrumentality to the success or failure of it in the lives of its citizens (p.16). Do these governmental programs achieve the goal of
internally maximizing the populace? In short, it is not that the government is wicked or evil that de-legitimated it in the eyes of the populace, but rather that it is clumsy, arrogant or ignorant. As Foucault (2008) writes this emerging governmental practice became associated with the “know[ledge of] the natural consequences of its actions” as well as how the associated regime of truth would legitimatize these natural consequences (p. 17). Again, returning to the teaching shortage of those early years, the government of Saskatchewan could wring its hands in despair at its inability to provide the growing population with properly trained teachers, but the ‘truth’ of the situation lays in the hands of those at the local level: the trustees and people of the district. The founding principles of the education system required the local government to advance that which the government had provided; this was the perceived truth of the system. Foucault (2008) writes that this dispositif was articulated by:

… a particular type of discourse and a set of practices, a discourse that on the one hand, constitutes these practices as a set bound together by an intelligible connection and, on the other hand legislates and can legislate on these practices in terms of true and false (pp. 17,18).

From the middle of the nineteenth century, it became possible to reflect upon “a coherence established by intelligible mechanisms which link together these different [governmental] practices and their effect” in terms of ‘good or bad’ rather than law, morality or necessity (p. 18). Thus, as Foucault (2008) contends, a whole range of governmental interventions “enter into a new regime of truth,” with the fundamental effect of shifting any questions raised regarding them to ‘Are they effective or non-effective (p. 18)?’ ‘Does the government have my best interests in mind?’ ‘Does this governmental intervention seem heavy handed?’ ‘Is the government listening to the
voices at the local level?’ Foucault contends that the introduction of political economy and its associated regime of truth into the rationality of governance functions as a fundamental intrinsic limitation of government in the modern era. For Foucault (2008) this is the birth of modern liberal forms of government; the introduction of the governing principal of ‘laissez-nous faire’ in the modern era (p.20). He writes:

I think an essential characteristic of this new art of government is the organization of numerous and complex internal mechanisms whose function…is not so much to ensure the growth of the state’s forces, wealth and strength, to ensure its unlimited growth as to limit the exercise of government power internally (p.27).

From this perspective, it is possible to understand why Foght’s recommendations found so little traction with the government of Saskatchewan. While the government could reassure its populace that it was endeavouring to address the issues that seemed at the heart of the rural school problem, it was limited by its founding principles: respect for local conditions and duality of control. To implement Foght’s (1918) recommendations was to restructure the local government to the municipal level and to consolidate several school districts in to one larger, and presumably more efficient organization. This would require the conveyance of students from small villages to a larger town. The cost of conveyance was high in Saskatchewan. In 1918, the Cupar school district, with a catch basin of 56 miles and 284 students, spent $7,730.75 to convey students to the a larger central school, while the district cost for the five teachers at the school was $5,850.00 (Annual Report, 1919, p. 15). Parents did not support the move toward consolidated schools. It was thought that parental supervision would be lacking at the larger consolidated school and it removed the influence they previously enjoyed with the local board. Men of property did not support the municipal model, as it would bring land that
lay outside the school district under taxation. The inspectors universally supported the municipal scheme. Consolidated schools were yearly schools, had better attendance rates, lower teacher turnover, and better pay. J. A. McLeod (1916), inspector of the Estevan district wrote that the rural system of local trustees and a one room school house “promote[d] sectionalism and prevent[ed] the realisation of common educational policy,” which in turn “leaves educational administration to blind chance” with the inevitable result that the education of the community is often in the hands “of ignorant and incompetent” trustees (p. 125).

The intensification of the productivity of power that led to governmental interventions being perceived as ‘good or bad’ must not be thought of as a deterministic shift. “Power relations are seldom one-sided” (Deacon, 2006, p.184). They are, however, reciprocal. Those individuals that exercise power in the classroom, barracks or psychiatric ward are caught up in the production of subjectivities as much as the student, soldier or the patient. This analysis in some ways explains why the Saskatchewan government rejected the Foght report. Such a governmental intervention would certainly de-legitimate the government’s effectiveness. Odd as it seems, the government’s effectiveness rested in its ‘laissez-nous faire’ approach, at least when it came to addressing the rural school problem in Saskatchewan.

The question of the effectiveness of a government’s practice is grounded, according to Foucault (2008), in the perceived regime of truth associated with the dispositif. Historically, the truth of the government’s intent lay in its management of the marketplace. I am not suggesting that the government tried to impose an economic logic on the education system; however, one must acknowledge that every governmental
intervention comes with a price. My contention here is that the management of the marketplace became a means by which the citizen could judge the worth of its government. Are the goods sold what they claim to be? Are the prices reasonable? Is scarcity managed so that the average citizen can decide whether the price of the product is dear or reasonable? The market, according to Foucault (2005), had been a “privileged object for governmental practice” for several hundreds of years and as such, its regulation revealed the efficacy of governmental intervention (p.33). In short, the market became a site of veridiction and, governmental veridiction in particular. It is not that people, as Foucault insists, wanted “to produce a rational theory of the market” that occurred naturally (p. 33). Several independent and unrelated practices came to together in a unique and special way: a relative consistency of currencies, sustained economic and demographic growth, an intensification of agricultural production, specialized governmental technicians, methods of recording, and reflection. These practices all led to the market becoming a site of veridiction on which governmental practice could be evaluated, studied and refined. Foucault (2008) writes:

The market must tell the truth (dire le vrai); it must tell the truth in relation to governmental practice. Henceforth, and merely secondarily, it is its role of veridiction that will command, dictate, and prescribe the jurisdictional mechanisms, or absence of such mechanisms, on which [the market] must be articulated (p.32).

It may seem odd that Foucault (2005) places the genesis of ‘laissez-nous faire’ in the market place; however it is the interconnectivity of the blocks of capacity that Foucault is attempting to analyze, as one set of phenomena establishes a grid of intelligibility for the whole. He writes:
I do not think we can find – the cause of the constitution of the market as an agency of veridiction. If we want to analyze this absolutely fundamental phenomena in the history of western governmentality, this irruption of the market as a principle of veridiction, we should simply establish the intelligibility of this process by describing the connections between different phenomena (p.33).

However, this historicity of truth must not, as Foucault (2008) warns, be seen as “a reconstruction of the genesis of the true through the elimination or rectification of errors” or through a “succession of rationalities,” but as a:

…genealogy of regimes of veridiction, that is to say, the constitution of a particular right (droit) of truth on the basis of a legal situation, the law (droit) and truth relationship finding its privileged expression in discourse, the discourse in which law is formulated and in which what can be true or false is formulated; the regime of veridiction, in fact, is not a law (loi) of truth, [but] the set of rules enabling one to establish which statements in a given discourse can be described as true or false (p.35).

Therefore, the limitation of government begins with governmental practice, many of which, according to Foucault (2008) are derived from history, tradition and a “historically determined state of affairs,” thus Foght’s inability to convince the government of Saskatchewan to abandon its traditional founding principles even in the face of the obvious problems of governance associated with those principles (p.40). For Foucault, the utility of the governmental practice was key. Historically, this approach to governance is associated with British radicalism; the utilitarian philosophy found traction, particularly with the British colonial subjectivity.

One can clearly see the conflict between Foght, the American expert, and the fledgling Saskatchewan government: the American approach to limiting the expanse of governmental intervention was the inalienable right granted each citizen; outside these rights the government had full sway to decide the best course to maximize its citizens’ potential. However, in Saskatchewan and in Canada as a whole, the utility of the
governmental intervention established its effectiveness, it essential ‘truth.’ For the government of Saskatchewan to betray the founding principles on which it had based the educational system of the province was seen by many as a deception that de-legitimized the government in the eyes of its citizens.

Through this analysis, one concludes that the evolution of the pedagogical relationship became essential to state formation. The fusing of pastoral and disciplinary regimes allowed the productivity of power/knowledge to expand further into the social body and to function on the level of the “bodies of individuals” to influence “their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behavior,” as Foucault (1980) contends (p.125). As modern governmental reason moved away from the antiquated model based on the rights of the sovereign, education became a means by which state-sponsored self-modification could internally maximize the potential of the citizenry. The utilization of the power technology of the examination and the hierarchy associated with it generated a norm that became, as Prado (2000) writes, “invidious comparison with a favored paradigm” to which an individual can inspire (p.63). One must be cognizant, however, of the necessity of freedom to the capillary flow of power through the social body. The educational dispositif brings together disciplinary and governmental reason to articulate this norm. It is imperative for the legitimacy of the government and its raison d’état that its citizenry modify their behaviour willingly and without coercion, thus the need for an ever-efficient flow of power throughout the social body. As these systems increased in sophistication, the bandwidth of acceptable behaviors became increasingly subtle. To employ the art of coercion in any form would be to displace the subtleness of the norm. Nevertheless, to study the ways in which individuals resist the subtle persuasions of the norm is to reveal
its accepted normalness and the way in which that normalness has become invisible, essential and paramount. In many ways these individuals and their sublimated ‘petite’ knowledges reveal much about the true histories of the evolution of governmental edifices and institutions. As these individuals refuse to internalize the norm they clearly delineate that which the norm does not encompass: that which is left out, that which is refused or refuted. Not unlike a midden, the discarded or unarticulated reveal the dark and sinister side of what is conventional or normal. If, as Deacon (2006) contends, it is the teacher in the modern education milieu who performs under the critical gaze of the administrator and student alike then the assumed teacher subjectivities have much to teach us regarding the evolution of that which problematizes our modern educational system. Therefore, the true historicity of the norm, as a measure of governmental reason articulated through the power technology of the examination, can be found in the historicity of the way in which teachers were encouraged to self-modify their subjectivities. This is particularly true in the Saskatchewan educational system, as so many of the teaching population were young women in a society where sexual subjectivities were regulated and constricted.

2.5 Butler and performativity

Gender, according to Butler (2006), is a strategy implicit in cultural survival. This was never truer than in Saskatchewan during the beginning of the twentieth century. In the year of the Foght report, 83.3 percent of the teaching population were young women. These women were, as Danylewycz et al. (1991a), writes, ideally suited for this role in a settler society. She contends:
Young and socialized to obedience in a patriarchal family setting, they were the ideal people to fill the growing numbers of jobs in schools that were increasingly governed by rules and regulations from above, whether from immediate superiors such as principals and trustees or from more distant authorities such as state or provincial departments of education (p. 86).

Gender then, is as essential to the poiesis of the Saskatchewan educational system as the founding governmental principles of inclusion, duality of control and respect for local conditions. Even Foght (1918) commented on this phenomenon:

It is to be expected that women teachers will increase steadily in numbers – and this is no calamity – but it is essential to the welfare of the schools to retain as large a number of men teachers as possible or there may soon be reason to fear a feminisation of the schools (p. 105).

Foght (1918) does not explain why the feminization of the teaching pool was something to fear. He did comment that community schools would attract “mature married men teachers” and that this solution had been applied in similar situations in the United States (p. 106). However, to understand teacher subjectivities at this time, it is necessary to understand the way in which gender is performed and the discourses that frame that performance. Although confederation established Canada as an independent nation in 1867, its colonial ties to Great Britain linger long and loom large. With its late entry into confederation, Saskatchewan culture was still largely influenced by its British lineage, even though its population was represented by many different nationalities. Its mothers and daughters would have been deeply influenced socially by what we now consider Victorian values that were reinforced by an intrinsic “settler mentality” (see Mulholland, 2009; Razack, 2002; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Tupper & Cappello, 2008).

It is, according to Salih (2002), impossible to separate the social influence from the performance of gender subjectivities. Salih contends that there is no gender “that is not
always already gendered” as nothing exists “that is not social” (p. 55). Therefore, there can then be no natural body that exists prior to the social inscription. This implies that gender is not something someone is, but rather something someone does. For Butler, gender is performative. I would contend that all subjectivities are performative, but in the context of the early years of the Saskatchewan educational system it is important to understand the social geography that determined how these women teachers’ private and professional lives were shaped. All of the inspectors in the Saskatchewan education system were propertied, older men. These men had complete authority over the teachers and their workplace. The trustees were older, propertied men as well; women would not be allowed to run for election as a trustee until 1917, a year after gaining the right to vote provincially. This could have been caused by the influence of the World War One; so many of the male trustees were at the front fighting for the expeditionary forces. Why women would want to move into such a patriarchal profession as teaching in such numbers is widely debated. Sager (2007) points to several socio-economic factors that may explain this phenomenon: 1) the hiring of women teachers coincided with the creation of schools as public institutions, thus moving education out of the home and into a state-sponsored setting, 2) a shrinking of the immigrant male labour pool as industrialization began to gain momentum, removing many men as potential competitors for teaching positions, 3) increased earnings that brought the annual pay of women teachers within reach of other respectable female white-collar occupations, 4) a downturn in the profitability of the rural family farm, forcing many daughters to look for work outside traditional farming employment, and 5) the willingness of parents to see that their daughters became educated individuals (pp. 223, 225). Corman (2006) attributes the
move to the onset of World War One, insisting that before the onslaught of the war, women were responsible for “milk[ing] cows, separating cream, making butter, cultivating gardens, picking and preserving wild fruit;” in short, they were completely integrated into the commerce of farming (p. 109). However, with outbreak of war and the shortage of male teachers that accompanied it, women were compelled to fill in these critical occupations. It was considered a patriotic responsibility. Another possibility is that with the introduction of new forms of liberal governance and its focus on internal maximization, economic as well as educational possibilities for women began to increase and through these possibilities women were offered as Skeggs (1997) writes, “the means to value, trade and invest in themselves” within the hierarchical structure of the teaching profession (p. 56). However, I am compelled to point out that the salaries for women teachers in the first twenty years of the Saskatchewan education system were always less than their male counterparts, regardless of the position. Not only that, the annual inspectors reports utilize the pronoun “he” to describe a teacher; the pronoun of “she” begins to emerge during the war years perhaps acknowledging the shift in the gender of many of Saskatchewan’s teachers. As such, it is incumbent to understand the process through which gender is articulated and performed and the importance of Butler’s (1993, 1997) insistence that gender is a performative act.

Butler (2006) takes Salih’s contention that everything is social further, writing that in the performance of gender there is no “doer behind the deed,” but rather the ‘doer’ is constituted through the deed (p. 195). Gender as performance, Salih (2002) writes, “constitutes the identity it is purported to be” through a “set of repeated acts within a
highly rigid regulatory frame” with a determined and limited “number of ‘costumes…”
from which the individual may choose their subjectivity (p. 56). Butler (2006) writes:

…the performativity of gender revolves around this metalepsis, the
way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that
which it posits as outside itself. Secondly, performativity is not a
singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects
through its naturalization in the context of a body understood in part
as a culturally sustained temporal duration (p. xv).

Therefore, gender is, as Boucher (2006) writes, a “culturally-scripted character of
identity;” and as such it should be possible to uncover the discourses that surround and
delineate its performance (p. 113). However, this can be misleading. The subject is
sovereign and therefore there is a dialectical relationship between the constraining
discourse and the agency of the subject. As such, the discourse that determines
production of an individual’s subjectivity is not always apparent to the other. Salih (2002)
writes that Butler’s position on the performativity of gender can sometimes be confusing:
how there can be a “performance without a performer, an act without an actor” if the doer
is constituted by the very act of…doing (p. 56)? This may be attributed to the author
refusing to define the difference between performativity and performance, in part because
Butler (2006) contends her “own views on ‘performativity’” have changed over time,
“most often in response to excellent criticism… [and] because so many others have taken
it up and given it their own formulations” (p. xv). However, to my mind, it is the framing
of the question that generates the confusion: the idea of performance presupposes a
subject; performativity denies the “very notion of the subject” existing prior to the
performance (p. 56). As such, the gendered performativity brings into existence that
which it names. This is very similar to Foucault’s notion of the medical ‘gaze’ as outlined
in The Birth of the Clinic (1973) or the constitution of the subjectivity of the ‘prisoner’ by
the penal system which he outlined in *Discipline and Punish* (1995). The medical or penal discourse generates the patient/prisoner subjectivity through the institutionalization of the medical/penal subjectivity. As Foucault (1973) writes, to “see was to perceive” through this ‘gaze’ and to perceive was to make (p. xiii). However, I share some of Boucher’s (2006) misgivings: there must be an instance before the subject is constituted; a time when the subject *knows* which subjectivity must be chosen and as such the doer, while constituted through the deed, in some way *knows* which deed it needs to perform.

Butler’s analysis of gender while emphasizing the performativity of the subject incorporates Althusser’s (1971) notion of interpellation. Interpellation is the process by which the ideology of social and political institutions constitutes the subjectivities of individuals through the discourses associated with them. The individual is ‘hailed’ into a subjective identity through their social interaction with such institutions. Removing Althusser’s Marxist framework, Butler (1997) theorizes a performative interpellation. Althusser (1971) writes that it is ideology that interpellates the individual into a subjective position, as ideology possesses a material existence that produces an imagined relationship between the subject and the conditions of their existence (p.155). Ideology for Althusser always exists in an “apparatus and its practice, or practices;” its existence is material and therefore its influence is material (p. 156). Althusser, writes Nguyen (2004), views ideology as functioning as a mediator between systems of power and individuals. However, Foucault (1980) rejects this notion of ideology as a mediator between discourse and the individual, stating:
…it [ideology] always stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth. Now I believe that the problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientificity or truth, and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false (p.118).

For Foucault then, it is not ideology that mediates between the discourse and the individual, but rather it is the regime of truth grounded in both the material and the discursive practices: the dispositif. An individual is interpellated by the perceived truth claim of the discourse. Prado (2000) writes of this:

Foucault’s most difficult notion of truth is the Nietzschean perspectivism that makes truth a function of interpretation and denies that there is any-thing but interpretations. This is a notion in which truth is not the linguistic capturing of facts because ‘facts’[are] precisely what there is not’ (p. 122).

Through the Foucauldian lens, the interpellation or hail that motivates the subject to select a subjectivity is not generated by the universal truth of ideology but rather through the truth claim associated with the discourse surrounding the hail. As such, each discourse becomes a site of veridiction and it is this history of constituted knowledges, discourses and practices that shapes the truth claim. Foucault, according to Prado (2000) was not concerned with the way “ideology shapes or twists underlying truth” but rather the historic claims about truth itself (p. 120). As such, different “uses of truth qualify and limit each other” so that the ‘truth’ of the discourse associated with the interpellation need not be universal; indeed, one aspect of the truth may be refused or rejected while another is accepted (p. 120). Althusser relies on the example of a policeman stopping an individual on the street to check identification. The individual is interpellated into a subjective position to the policeman by the authority granted the police to check the
identification of citizens. However, the individual may reject the truth associated with the 
policeman’s reasoning that brought the officer to the conclusion that the individual’s 
identification needed to be checked. The individual’s subjectivity may reflect unease and 
uncertainty with the truth claim associated with the discourse; however, the discourse still 
interpellates the individual to a subjective position. Thus, when applying the theory of 
interpellation to the performance of a gender or subjectivity, one must be careful to 
acknowledge that the truth claim that ‘hails’ an individual into a subjectivity is a site of 
veridiction, containing multiple discourses, multiple truth claims and some of which may 
be accepted while others are rejected.

When one is ‘hailed’ or interpellated into a subjective position through the 
acknowledgement of the hail, the individual, writes Nguyen (2004), “recognizes his [or 
her] subjecthood” (p. 1). I would argue that the individual not only recognizes their 
subjecthood, but accepts or rejects that subjecthood. The ‘hail’ does not always elicit the 
subjectivity that it seeks. If the hail is thought of as a form of discourse, the subject, as 
Prado (2000) writes, is “the product of discourse rather than being prior to discourse” or 
the hail. (p. 57). Nguyen reminds us that this process has a duality attached to it: the 
individual while acknowledging their existence as a subject is in turn subjugated to the 
discourse that forms the material practice of the hail. Interpellation functions, according 
to Nguyen (2004), to “obscure[s] traditional forms of repression,” thus, allowing the 
individual to be incorporated into existing systems of power (p. 1). As such, individuals 
adopt self-modifying behaviours willingly while never recognizing their own subjugation 
to the discursive regime.
Moreover, discourse, interpellation, and subjecthood, occur simultaneously and mutually reinforce one another. Butler (1997), in taking up the Althusserian notion of interpellation through her theory of performativity, expands the concept of subjecthood and subjectivity. According to Butler, the hail produces strangeness in the recipient, inciting a moment of reflexivity. Within this reflexivity, the subjecthood of the individual is yet defined. The reflexivity can lead to a moment of performativity or a refusal by the potential, yet unformed subject. For Butler (1997), the ‘other’ that interpellates the unformed subject is essential to the taking up of subjectivities. Butler (2005) insists that the inability to incorporate the ‘other’ and their role in the constitution of the subjecthood is a shortcoming in the Foucauldian theory of subjectivity. However, the ‘other’ is essential for power to function. In *Discipline and Punish* (1995), it is possible to find references to a material ‘other’ that has a role in constituting subjecthood of the prisoner. I refer to Foucault’s explanation of Bentham’s Panopticon; although never built, it does nevertheless point to the way in which material forms of discourse produce or elicit certain subjectivities. Butler’s (1997) theory suggests the subject is dependent on another for their subjectivity as well as their compliance to the social norms present within the discursive frame. Through the acknowledgement of the interpellation, the individual accepts the social norms which shape the discursive frame and their implication in the address. She writes:

…we have perhaps overlooked the fact that the very being of the self is dependent, not just on the existence of the other in its singularity … but also on the social dimension of normativity that governs the scene of recognition. This social dimension of normativity precedes and conditions any dyadic exchange even though it seems that we make contact with that sphere of normativity precisely in the context of such proximate exchanges (pp. 23-24).
Through such a lens, the hail is a moment of recognition of the normativity associated within a socially constituted discursive frame and the truth constituted within. As such, an individual who acknowledges the hail has their subjectivity produced or constrained. As Butler (2005) writes, it is not the “I… offering this recognition from its private resources” but the “I” that is “the instrument of that norm’s agency,” which in turn leads the “I” to perform accordingly (p.26). Thus, through Butler’s analysis, gender and indeed subjectivities are conditioned by the social norm, while dependent on the ‘other’ to formulate the hail that initiates the formation of the specific subjectivity requested. For Butler, one is “compelled and comported outside oneself” through the discursive frame (p. 28). The way in which we acknowledge ourselves is through:

…mediation that takes place outside oneself, exterior to oneself, by virtue of a convention or a norm that one did not make, in which one cannot discern oneself as an author or an agent of one’s own making (p.28).

Youdell (2003) contends that the combination of the Althusserian hail with Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of habitus in Butler’s theory of gender produces an analysis in which “the dispositions of the bodily habitus might be understood as ‘tacit performative[s]’” that are formed and practiced through ritual (p. 6). Through this lens, the habitus is seen to have a “tacit awareness” of the potential of the discursive frame to limit both the performativity and “bodily practices” of the gender subject (p. 6). As such, the habitus provides that reflexive moment in which the subject determines to receive or reject the hail. Even linguistic agency is conditioned by the performativity of the discursive frame. Youdell (2003) writes that the interpellation is “potential performative” through both the materiality of the body and the linguistic agency granted the subject “who has been named” as they are “able to name another” and as such can themselves be
named (p. 6). This linguistic agency is shaped by the discursive frame and the norms associated with it. Thus, the tacit rules and regulation, as well as the truth associated with the norm, are realized and recognized by those individuals within a particular space and time. Through the recognition of the interpellation and the discursive frame in which it occurred, performativity is elicited from the subject by another. Youdell (2003) writes:

This framework suggests that the subject who has been named is able to name another – he/she has ‘linguistic agency’ (Butler, 1997a, p. 15). This is not the agency of a sovereign subject who exerts her/his will. Rather, this agency is derivative, an effect of the discursive power. The linguistic agency of this performatively interpellated subject is simultaneously enabled and constrained through discourse (p. 6).

Butler’s theory of the formation of subjectivities challenges the duality associated with humanism. It unsettles the Cartesian rationality of “Cogito ergo sum” or “I think, therefore I am.” For Butler, there never can be an essential self, because we are not capable of dismissing ourselves from the discursive frame that constitutes our subjectivity or gender. In many ways this agrees with the Foucauldian assumption that subjects are formed by the internalization of disciplinary discourses, but also challenges it. Foucault (1991a) insists that the “task of genealogy is “to expose a body totally imprinted by history;” however, this assumes a body that is essentially a blank slate, unaware of the process of inculcation occurring through the hail, the performative habitus and the recognition of the norm (p. 83). For Salih (2002) this reinforces the notion that there is an inner and surface identity or what Salih (2002) refers to as “the Cartesian dualism between body and soul” (p. 57). Butler (1989), however, maintains that this duality implies that the gender of the subject exists prior to the discursive frame imprinting itself on the body. This implies a body that is “ontologically distinct,” removed from the “construction of itself” (p. 601). How can the “I” exist if the
interpellation of the other is necessary for the performance of “I”? Butler (2006) writes that if the “body is figured as a surface and the scene of cultural inscription,” then the body “must be destroyed and transfigured in order for culture to emerge” through it (p. 177). Salih (2002) comments on this as well:

Butler repeatedly refuted the idea of a pre-linguistic core or essence by claiming gender acts are not performed by the subject, but they performatively constitute a subject that is the effect of discourse rather than the cause of it: ‘that the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality’ (p. 57).

Performativity must then be seen as an act of becoming, while the performance the realization of that process. Butler turns to the metaphor of a woman putting on lipstick: the performativity of the application of makeup is followed by the performance of gender. In the process of applying makeup, the girl is ‘girled.’ Just as Butler (2005) wrote about the confession a “certain performative production of the subject within established public convention is required” to constitute the subjectivity of a gendered subject. (p.113). As such, the materialization of subjectivity becomes an important aspect of the constitution of that subjectivity. For Barad (1998), bodies are not only the site or surface in which the discourses governing subjectivities are written or inscribed, as Foucault insists, but a process through which “material constraints and exclusions, the material dimensions of agency and the material dimensions of regulatory practices” converge with social dimensions (p.2). For Barad, to think of the material world as fixed and permanent is to return to the very Cartesian dualism that Butler refutes.

It is the instruments and the devices that are developed within a discursive framing that according to Barad, (1998), constitute practices that are “materialize[d] through time” and shape the possibility of subjecthood (p.7). Such devices produce site
specific knowledge through what Barad refers to as “intra-activity” producing “material-discursive phenomena” interacting and linking up with other material discursive apparatuses within a discursive frame (p. 7):

To put it bluntly, if not crudely, the material dimension of regulatory apparatuses, which is dissociable from its discursive dimension, is to be understood in terms of the materiality of phenomena. Apparatuses have a physical presence or an ontological there-ness as phenomena in the process of becoming; there is no fixed metaphysical outside. This framework provides a way to understand both the temporality of regulatory practices and their effectiveness (and lack thereof) in intra-actively producing particular bodies, that also have a physical presence… it there by provides an account of regulatory practices and their causal (but nondeterministic) materializing effects in the intra-active production of material-discursive bodies (p. 10).

Barad (1998) turns to the scientific debate regarding the nature of light (wave or particle) to demonstrate the material discursive effect of the instruments developed within a discursive frame and the ‘truth’ that is revealed. In short, it is the device that reveals the ‘truth,’ a device envisioned through a discursive dimension and so shapes the truth revealed. This is an important element in the production and taking up of subjectivities within particular institutions. One can think of the school bell as a material phenomenon that reinforces a disciplinary discourse: the segmentation of time. Each student reacts to the bell in a specific way that is unique to that student, and through this reaction one can read the management of student bodies in an enclosed space. Through this lens, the materiality of the modern school can be seen not only as supporting its disciplinary regime, but also discursively restricting and producing subjectivities. It is not only the student that is expected to react to the sound of the school bell: the subjectivities of secretaries, maintenance staff, janitors, teachers and administrators alike are constricted and produced by this material discursive phenomenon. Most importantly, these material
discursive apparatuses have a historicity reflecting Foucault’s (1995) contention that a disciplinary regime evolves through time to produce the most efficient strategy for conditioning individual bodies and producing knowledge regarding that body:

The Panopticon functions as a kind of laboratory of power. Thanks to its mechanisms of observation, it gains in efficiency and in the ability to penetrate into men’s [sic] behavior; knowledge follows the advance of power, discovering new objects of knowledge over all the surfaces on which power is exercised (p. 204).

The school bell has evolved over time, from the hand bell rung by teachers or students outside the schoolhouse door, to a digital device with micro-second accuracy, ensuring that school time is the only time that truly matters. Thus, the one-room school house is a material discursive element in the regulation of teacher subjectivities in the Saskatchewan education system. The linkage between the fundamental principles of this system (local control, the duality of governance, and the need for the system to be inclusive), the materiality of the one-room school house and the gender of its teachers had a profound impact on the subjectivities available to those associated with the system. The way in which the school house was turned into a ‘centre of calculation,’ it’s placement in the center of the district and the insistence of the government that it be demarcated by fencing and plantings and gardens all function to reinforce the regulatory practices associated with this discursive frame. This goes a long way in explaining why the government of Saskatchewan struggled to place the teacher at the center of the community. In many ways, the teacher becomes a biological expression of these material discursive dimensions: a material countenance of the political economy of the government’s intervention in the lives of its citizens, an element of internal maximization and the embodiment of its ruling principles. In an even larger context, these young
women teachers were the embodiment of a colonizing dyad. Cavanagh (2001) writes that the colonizing dyad forms a reciprocal constitution: those that are capable of care and those who are incapable of caring for themselves (p. 402). This is an extension of the ‘civilizing’ claim utilized by the colonial power and is inculcated through the subjectivities of the ‘pioneer’ and ‘settler.’ The norm it generates renders those that do not fit the mould invisible. The land is barren and inhospitable and the white settler sets forth to claim and civilize it. It is this mythos of the pioneering spirit that underpins the settler’s civilizing claim. Thus, the young female teacher “socialized to obedience in a patriarchal family” as Danylewycz et al. (1991a) writes, becomes the mainspring through which the colonial discursive frame is expressed to the next generation of students (p. 87). However, this dispositif is expressed through a gendered subjecthood. It is a performance that would have an impact on the subjectivities of all teachers, past and present, in the Saskatchewan educational system. The way in which this dispositif shifted and grew as new discourses were introduced to the field during the advent of a World War will be explored in the next chapter.
CHAPTER THREE

...exercise an efficient supervision over pupils...teach such subjects as are authorized and to make use of duly approved school books; ... fill up all blank forms which may be sent her by the Department... keep all school registers required...keep the school-rooms in good order and not allow them to be used for any other purpose without permission...in a word...fulfill all the duties of a good teacher, to hold school every day, except Sundays, and festivals and on the holidays authorized by the Commissioners or granted by proper authority (Danylewycz & Prentice, 1991b, p. 136).

The omission of specifics from this teaching contract of 1880 is intriguing. Miss Ellen McGuire is required to “fill up all blank forms,” but there is no explanation or detail as to the content each form requires. Just what compromises “efficient supervision” is never explained sufficiently. What practices make up the “duties of a good teacher?” As Danylewycz & Prentice’s (1991b) research reveals, the teaching contract that Miss McGuire received from District School No. 3 in the province of Quebec was long on her perceived responsibilities to the district and short on the district’s responsibility to her as the school mistress (p. 137). This was the norm for most Canadian teachers. Whether in Quebec, Ontario or Saskatchewan, education in nineteenth century Canada is marked by the steady rise of state-sponsored schools. The need for teachers, particularly elementary teachers, at this time of state formation resulted in an educational workforce that was disproportionately female (p. 137). The speed at which this shift occurred, particularly in Saskatchewan, resulted in drastic changes to the nature of the work being performed.

This chapter examines these cleavages in this discursive field in an attempt to reveal how they affected the subjectivities of women on the prairies before, during and after World War One. I contend that the historicity of these intensifications, (sexual, economic, legal and moral) as well as their advancements and reversals occurring during this nascent
period of state formation, sheds light on the formation of the subjectivity of the ‘caring teacher.’

Danylewycz & Prentice’s (1991b) research points to several reoccurring themes that manifest themselves in this intensification of the duties of a teacher: the introduction of new subjects, and new teaching methods, as well as an increasing need to document, report and monitor the growth and stability of the emerging public institution. There was also an increasing emphasis on discipline, hierarchy, and uniformity of practice and routine (p.139). Saskatchewan teachers were no exception to this ‘intensification.’ Along with the subsequent increase in disciplinary practices, several other factors came into play in the province that had a profound effect on the growth of this regulatory regime: the development of state schooling occurred during the process of state/province formation, the advent of the First World War and the fight by prairie women to be enfranchised as citizens. These events generated anxieties, some sexual/social, others political, regarding the movement of women from the ‘private’ realm of the home into the ‘public’ realm of the economy. As the suffrage movement grew increasingly militant, the social/sexual anxieties deepened. For the young women that constituted the bulk of Saskatchewan’s teacher work force, the beginning of the twentieth century would be marked by challenges that would resonate throughout the history of teaching in the province. These challenges would be felt in all of the Prairie Provinces, and generate concern and consternation in the more established cities of Canada’s east.

By 1912, the Saskatchewan educational system had begun to hit its stride. Although the teaching shortage remained as a constant plague on the system, the frenetic pace of school district expansion had begun to slow. The years before the World War
One represented a pause in this untrammled growth. Things were not going well in the new province. Saskatchewan was experiencing an economic slump. Grain prices had dropped and three consecutive years of drought and crop failures had taken their toll. Homesteaders previously preoccupied with establishing their farms were now faced with the possibility of losing them. Communities began to look inward for what was needed to weather the economic storm. The optimism associated with the formation of a new province had begun to fade. Many were not prepared for the remarks made by then Minister of Education J.A. Calder (1910) in his annual report to the legislature:

The work in connection with the formation of school districts has for a number of years been a trying one for the department. However with the growth of municipal organisations throughout the province it would seem wise that some steps should be taken in the near future by the legislature towards transferring to local organisations such matters as the establishment of school district, the alteration of their boundaries and the establishment of school sites (p.10).

Calder continued in the same vein:

A marked feature in connection with the debenture loans is the tendency in villages and small towns to build greatly beyond present requirements and the Department has had a very difficult problem to face in the effort to keep this optimistic spirit within reasonable bounds ( p. 10).

The steady growth of the school system had weighed heavily on the finances of the Saskatchewan government. By 1910, the yearly cost of the educational system had run to $789,890.00, the equivalent of 19 million dollars in 2014 (Annual report, 1910, pp.9, 10). However, even as the pace of the poiesis of the school system slowed, the responsibilities of the average teacher increased. Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) attribute this to the lengthening of the school year and the expanding of the curriculum (p. 140). Unfortunately for Saskatchewan teachers, it is the lack of these two key features
that the school inspectors felt greatly undermined their ability to stabilize the teaching pool. If the school year was longer and the teaching staff better equipped to teach the curriculum in both practice and methods, teacher migration would dwindle. Accordingly, school populations and teaching staff would stabilize, and regulatory oversight would become firmly entrenched. One must note, however, that at the time of the minister’s remarks in the legislature, the inspectors’ cadre lacked a disciplinary hierarchy and regulatory regime. There was no civilian oversight to this disciplinary enclosure; even the inspectors’ reports had yet to be standardized.

As Saskatchewan’s education system experienced the expansion in its curriculum that the Eastern provinces had some thirty years earlier, it became clear that many of its teachers were overwhelmed. The inspector’s reports are littered with commentary on the inability of the staff to employ effective methods and practice. As R.W. Asselstine wrote in his annual report of 1913, “teacher’s work is satisfactory” but lacks “enthusiasm, knowledge and [the] training” necessary to produce the results desired by the department (p.72). Other inspectors’ reports comment on the mechanical nature of the delivery and the strong emphasis on the basics of the curriculum, like arithmetic and reading. The inspectors’ reports reflect a general sense of malaise not only from the teachers, but also from the trustees and parents. Although many inspectors reported that there seems to be an interest in education at the district level, there seemed little if any interest in making the school the center of community life. This was not a unique problem. As Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) point out, educational historians have:

…tended on the whole to treat turn-of-the-century school mistresses and masters as incipient professionals or, more disparagingly, a professional ‘manqués,’ shying away from any concrete consideration of the work that they actually did (p.138).
Accordingly, the traditional analysis of teaching is that it never became a ‘real profession.’ Educational historians, according to Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b), point to “the influx of inexperienced and malleable young girls into the occupation,” which in turn devaluated the work and experience of well-trained male teachers (p. 138). However, Clifford’s (1991) analysis disputes this. While acknowledging that teaching was within a ‘woman’s sphere,’ and was considered an almost natural “extension of the maternal role,” Clifford argues that the devaluing of teaching as a profession was due to the expansion of state schooling (p. 117). This resulted in an increased demand for teachers and consequently led to many inexperienced individuals (most of them women) entering the profession (p.117). As well, as school terms lengthened and stabilized, the requirements for professional certification became more stringent. Men found the “opportunity costs” associated with teaching too high (p. 123). Clifford (1991) argues that men could no longer combine “temporary teaching stints” during the winter months with traditional labouring opportunities available during the summer (p. 123). Those that remained in the profession could look forward to higher salaries and promotion by moving away from teaching and into the school’s administrative structure (p. 123). These factors generated career opportunities for educated, young, single women which until this time had been very limited. Teaching was viewed by the public as a natural extension of the home, with its focus on caring and nurturing. Wallace (1996) contends that this syncretism acted as “a moral lubricant;” socially tempering any anxiety that was generated from women moving into the public work force (p. 46). Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b), while acknowledging that the work of male teachers was devaluated in this new regime, point to other factors that led to women teachers being positioned as ‘natural educators.’
Regardless of the reason, as more women entered the profession the management of women’s work became essential to the emerging state-sanctioned schools throughout the beginning of the twentieth century.

Increasingly, as Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) write, teachers were expected to take more responsibility for their students both in and outside the classroom. However, supervision of students required not only the presence of the teacher, but also the modeling of appropriate moral and ethical behaviours by the teacher (pp. 144,145). Maintaining the school and the health of the children as a material expression of these moral and ethical attitudes became paramount. Many of the Saskatchewan inspectors lamented the poor sanitation of the school house and placed the blame on incompetent teachers. However, they were blind to the indifference trustees exhibited regarding the hiring of additional labour, such as a caretaker or cleaner. Often their reports not only decry the schoolhouse’s cleanliness but also its unattractiveness, exhorting teachers to ‘beautify’ their classrooms in order to attract students to spend more time in school. Teachers were also required to model the appropriate hygiene for their students. The common water pail and the common drinking cup were done away with as a health risk. Students were regularly inspected by itinerant nurses and teachers for ‘defects.’ The governmental necessity to monitor the health of individual students allowed teachers, as representatives of the state apparatus, access to the private realm of the student’s home life in a way that was previously unprecedented. Increasingly, teaching came to represent more than the simple transmission of knowledge. Teaching became a moral and ethical practice as well. Teachers were expected to assume both the tangible and philosophical duties associated with the education and care of the young. According to Danylewycz &
Prentice (1991b), the Journal of Education for Upper Canada highlighted this issue in 1861, as it attempted to remind teachers of their true duties and responsibilities:

Teachers are not required to make fires. The teacher is employed to teach the school, but he is not employed to make fires and clean the school house, much less repair the school house (p. 149).

It is important to note the use of the pronoun; even though women made up two thirds of the workforce in most Canadian provinces, the teacher is often referred to in the masculine within professional and governmental documents (see Guildford, 1992).

Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) contend that the school authorities of Ontario and Quebec counted on a high turnover of teachers to “flush out the older and ill-equipped masters and mistresses” who were incapable of adapting to these increasing responsibilities (p. 141). In Saskatchewan, many teachers incapable of teaching the new classes, such as calisthenics, hygiene, manual training and domestic science, simply ignored them. Teachers argued that this was justified as “the central authorities did not provide proper instruction manuals” or the proper training needed to teach these new subjects (p. 141). Any fault for the restrictive curriculum was blamed on the government.

Parents, particularly those on the prairies, generally supported the teacher in most of these cases. The view being that a farmer needed only to read, write and calculate in order to be successful in his chosen profession. However, unlike Ontario and Quebec, Saskatchewan’s teaching cadre was unstable, consisting of inexperienced young women, working on temporary permits. It seems many of the young women entering the profession did not take their duties seriously. Many of them thought of teaching as a stop gap between adulthood and marriage. Broadfoot (1976) writes of this phenomenon:
The surest way for a lass in the West to get married was to become a school teacher. It didn’t take much – usually just a grade-nine education, a temporary teacher’s certificate, an appointment to a small country school – and then the bachelors flocked around. She could pick and choose (p. 283).

Teaching was not thought of as a career at this time because women were not supposed to have careers other than motherhood. With the rise of state-sponsored schooling many families felt it was necessary to outfit their daughters with skills that would lead to personal and financial security. That these young women chose teaching is not unremarkable. Clifford (1991) draws a parallel between these students and their teachers. For many of these young girls, their female teachers were often the only models of working women with whom they had prolonged contact (p. 125). With the advent of state-sponsored schooling, young educated women began to challenge the traditional roles allotted their mothers and grandmothers. However, there were very few socially acceptable career paths on the prairies. Many of these young girls were acquainted with the dark side of being a pioneer’s wife. Azoulay (2000) clearly reveals this in a letter published in the 1909 Western Home monthly, one of western Canada’s most popular magazines:

These men who write can say anything on paper but when it comes right down to it, keeping house on a homestead is not always the good apple on the tree…We are poor, and I have to do any kind of work, feed pigs, hens, milk cows, help to make hay and feed calves, and that is not all, chop wood and make my own fires and so on… It is mostly work all day and when I ask anything from my husband. No time to waste for a woman’s amusements. If I want any money I have to earn it myself… Some men have the heart of a stone. They never stop to think about how they ought to treat women. They will treat outsiders better than their own wife… I do everything to get along for a poor farmer, but I get no reward, no thanks, not even in his heart… signed an unsatisfied wife (p. 124).
Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) contend that it was this intensification of teaching responsibilities rather than the “proletarianization of the teacher labour force,” that led to the profession being de-skilled. As a result, teachers’ concerns focused on issues of equality rather than regulation of the profession (p.138). This analysis could go some way to explaining why, in Saskatchewan at least, a professional enclosure needed to govern the work of teachers was so late in developing. Through this lens, the migrant tendencies of the Saskatchewan teaching pool could have less to do with gender and more to do with the increasing demands of the job. However, gender would increasingly become a factor in the development of the Saskatchewan educational system as war loomed on the horizon. The regulating of women’s work, particularly in the education field, would become of prime importance in a province coming of age during the war years.

Initially, the slump Saskatchewan farmers experienced at the onset of World War One had homesteaders with a quarter-section of land facing turbulent economic times. However, by the middle of the war, the hard times had been replaced by a booming, war-driven economy. As Champ (2005) writes, the same farmers that had trouble selling their wheat at $1.90 a bushel in 1911 were receiving three dollars a bushel by 1916. With the price of wheat peaking and enlistment siphoning men from the work force, labour shortages began to plague farmers. Farmers had so quickly ramped up their agricultural output to an industrial scale in order to meet the needs of an empire at war that labour shortages had begun to threaten this effort. By 1916, 65 percent of the arable land in Saskatchewan was planted with one crop: wheat (Champ, 2005). Farm labour, like teaching labour, had become another form of scarcity plaguing Saskatchewan. It could
have been much worse. According to Champ (2005), the province sent over 41 thousand men to the trenches in Europe, but many of the men of fighting age were forbidden from enlisting as they were not British subjects. 48.7 percent of the male population of Saskatchewan were denied the right to serve their country (Champ, 2005). For Saskatchewan and its citizens, it seemed that all the empire wanted was food, such as wheat, grains and dairy. This boom period coincided with a maturing of Saskatchewan society as it slowly emerged from its pioneering/settler phase. The economy and the rampant labour shortages forced women out of their traditional societal roles, while the war seemed to endlessly consume materials and lives. The uncertainty associated with this turmoil generated social anxieties that forced the province’s citizens to look inward towards its foundational principles. The discourses that shaped the ‘proper’ expression of a women’s sexuality and regulated their position in society began to unwind and rupture as women moved into the workforce to confront wartime labour shortages. This in turn, forced both British and Canadian societies to confront the traditional gender roles constructed for women in the previous Victorian period. New sexual subjectivities were generated, while old ones were reversed and challenged in ways that seem both divergent and similar. In both countries, women would agitate to be enfranchised as citizens, but for completely different reasons. The women of Great Britain challenged the traditional notion that gender was a biological certainty, while Canadian women agitated for the vote in order to gain the legal status of persons. Amplifying these divergent social and judicial views was the social cleavage generated by a world at war: a seemingly endless parade of war dead, widowed brides and fatherless children. The impact on Saskatchewan was particularly keen, as this social maelstrom occurred during the period of state formation.
Much of the Saskatchewan population was already in a state of flux. The Martin government had been struggling to generate the kind of governmental institutions and discourses that would allow it to manage a diverse population emerging from its pioneering phase. With 83.4 percent of its teaching population consisting of young inexperienced women, stability within the educational system was hard to find. However, this period of social upheaval would be short-lived. Before the end of the war, prairie women would gain the right to be enfranchised as citizens. However, they would also find themselves reconfirmed in their traditional roles as mothers and housewives as society moved to regain the stability associated with peace. In the pre-war era, militant feminism challenged many of these traditional beliefs, viewing them as essentially corpulent and corrupt. As Kent (1987) writes, prairie women sought to define their place in an increasingly sophisticated society through the war years:

The professionalization of medicine, education, and business … forced women to adjust by seeking higher educational standards in order to qualify for admission to the new professions. The increasing importance of property and wealth as the foundation of status in society led women to seek the legal right to an independent share of that wealth (p.4).

The turmoil of World War One represents a rupture in the discursive field that regulates the sexual subjectivities available to women. This cleavage would challenge traditional gender roles. The anomie was intensified by other societal factors: the suffrage movement and women leaving their traditional roles as mothers and housewives to participate in the wartime economy. It is the contention of this chapter that the social technologies of the Edwardian and Victorian eras that shaped the regulation of women’s sexuality in both societies found their way into the new career opportunities made available to women as a result of this breach. One such technology, ‘the caring self,’
framed the subjectivity of ‘true womanhood’ within the ability to care for the self as a measure by which one could care for others. While the societal rupture was short lived, this Victorian technology would find its way into the teaching profession like many of the young, inexperienced women on the prairies. The movement of women into the teaching profession at the turn of the century in North America has been discussed and debated by many educational historians. This phenomenon was not restricted to Saskatchewan or Canada, but occurred across the continent. However, the assumptions made regarding the ‘feminization’ of the profession rely specifically on the gendered divides. Far less has been written regarding the discourses of power that constricted and generated teacher subjectivities within the profession. Nor do these traditional analyses address the way in which the vocation of teaching was shaped by these discourses and subjectivities. The historicity of these discourses hides from view many subjugate, petite knowledges that in their disqualification reveal quite a different narrative. The social technology of the ‘caring teacher’ and its role in the feminization of teaching is one such narrative.

The social technology of ‘caring teacher’ is also integral to the pedagogical relationship and colonial process in the province of Saskatchewan. As Butler (2006) correctly insists, the discourses that shape female subjectivities and their associated gender roles are polyvalent in nature and “often find their most powerful articulation through one another” (pp. xvi, xvii). As such, they are not confined to one discursive field, hierarchy, location or time. They are, as Stoler (2002) writes, present to some degree in every colonial context. As such, this analysis attempts to uncover the subjugated petite knowledges that made these gender specific subjectivities so essential to Saskatchewan pedagogy, the colonizing project and the maintenance of bourgeois
middle-class values. Through the generation of such discourses, the ‘other’ in society is marked and demarcated. As Stoler (1995) insists, these gendered subjectivities are not constitutive of class and race power, but rather it is class and race power which constitute these gendered subjectivities. Gender subjectivities are shaped by discourses other than race and class. However, in the colonial context these two discursive fields are predominant in the shaping of subjectivities. To understand their impact on the performance of other subjectivities, one must realize that they “have derived force from [their] ‘polyvalent mobility,’ from the density of discourse they harness, from the multiple economic interests they serve, from the subjugated knowledges they contain [as well as] the sedimented forms of knowledge they bring into play” through their deployment in the colonial context and through the educational system (pp. 204,205).

Essential to discovering the nature of these discourses is the formation of what Kent (1993) has described as the male/female spheres of influence. Each sphere represents a gendered social division: one private and apolitical (female), and one public and political (male). The social turmoil generated by the pursuit of franchise by women on the prairies, World War One and the colonial project solidified this social technology after the war years. As such, women had little choice but to return to their most traditional roles within the domestic sphere. (p. 7). There they would remain until the next Great War. The effect of such a confinement within these traditional roles, coupled with the feminization of teaching that occurred at the beginning of the century has generated the perception that the classroom is an extension of the private sphere of influence. This perception limits the flexibility of the teacher to move beyond the subjectivities available within this milieu. As the education system in Saskatchewan attempts to move beyond its
colonial past, these restrictions problematize teacher interactions with the ‘other’ in our society. While this is an arguable point, there is little doubt that by the end of World War One, gender relations between men and women were transformed, traditional roles solidified and the brief gains achieved by feminists during the pre-war years wiped clean. The feminist movement would require years to recover from these events (see Kent, 1988; Grayzel, 1999; Kalmakoff, 1993).

As the war continued, the social/sexual anxiety generated by the sight of so many women leaving their traditional sphere of influence and moving into public sphere sent ripples of instability throughout British and Canadian society. Although there were no war munitions plants in Saskatchewan, women moved to occupy other traditional male labour roles. The resulting chaos would generate new and revive old discourses surrounding the disciplining of the sexual subjectivities of women. These discourses would have a profound effect on the budding educational system of Saskatchewan. Due to teacher shortages, young women had become an essential cog in this system. These cleavages would ultimately shape the subjectivities of women teachers in the province for decades to come and embed the subjectivity of the ‘caring teacher’ into the lexicon of the educational system. For Saskatchewan and its people, particularly its women, the First World War was a watershed moment.

3.1 Women, the franchise and the sexual subjectivities of war

Two years into the Great War, the number of school districts in the province of Saskatchewan with schools in operation at some time during the school year, was 3608. Two years later the annual report records that the number had grown to 4145 (Annual Report, 1918, p.12). By 1916, the province was employing some 3,340 young women as
teachers and by 1918 that number had increased to 5,047. Foght (1918) had disparaged many of these young women as “mere girls;” however, their interactions within their communities were being profoundly shaped by the events happening on the European continent (p. 113). Unlike Great Britain, which saw an increase in career prospects for women during the war, there were few opportunities on the prairies. As teachers, women were expected to remain in their classrooms as the troops left for overseas duty.

However, a small contingent became Voluntary Aid Detachment Nurses or V.A.D.’s. Just fewer than two hundred women volunteered to work in the army hospitals of England, France and Belgium. According to Quiney (2003), 40 of these were teachers and 26 came from the western provinces (p. 2). Overall, teachers were the second largest identifiable social group to volunteer. Such opportunities were short lived. Quiney attributes this to the alteration of social norms that was just enough to “legitimize the temporary transformation from teacher to nurse” during the crisis of war (p. 1). As a V.A.D., these volunteers could rely on a stipend to pay for the expense of their uniform, laundry, travel and food and lodging, but there was no other form of compensation (p. 4). Many of the women who volunteered substituted their role in the classroom for that of a “care-giver in the hospital wards” of the allies. Both occupations, teacher and nurse, were considered forms of socially acceptable woman’s work outside the home (p. 6). Most interesting is that very few of these women returned to their former profession of teaching. This speaks volumes regarding the perceived status of teaching during early decades of the twentieth century. Teaching was not highly regarded. The women that did not volunteer were encouraged to join the fight, lending their talents to provide the raw food stuffs consumed
by the machine of war. One propaganda leaflet from 1918 extolled the theme of “support and substitution” proclaiming that:

Canadian women have proved themselves in munitions and the ‘farmerettes’ have demonstrated their abilities. Women who cannot serve in either capacity can provide their talents to release other women from cooking or childcare and even city women have a role to play (“Support and substitution,” 2015).

The reality was often more harsh than the propaganda portrayed. In 1917, a ‘Farmerette’ earned 16 dollars a month plus room and board. Male farm labourers, on the other hand, were earning 50 dollars a month (Champ, 2002). As Saskatchewan struggled to keep its labour force on the land, employment opportunities for young women remained largely stagnant. Teaching, journalism and nursing were the only notable exceptions. According to Kalmakoff (1993), most of the patriotic work performed by Saskatchewan women, consisted of “raising money for the Red Cross, rolling bandages, [and] knitting socks” while trying to find food substitutes so more wheat and dairy could be shipped overseas (p. 7). This need to find substitutes drove a thriving journalism industry. Columns in the newspaper dailies and monthly magazines geared toward female patriotism extolled the virtues of thrift and provided tips for women to meet their obligations as ‘dependables.’ These were columns written by women for women. Isolated farmers and their families were largely dependent on these magazines, newspapers and gazettes to receive news from the outside world. Their appetite fueled an industry. It is estimated that by 1900, Canadians supported 112 daily newspapers (Canadian encyclopedia, newspapers, 2011). It was through such literary devices that most women in Saskatchewan connected to the dominant discourses that defined their role in society. For a Saskatchewan farm family, it was not unusual to live more than 30 miles from the
nearest town or railhead while the nearest neighbour was more than a quarter mile away. Isolation on the prairies during the first decade of the twentieth century was something to be fought, like drought, grasshoppers and the ever present wind. The fear associated with the emptiness of the prairies was ever present in the minds of the homesteaders. In Saskatchewan winter weather can kill. Newspapers and gazettes that provided news from the outside world helped to mitigate this fear. They were also the way in which many of the women of the prairies connected to other women in very similar circumstances. Many prominent prairie suffragettes, Cora Hind, Lillian and Francis Beynon, and Nellie McClung, were journalists active in other community-based temperance and agrarian organizations. Nevertheless, one can clearly see that, as with the propaganda leaflet of 1918, newspapers and gazettes like the Grain Growers Guide or the Western Home Monthly associated the patriotism of Canadian woman with their traditional roles of domesticity. The propaganda leaflet proclaims that even city women “can provide their talents to release other women from cooking or childcare” (“Support and substitution,” 2015). As Grayzel (1999) contends, by linking “women with mothers and men with soldiers” wartime rhetoric emphasized normative categories to explain traditional gender relations (p. 2). She writes:

Motherhood, defined by various wartime figures as women’s fundamental contribution to the state, provided a subject onto which a range of other issues and problems…were transposed. This meant that maintenance of gender order in society via an appropriate maternity became a fundamental tactic of the war (p. 3).

By separating the home front from the front line as two essential aspects of modern war, separate spheres of influence were generated and conflated with specific gender roles. This dyad reflects the traditional public/private separation. As a result, a
women’s war contribution was defined and articulated by traditional gender subjectivity: mother, nurturer, and wife. As Grayzel (1999) contends motherhood did not form “the basis for… coherent natural politics,” but it became the means by which women and their patriotism could be incorporated into war time rhetoric. Normative gender subjectivities cut across other qualifiers such as ethnicity, class and region (p. 2). Due to the polyvalent nature of these discourses, race, class, and sexuality found their wartime articulation through subjectivity of motherhood. Grayzel (1999) writes:

Throughout the war, a variety of social commenters and activists as well as politicians, reinforced the centrality of motherhood in both Britain and France. Motherhood, in this ubiquitous rhetoric, defined female identity and could provide the means to unify women. As the war’s deaths mounted, generalized pronatalist concern with mothers as producers of the national resource of the next generation grew exponentially (p. 87).

Through the establishment of these normative categories, other aspects of a women’s subjectivity could be measured and delineated. Sexuality, morality, class and race became conflated with motherhood and could be applied to all women regardless of nation. As Grayzel (1999) contends, such discourses were not specific to the mother nation and were extremely pliable. Motherhood became the defining grammar of womanhood, the “national duty and identity of all women” (pp. 4-5). As such, a woman without a son or daughter was thought of as shirking her patriotic duty. Motherhood and nurturing, according to Grayzel, form the basis of Western bourgeois thought regarding women’s subjectivities. It is a continuation of a discourse, as Kent (1993) acknowledges, which emerged at the end of the seventeenth century and was revived during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. This discursive field resurfaced in wartime rhetoric due to
the social/sexual anxiety generated by the movement of women out of their traditionally
defined gendered roles. Kent (1987) writes of this phenomenon:

…the concept of the ‘the social’ [was a] …relevant and significant
entity against which ‘women’ were defined and articulated. For
Victorians and Edwardians, the social was the arena onto which the
female – whose whole being had since the seventeenth century, become
increasingly sexualized … could be safely displaced; the concept of
‘the social’ made it possible to consign the sexual aspects of ‘women’
to the private realm of the family in the case of the middle-class women,
or in the case of working-class women, to transfer them onto new
categories of immiseration and delinquency, which then became
sociological problems (pp. 8,9).

The social sphere therefore, became conflated with femininity and the political
sphere conflated with masculinity. Thus, the conflicting discourses on the subjectivities
of women at this time: a woman caring for her family in the home was an angel, and a
woman out in public a harlot. Avoiding this simple dualism could be one of the many
reasons so many women moved into the teaching profession during this time. However,
these normative categories would be tested as women were urged to move from the long
established safety of the private sphere in to the public one by the necessity of war. The
discourses that generated these divisions became increasingly tangled as women were
exhorted to give up their sons to fight for the nation while at the same time encouraged to
assume a greater burden of wartime labour as the war continued. One propaganda leaflet
exhorted the women of Canada to give up their sons to fight for the empire, proclaiming
that “The women of Canada say GO!” However, as the women of the empire moved into
the public sphere, the social and sexual anxiety generated throughout the metropole and
the colonies focused on how these once normative, stable gender categories were being
bent and superseded by the necessities of war. Newspaper articles both in Great Britain
and North America pondered whether the war’s need for women labourers was
endangering the very values that the soldiers of the empire were fighting for. *The Sunday Times of London* (1919), quoting Justice Darling of the Old Bailey, wrote that “the harm the war has done to the morals of the people …the relaxation on the part of the women of this country” goes far beyond the material damage of war. Another example of this rising social anxiety is present in the preamble of Catherine Hartley’s (1919) *Women’s Wild Oats*:

> It was the women that I noticed the most: they were wilder than the men…The woman without a cigarette was almost the exception. There was no attempt at concealment. But what impressed me was the way of holding and smoking the cigarette that proclaimed the novice…A little thing…and yet it is the straw which reveals the direction of the wind (pp. 9,10)

In a sense, society placed women as the cause of the moral decay brought on by the war as well as the solution for it. It is clear that, in the mind of some social commentators, these ‘unstable, wild women’ represented a threat to traditional British society. Grayzel (1999) writes that women were admonished, by wartime commentary not to “let your excitement make you silly and lead you to wander,” and to remain a “good straight girl” so that the men who fought could themselves remain good and straight (p. 129). For Kent (1988), this sexual anxiety was directly related to the discursive field that delineated the two separate spheres of influence. Outside the private sphere, a woman was delineated as the “the Sex.” In turn, her male counterpart could only be the sexual aggressor: the hunter of the “Sex.” It was this separation of different spheres of influence that raised the ire of feminists in Canada. According to Kalmakoff (1993), suffragists challenged this notion based on the belief that masculinity and femininity were essentially cultural constructs, in flux and inherently unstable. The ‘private’ sphere, feminists insisted, justified male aggression against women; only the
voice of women in the public sphere would force men to regulate their behaviour. A voice without the franchise, feminists feared, was a voice that could be denied. Anti-feminists argued the exact opposite point. The pursuit of the franchise only placed women in greater peril. The suffragists were attempting to place women into an arena that was known for its unbridled passion, a place not suitable for the Victorian ideal of a passionless woman. As Kent (1988) insists, the anti-feminists felt that private sphere protected women; it “placed a wall between men and women,” protecting women from the primitive passions of men (p. 233). They believed that gender was biologically determined and therefore stable and fixed. Butler argues that the term ‘woman’ itself is an inherently unstable subjectivity and so should not be used to describe a female at all. I acknowledge this position and use the words women or woman with the awareness of its generality.

As a result of this debate and the consternation that it generated, a counter discourse emerged during the war in Great Britain and Canada. This counter discourse has a historicity and represents a revival of a discursive framing present at the beginning of the seventeenth century. During the industrial revolution, a discursive field was generated that portrayed the working poor of Great Britain as a threat to the nation. It generated the same rhetoric and offered similar solutions. The polluting effects of the fecund working poor were viewed by the emerging middle-class as undermining the moral fiber of the nation. Only by regulating the sexuality of working-class women could this condition be reversed. This discursive framing reached its zenith during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. It, too, generated two distinct female subjectivities. Grayzel (1999) contends the two subjectivities made available to women during the war were the faithful
girl that maintains her domestic role and the frivolous, street girl. In short, the discourses that shape the wild and sexually unstable street girl subjectivity were conflated with this same societal-polluting effect.

The articles written in the *Daily Express of London* (1918) illustrate these competing subjectivities quite clearly. In one such article, The *Daily Express* urged the then Commissioner of London in an editorial to ban “strumpets” from all places of “soldiers’ recreation” so that these men would not be tempted to go astray (Daily Express 1918, as quoted in Grayzel, 1999, p. 136). The *Daily Express* suggested that all such women should be sent “to the land, to that good mother earth that is pure and sweet, and there they should be made to save themselves by honest labour,” which presumably would make them socially useful (p. 136). It is interesting to note that by the middle war period most Canadian prairie women were already on the land and according to the *Daily Express*, inherently superior to those working to alleviate wartime labour shortages in Great Britain. On the other hand, the discourses that were made available to Canadian women fighting for enfranchisement reflected a patriarchal if not mocking tone.

Conservative premier of Manitoba Sir Rodmond Roblin chided the suffragettes:

> [there] is nothing wrong with a society that produced such attractive, pure, and noble ladies…the mother that is worthy of the name and the good affection of a good man has a hundredfold more influence in shaping public opinion around her dinner table than she would have in the marketplace, hurling her eloquent phrases to the multitude (Gutkin, 1996, p. 1).

On the prairies, many men felt that women were simply not ready for the responsibilities associated with the right to vote. According to Kent (1998), the social anxiety generated through the movement of women from the private to public spheres “modified” many feminist’s understandings of masculinity and femininity. As such, the
private/public sphere ideology would, by the end of the war, come to dominate gender categories throughout the twenties leading to a “fatal, abandonment of prewar feminist” movements (p. 234). However, the underpinning of the discourses that framed women as ‘dependables’ or ‘frivolous street girls’ during the First World War have their origins in seventeenth century Great Britain and the disciplining of the working poor.

3.2 The Poor laws and a genealogy of disciplining sex

The British government’s involvement in dealing with the problem of urban/rural poverty is long. In the Victorian era, structural poverty was the norm for the working underclass. It is estimated that during this time in Great Britain’s history, a quarter of the population was living in poverty and 40 percent of the country’s wealth was owned by five percent of the population (“Census helper, Victorian life,” 2009). The Poor Laws were a means of addressing this structural poverty. The origins of poor relief extend back to the fifteenth century. With the decline of the monasteries, charity for the poor gradually moved from its traditional voluntary framework to become a compulsory tax administered at the parish level (“Workhouse, Old Poor Law,” 2010). The law of 1601 obliged each parish to “relieve the aged and the helpless, to bring up unprotected children in habits of industry, and to provide work for those capable of it, but who were lacking their usual trade” through a form of relief that did not require the supplicant to leave his or her residency (“Workhouse, 1601 Act,” 2010). The original Act and the amending legislation that followed governed the condition on which the poor would receive relief for over two hundred years. From their inception, the Acts, focused on the condition of being ‘able’ or ‘able-bodied.’ In each subsequent amendment to the 1601 Act, these
words repeatedly appear. This emphasis suggests a perception held by lawmakers that there were some among the working poor who were able but chose to draw relief.

In the eighteenth century, land owners were the only individuals with the right to vote in Great Britain. These individuals represented the highest ratepayers to governmental poor relief schemes. Sir Edward Knatchbull’s Act of 1722-23 allowed parishes to set up communal workhouses that would “act as a deterrent” to those seeking help, while making “relief... [only] available to those who were desperate enough to accept it” (“Workhouse, poor laws,” 2010). One needed to be desperate, as the conditions within the walls of these workhouses were horrendous. They were rampant with infectious disease, married men were separated from their families and corporal punishment was not only tolerated but encouraged. Originally, Henriques (1979) writes, these laws escaped any form of central direction from the British government as it adopted a laissez-faire approach regarding social ills such as poverty, destitution and disease (p. 3). This attitude, writes Supple (1974), kept governments of the day fluctuating between “extensive institutional reform” and a commitment to the emerging political rationale of liberalism and individualism (p. 212). As with most discourses that governed the social services afforded the working poor, individual responsibility became the watchword while the structural inequality generated by the industrial age was rendered almost invisible.

The most revealing aspect of this discourse field was its gender bias. Just as a middle-class ‘gaze’ shapes the ‘truth’ of the urban poor, placing them outside middle-class values, the Poor Laws shape the ‘truth’ of working-class women. Working-class women were viewed as “lying, promiscuous and immoral” (Carabine, 2001a, p. 290). As
such, they were a threat to the social order. One can see the similarities between this early Victorian discourse and the wartime discourse; however there is a cleavage in the wartime discourse as it lacks this element of class. In the wartime rhetoric, the vehicle for the ‘unstable woman’ subjectivity is the perception of her sexual power imposed upon her by middle-class values not her class position or her poverty. As well, the wartime discursive field cuts across other qualifiers. As Grayzel (1999) writes the wartime rhetoric mocked the “well dressed, overtly feminine [upper class] ‘madam’” as “slacking” and not fulfilling her duty to the nation (p. 200). The wartime discourse conflated the threat of sexually “unstable women” with the movement of women into the public sphere. However, during this middle Victorian period, class as well as sexual power became the vehicle that represented the social ills of industrialized Great Britain. The inherently ‘unstable’ working-class woman and her unrestrained sexuality led to the hyper-breeding of the poor, which was viewed as a threat to the social order of the Empire.

The Old Poor Laws contained provisions enforcing bastardy, settlement and vagrancy laws. This enforcement of resettlement and bastardy forced the onus of society’s ills onto the backs of working-class women. This does not imply that working-class women were the only women to have illegitimate children, but rather that the perception was that working-class women had illegitimate children whom the upper and middle classes were forced to care for financially. The 1662 Settlement Act amended the laws to “allow for the removal from a parish, back to their place of settlement,” all newcomers whom the local justice deemed “likely to be chargeable to the parish poor rates” thus forcing many of the working poor to flood Britain’s main cities (“Workhouse,
Settlement Act,” 2010). The visibility of the working poor became more apparent to the middle class, this in turn heightened the perceived threat to the social order in which the values of the middle class were viewed as paramount.

The Settlement Act targeted bastardy particularly, as the settlement of any child was the place of its birth, and therefore a woman giving birth within a parish could immediately apply for relief. Many parishes expelled pregnant women who were unmarried in order to avoid the costs of caring for mother and child. In one case, writes Henriques (1979), a woman and her three children, were removed from the parish seven times (p. 14). While bastardy was not against British civil law, having an illegitimate child that was chargeable to the parish was, and so poor, working class women were delineated and classified as being sexually suspicious. This suspicion focused middle-class concerns on the family of the working poor; however, that ‘gaze’ was not on the family as a coherent unit. Carabine (2001a) writes on this:

...of these three [the pregnant/unmarried mother, the father and the bastard child] the child is absent in the discourse and the father is absolved of any moral, sexual or financial liability or responsibility for his actions. It is the woman who is its central concern, a concern articulated through the conduit of female sexuality as a set of anxieties about, first, female morality, particularly women’s sexual immorality, and second, women’s power over men (p288).

One can clearly see the gender bias associated with this discursive field; men’s subjectivities were constituted very differently by the Poor Laws. As Carabine (2001a) writes, the morality discourse surrounding men was based on “their failure to work and to support their family” rather than the nature of their sexuality (p. 299). Women who were forced to work outside the home to support the family were ‘marked’ by the middle class as suspect. These discourses generated the normative categories that delineated
acceptable gender performances and established those that were unwilling or unable to perform these subjectivities within the bandwidth of acceptability. In the mind of the British middle class, it was women who were the potential corruptors of men and, if unchecked, would undermine the very foundation of the moral fibre of the British Empire. This bias existed in the wartime rhetoric as well; women were portrayed as the potential sexual corruptors of the brave soldiers returning from the front. Men had natural biological urges and could not resist such corruption. As in the Victorian age, respectable middle class women were viewed as remaining in the home, practicing thrift and piety, and producing legitimate children who would further the colonial glory of the British Empire. Week (1981) writes:

From the end of the eighteenth century with the debate over population and the hyper breeding of the poor, sexuality pervades the social consciousness; [of Great Britain] from wide spread discussions of the birth-rate, death-rate, life expectancy, fertility in the statistical forays of the century to urgent controversies over public health, housing, birth control and prostitution. The reports of the great Parliamentary commission....were saturated with an obsessive concern with sexuality of the working-class, the social order, displacing in the end an acute social crisis...into the framework of a more amenable and discussible area of ‘morality’ (p. 19-20).

As Stoler (2002) writes, women became “vital to the…solidification of…boundaries …that repeatedly tied their support and subordinate posture to community cohesion,” among the middle class (p.62). This discourse often finds its expression in the Victorian age through the ideology of Social Darwinism (p. 62). Social Darwinism was a social theory often associated with Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). An English philosopher, biologist, anthropologist and sociologist, Spencer held forth a theory that individual and groups were subject to the same laws of natural selection as plants and animals. Accordingly, the upper-classes of Victorian England blamed the “social malaise
of industrialization [and] urbanization” on characteristics that were thought of as inheritable and stable. Ultimately, this lead to the belief that the “poverty, vagrancy, and promiscuity” associated with the working poor were class-linked and biologically stable traits (p. 62). Addressing this malaise could only be achieved by instilling the traditional values associated with the middle class: sobriety, piety and thrift. As in the war period, gender in the Victorian and Edwardian ages was seen as stable and fixed, not a cultural construct. During the war years, the dispositif that generated these practices and ‘truths’ regarding the proper expression of womanhood evolved to encompass the movement of women into the public sphere. However, the historicity of disciplining the working poor remained; new discourses regarding women and the expression of the feminine in society were generated and cleaved to these older discourses.

In Canada, elements of this discourse reappeared in the first decade of the twentieth century as women in Canada and Great Britain rallied to gain the franchise. It is O’Neill’s (1969) contention that two forms of feminism emerged on the prairies during the war period: social and egalitarian. The social feminists argued that women needed the vote in order to challenge the destructive elements in society and to change them for the benefit of all. It was this challenge that the anti-feminists feared the most. Anti-feminists, as Kalmakoff (1993) writes, feared that if women were given the vote they would use this political power to achieve feminist reform, thus reshaping the political landscape of the prairies (p. i). It is important to acknowledge that while English feminism reacted to the suffocating discourses of middle class propriety, prairie feminists in a pioneering society were much more pragmatic. Women worked hand-in-hand with men in the formation of the homestead. As a consequence, the fight for enfranchisement on the prairies found its
expression in social and egalitarian rights. Women needed the vote to be recognized legally as persons. As legal entities, the sweat equity they invested to establish the homestead could not be so easily dismissed by the courts. As Kent (1987) writes, both British and Canadian suffragists realized that sexuality and gender constituted a woman’s “personal [and] political identity” and the “continuing disqualification from the political process rested on this sexual identity;” to agitate for the vote would mean to re-order gender roles in society (p. 16). Therefore, it was essential to overturn the cultural constructions of feminine and masculine in both societies (p. 16). Nevertheless, the anxiety that arose on the prairies was shaped by a continuation of the same discursive field generated 70 years earlier. If women gained the franchise, they would use it to realign the gender fabric of the colonial experience. This in turn would redefine the boundaries that marked the ambit of the colonial white community and its white privilege. As such, an analysis of the nature and application of the Poor Laws discourse serves to illuminate the middle class gaze that generates the subjectivity of the urban poor in the Victorian era. However, it also illuminates how sexuality, particularly women’s sexuality, in the following Edwardian age became a powerful conduit to define the contours of the racial, economic, paternalistic and patriarchal underpinnings of the colonial project.

The objectification of human beings as a realm of study is, as Foucault (1970) insists, unique to the human sciences and the discourses these sciences generate (p. 351). The human sciences are based on the concept of empirical objectivity; but as Prado writes (2000), object and subject mutually inform each other, so there can be no true objectivity (p. 24). The middle-class gaze and the discourses emerging from it generate that which it
names. This is very similar to what Butler (2006) contends in the performance of gender. The anticipation of a gendered essence, “…produces that which it posits outside itself” (p. xv). This phenomenon is part of the relationship between power/knowledge. Through the constitution of specific knowledges, subjects are generated, classified and categorized. Prado (2000) writes that this process generates the object’s subjectivity through the acquisition of knowledge of the object, but through this process, the observer’s own subjectivity is being shaped by the interaction with the object and the knowledge created. Just as Butler (2005) insists, the performance of subjectivity is dependent on the anticipated hail of the ‘other.’ Women, whether in the Victorian era or in the twentieth century, were expected to perform their gender according to a ‘gaze’ that names the performance. It does not matter if that ‘gaze’ is institutional or social. These discourses not only define the performance; but also regulate the performance and hail of the ‘other.’ This gaze is adaptive, polyvalent and conforming to the discourses present in the field. Once again it is important to remember that these normative gender categories do not constitute class, race or patriarchal power, but are constituted by class, race and patriarchal power. However, to classify and categorize a subject is to know it and in essence generate discourses that produce, restrict or limit it. The gaze is not limited to gender or class. It’s precisely this gaze that delineates the contours of the performance of ‘good teacher’ in the poiesis of the Saskatchewan school system. The professional gaze of the school inspectors shaped the ‘truth’ regarding teaching in the province. Given the number of young women teaching, it would be unlikely that this ‘professional’ gaze of the inspectors did not include notions on the performativity of gender, sex and class, as the discourses surrounding women’s subjectivity are constitutive of this performance. J.
Marshall, inspector of the Indian Head district brought this professional gaze to bear in his annual report of 1916:

Many of the young women offend by their style of dress or by the freedom in going about in the evenings that the older and staider ratepayers and their wives were not accustomed to in their youth. A disposition to leave the district Friday night mitigates against a teacher’s influence…there is much moralizing in the school room, moralizing very frequently forced, false or detrimental… (p. 150).

Changes in the performance of gender are reflective of the changes in the discursive field as it adapts to the contours of the social landscape. Their development began, as Foucault insists, when sex, sexuality and desire became a field of study integral to other Enlightenment disciplines. It is at this point that the disciplinary regime began to regulate and define acceptable sexuality, from unacceptable sexuality while the ambit evolved to fit locality and the unique characteristics associated with it. Thus, their polyvalent nature: they reflect the sexual anxiety generated by the growth of the urban poor in the Victorian age, the movement of women into the public realm during the war and the militancy of the women’s movement on the prairies. Throughout all, it is gender and sexual identity that is the ‘sine qua non’ of this discursive field or dispositif.

Between 1861 and 1872, the British Parliament enacted a series of laws intended to ease middle-class angst regarding the female body. Some of these were: 1) The Offences against the Person Act (1861), 2) The Contagious Diseases Act (1866-1869), and 3) The Infant Life Preservation Act (1872). The Contagious Diseases Act allowed police officers to arrest prostitutes in certain ports and army towns, and the women were then subjected to compulsory checks for venereal disease. If a woman was declared to be infected, she would be confined in what was known as a Lock Hospital until ‘cured.’

During heightened concerns over the spread of venereal disease in the First World War,
many pundits called for this law to be re-enacted. However, as Grayzel (1999) writes, the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases concluded that the regulatory system imposed by the Act did not provide any societal protection from the spread of the disease (p. 145). The Infant Life Preservation Act (1872), writes Smart (1992), sought to deal with the legality of abortion and the “practices of working-class mothers who could not [or would not] care for their children” properly (p. 14). As Smart (1992) points out, these laws, and their subsequent re-consideration nearly 50 years later, built upon the social engineering of British society first initiated by the implementation of the Old Poor Laws (p. 11). The late Victorian era generated considerable legislative and juridical discourse over the control of sexual and reproductive behaviour, while seeking to generate knowledges that would give government the tools and laws to regulate their citizens (p. 13). The laws set up “subtle boundaries” that defined “licit sex...as [occurring] between married (heterosexual) couples, but [also] between people within acceptable age brackets, of acceptable ‘races’ while doing only the acceptable things” with each other (Smart, 1992, p. 25). The Contagious Diseases Act (1866-1869) regulated the work of prostitutes through an “imposed form of sanitary incarceration;” that was thought to control the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. During the First World War, however, the regulation of prostitution grew to include many young women frequenting the establishments that entertained soldiers on leave whether they were prostitutes or not (p. 13-14). As Grayzel (1999) points out, there was a sense in the wartime period of a “danger to morality” expressed through the consternation that women “were [being] exposed to a ‘new existence’” that, according to some social commentaries, generated a “taste” for prostitution (p. 126). All were the result of the conflation of several dissonant
fields of discourse: medicine, psychology, social sciences the law and the juridico-discursive judgment associated with the regulation of the citizenry (p. 11).

How sexuality became a topic of investigation and an Enlightenment discourse is outlined in Foucault’s *The History of Sexuality* (1990). Foucault points out that the collection of sexual data was well on its way long before the Victorian age. For Foucault, sex represents:

…an especially dense transfer point for relations of power: between men and women, young people and old people, parents and offspring, teachers and students, priests and laity, an administration and a population (p. 103).

Sex became something that required investigation to thoroughly manage populations and implement governmental policy. The church had been gathering such information through edifices such as the confessional as early as the sixteenth century. The confessional became an important means by which knowledge regarding individuals’ sexual habits could be generated and disseminated. Its scope grew along with the disciplinary relationship between penitent and pastor. Priests gathered information about the moral, social and sexual habits of their flocks through this ritual. As a result, disclosure, examination and hierarchical observation became the norm within the church. As the new disciplines of the Enlightenment, medicine, psychology, the law, social sciences and education grew, they too adapted this-time tested methodology for use in their professional enclosures. As Foucault (1990) insists, these practices were infused with the “will to knowledge” that did not “come to a halt in the face of a taboo that must not be lifted, but has persisted in constituting the science of sexuality” on which governmental policy could rest (p. 12-13). The laws passed by the British Parliament regulated sexual expression to a level that the British citizenry found acceptable and
natural; however, this ‘naturalness’ continued to adapt as new knowledges enter the discursive field. British law-makers perceived these regulatory laws as a means by which the worst excesses of the working class, what Skeggs (2005) refers to as “the disparate discourses of familial disorder and dysfunction, [and] fecund and excessive femininities,” could be neutralized before they consumed the fibre of the nation (p. 967). As Kent (1987) writes, the irony of this is apparent: while “denying middle-class [and working-class women] their sexuality,” bourgeois society “paradoxically heightened an awareness of women as primarily reproductive and sexual beings;” essentially saturating the female body with sex (p. 24). This in turn made female sexuality an “objectified commodity” over which their male counterparts had absolute control and legal ownership (p. 24). It was this that drew the ire of prairie suffragists; a woman had no legal recourse to establish her personhood and so could be ‘dismissed’ by her husband at any time leaving her penniless.

3.3 **Women as a regulating force**

By the late Victorian and Edwardian era, the social regulation of sex and female sexuality was well under way. Dissonant fields of knowledge gathered as much information as was available regarding their deployment in the social body. Foucault (1990) insists that this gathering of sexual data was essential to the regulation of the social field. To regulate something is to know it, observe it, repress aspects of it and generate a hierarchy of categories to explain it. Sexuality became a historically constituted object of study classified and associated with middle-class moderation. Even though sexual science continued to expand into the Victorian era, further incorporating other fields of knowledge, the role of the pastor remained. Although its facade has
changed over time, the expert or consultant/specialist is a predominant feature of the modern landscape. Such a dominant discourse, writes Foucault (1990), is an example of how sexuality has been regulated through the mechanism of manufactured knowledges that delineate what is normal and what is deviant:

> All these negative elements – defenses, censorships, denials – which the repressive hypothesis groups together in one great central mechanism destined to say no, are doubtless only the component parts that have local and tactical role to play in a transformation into a discourse, a technology of power, and a will to knowledge that are far from being reducible to the former (p. 12).

To be precise, the science of sex represents a dispositif of practices and ‘truths’ on sexuality in any society. The polyvalent nature of the discourses associated with this dispositif gave it the ability to find traction in any cultural situation. This was essential to the colonizing project, as it generated a syncretism between the host and the new culture. Women and motherhood became, as Stoler (2002) writes, “exalt[ed]” while at the same time were subject to the scrutiny of this new scientific domain (p. 63). The sexual dispositif generated by the science of sex imposed a ‘truth’ upon bourgeois identity and defined the subjectivities of the colonizer and the colonized. Women were to “uplift… subjects through educational and domestic management” while attending to the management of their families (pp. 63, 64). Never was this more important than in the instance of colonial rule. Stoler (2002) writes:

> Proposals to secure European rule pushed in two directions. On the one hand, they pushed away from ambiguous racial genres and open domestic arrangements. On the other hand, they pressed for an upgrade and homogenization of European standards as well as a clearer delineation of them. The impulse was clear: away from miscegenation towards white endogamy (p. 64).
The regulation of female sexual subjectivities was seen in the Victorian age as the means by which the polluting effects of the urban poor could be managed and even reversed through the inculcation of middle class values. In the colonies, such regulation of female subjectivities served to delineate what was acceptable social behaviour and marked what separated the colonial whites from the Indigenous populations. In other words, these discourses coalesced around the women of a specific class or economic stratum in the metropole, while in the colonies they coalesced around women to generate a specific racial divide: an ‘us versus them’ mentality. This divide defined those that were worthy through the adherence to a regulatory norm. It was on this specific racial divide that the logic of colonial rule rested. According to Stoler (2002), the central conduit for achieving these goals was sex and desire. It is interesting that this discursive field existed within two very different contexts at different times but in similar circumstances. Stoler (1995) contends that this connection was brought about by the colonial pastiche of the metropole. Mosse agrees (1978) describing European racism and colonialism as a “scavenger ideology” in which nationalism and middle-class respectability are brought together through the management of female sexuality (p.133). In the colonies, as Stoler (2002) contends, “racial degeneration could only be curtailed by European women” taking control of the health and welfare of their families while reinforcing “the imperial purpose” of the empire (p. 71).

By the end of the nineteenth century, efforts to regulate the behaviour of citizenry, particularly urban working-poor in Great Britain, were proceeding. These endeavors, writes Lewis (1992), were centered in the home and performed by the voluntary sector that was largely female (p. 78). A plethora of officials invaded the home
life of the working class: school attendance officers, and inspectors from the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, as well as parish and relief inspectors, to name a few (p. 78). This work was carried out primarily by middle-class women who “left their homes to inform working-class women of the merits of good housewifery” and motherhood (p. 78). Carabine (2001b) contends that such intervention into the lives of the working class “embedded in dominant English culture” the middle class ideal as the “only proper way to live” in white society (p. 301). Much has been made by historians of the notion of “women controlling women,” but Lewis (1992) insists that it is wrong to question the motivations of these middle-class women (p. 79). Drawing on the work of two noted early British social workers, Octavia Hill and Helen Bosanquet, Lewis contends that the goal of these social workers was not to discipline the unruly working classes, but rather to “know, love and befriend” other women (p. 87). Lewis (1992) contends that both Hill and Bosanquet: 

…stressed that the social worker should not merely dictate. Rather she should know, love and befriend. Hill insisted that ‘you cannot learn how to help a man, nor even get him to tell you what ails him until you care for him.’ She urged all social workers to think of the poor as their husbands, sons and daughters and to treat them accordingly (p. 87).

Reminiscent of the repression/ regulation of sexuality, the traditional forms of working-class mothering were repressed by the state so as to regulate mothering and ensure that working-class women, as Skeggs (1997) writes, “did their proper job of bearing and rearing healthy children ‘correctly’” and managed their home so that it supported this form of family (p. 44). As May (1973) writes, for the middle-class of the Victorian era, it was “not physical destitution, [or a] lack of education, but moral destitution resulting in parental neglect” that was most notable characteristic of wayward
children (p. 22). According to Carabine (2001b), working-class notions surrounding children and the family were overridden and ignored (p. 302). As Carabine (2001b) writes the New Poor Laws:

…ignored that the traditional prenuptial and common law marriages long practiced in working-class communities represented acceptable sexual behaviour to the working-classes; that it had its own morality. In the NPL [New Poor Laws] reports and subsequent legislation, working-class morality was reconstituted as immoral (p. 302).

This intervention and the legitimacy given by the state provided, Skeggs (1997) contends, the basis for “initiating the legacy” by which the “imposition of standards by others who [then] could judge the working-class [as] deficient” thereby justifying intervention by the appropriate authorities (p. 44). With the appointment of Jean Browne as the first public health nurse in 1917, the Government of Saskatchewan legitimized its intervention into the private health of its citizens, through the education system. Just as in the colonies, it fell to middle-class women, as Skeggs (1997) writes, to become an “invisible pedagogue” to their family and by extension the colonial community, in order to educate, guide and thus steer and influence a burgeoning settler society (p.43).

3.4 The governmentality of sex in the colonial context

The discursive field that regulates female sexual subjectivities is part of what Stoler (1995) calls “the body politics of empire” (p. xii). Foucault (1990) maintains that the repression of sex and sexual knowledge often associated with the Victorian age in fact led to the generation of multiple discourses which comprised the newly emerging discursive field of human sexuality. However, as Burchell (1996) insists, the rise of disciplines (medical, psychiatric, educational, charitable and social) also generated silos in which governmental discourse could interface with the population through the use of
expert knowledge. These disciplines allow power/knowledge to flow capillary style through the societal milieu. As power and expert knowledge reach the level of the individual, it modifies their perception of their reality. These disciplines “interweave and link up with each other in mutually reinforcing” campaigns both public and private aimed at generating a norm to which the populace can aspire to (p.25). The will to know, which generated the science of sex in the Victorian age as well as these other disciplines, became in the twentieth century the conduits and interfaces for the liberal art of governance. Burchell (1996) insists that these disciplines:

…frequently require and integrate within them ways in which individuals conduct themselves. That is to say, they involve governed individuals adopting particular relations to themselves in the exercise of their freedom in appropriate ways: the promotion in the governed population of specific techniques of the self around such questions as …savings and providentialism, the acquisition of ways of performing roles like father or mother, the development of habits of cleanliness, sobriety, fidelity, self-improvement, responsibility (p. 26).

Thus, the science of sex is linked to the conduct of conduct. As well, through the generation of the ‘proper’ subjectivities, whether male or female, the government attempts to integrate subjects into structures the governmental discourses of self-modification. Of this phenomenon Burchell (1996) writes:

Government…is a ‘contact point’ where techniques of domination – or power – and techniques of the self ‘interact’, where ‘technologies of domination’ of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself and, conversely…where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion (p. 20).

Through this lens, it is possible to discern that the wartime rhetoric and sexual anxiety regarding the morality of women represent a disciplining discourse intended to encourage the populace to cleave to a specific norm. However, sexual and gender
subjectivities are part of a particularly powerful interface that often articulates and
delineates other forms of subjectivities. Stoler (1995) insists that this is especially true
within the colonial context. For Stoler, the development of the science of sex was less
about how sex became a constituted field of study and more about how sex, and its twin,
desire, became a contact point through which liberal governmental discourse could be
channeled. By prescribing what was normal, forbidden, wanted, required or aberrant, the
science of sex delineated the scope and nature of the populace’s sexual subjectivities.
Through the generation of expert knowledge and a series of state-sponsored techniques,
procedures and programs, sexuality has been regulated to a socially acceptable norm.
This norm fluctuates along with the societal ambit. As a result, the wartime commentary
regarding the frivolous street girl could be seen as an intensification of the working poor
discourse that emerged during the industrial age. However, it is important to note that the
war generated new and unforeseen avenues and edifices through which power/knowledge
could flow. New sexual subjectivities emerged for women. The frivolous street girl was
but one of these subjectivities. This female subjectivity does not seem as saturated with
sex as the hyper-breeding female subjectivity associated with the working poor during the
industrial age. Regardless of its origin, both subjectivities were subject to a similar form
of disciplinary discourse. As Rose (1996) insists, this was governance through the social.
An unforeseen consequence of the establishment of a sexual norm, as Stoler (1995)
writes, is the generation of desire for that which is forbidden:
…once we turn to question the distributions of desires, to ‘discover who does the speaking’ in the geopolitical mapping of desiring subjects and desired objects, ‘our part of the world’ becomes more than an innocuous convention, but a porous and problematic boundary to sustain. For that boundary itself, as we know, took as much discursive and political energy to produce as that which bound sex to power and the ‘truth’ of identity to sex (p. 167)

Following Stoler (1995) we can begin to see that the social/sexual anxiety generated by women moving into the public realm during the First World War was far less an issue of equality or opportunity and more an act of transgression of social norms. Maintaining this boundary requires a set of polyvalent discourses that determine which female subjectivities were acceptable and which transgress the acceptable bandwidth of societal approval. Clearly, women moving into the public realm crossed this social ambit. The anxiety that Canadian and British society felt regarding the movement of women from the private to the public sphere also established the political and discursive energy that society was prepared to invest in order to maintain the boundary to which Stoler alludes. The difference in the way in which this anxiety was expressed in wartime propaganda or commentary also reveals the very polyvalent nature of the discursive framing. While British social/sexual anxiety framed war time working-women as potentially dangerous to the good order of society, prairie women were portrayed as ‘dependables’ and ‘substitutes’ for male labour. The women of Canada were called to duty:

Last summer saw the beginning of a land army of women in Canada and the numbers are predicted to increase in the coming summer. The world with difficulty accustomed itself to the thought of women facing real danger and doing arduous work. No occupation, including quarrying and mining can be considered closed to women: everyone knows that the Canadian women is a real Dependable! (“Support and substitution,” 2015).
Although the British wartime discourses were not necessarily Canadian specific, the women of the prairies were well aware of their existence. Stoler (2002) insists that colonial sites are pastiches of the metropole. The language of the colonies was framed through the generation of gender and class categories that demarcated the “external boundaries” and “internal frontiers” of what it meant to be white (p. 73). Colonial sites were never “direct translations of European society” but “unique cultural configurations” in which European food, dress and morality were manipulated to fit the new political and economic features of the colonized land (p.24). She writes:

Colonial cultures…were responsive to class tensions in Europe and create what Anderson calls a ‘tropical gothic’ a ‘middle-class aristocracy’ that cultivated the colonials’ differences from the colonized while maintaining social distinction among themselves (p. 24).

Colonizers were not unified, particularly in Saskatchewan, nor did they always share a common vision for the country. Nevertheless they constructed what Stoler (2002) refers to as “imagined communities,” the purpose of which was to overcome social and economic challenges that might set their members against each other (p. 24). Through the inspectors’ reports it is possible to discern the importance of generating these ‘imagined communities.’ J. Marshall, inspector for the Indian Head district wrote of this in his annual report of 1916:

Small compact settlements of French Canadians are to be found in Bourassa, Lacadia and a portion of the Round-up district, of Germans in the north and south of Pangman, of Flemmings west of Radville,… of Swedes and Norwegians in the east central and southern parts. There are few distinctly Canadian settlements, but… there is… a sufficient stiffening of Canadians, English or Americans…to insure the prevalence of Western democratic ideas and the use of English as the language of the school…I cannot but reaffirm the opinion expressed in my last year’s report that the language peril exists only where the foreign-born are settled in racial or linguistic blocks (p. 146).
White European women were, according to Stoler (2002), essential to the maintenance of the boundaries of such communities. This is of great importance in a colony such as Canada, as the visible ‘other’ was legally the responsibility of the federal government. This removal from the colonial context generated a unique set of circumstances militating against Indigenous cultural contribution to the colonial dyad.

For Stoler (2002), the racism inherent within this dyad was more about classification and reaffirmation of the norm than oppression. Colonists had to “identify the affinities” that were shared and how they “defined themselves in [these] contexts” where “discrepant interests, ethnic and class differences” could weaken the overall unity of the colony (p. 25). Stoler (2002) writes:

Racist ideology, fear of the other, preoccupation with white prestige, and obsession with protecting European women…were not simply justifications for continued European rule and white supremacy. They were part of a critical, class-based logic, not only statements about indigenous subversives, but directives aimed at dissenting European underlings; part of the apparatus that kept potential recalcitrant white colonials in line (p. 25).

Thus, the settler mentality and ‘civilizing claim’ associated with it was based on the domination of the ‘other’ and their submission to the norm. As Mulholland contends (2009), it is necessary for the settler to “see the land as empty and undeveloped and the people living there as uncivilized and rapidly disappearing” in order to generate the alternative narrative of colonial expansion (p. 104). This civilizing claim and the “heroic personalities” of the white settler population Stoler (2002) claims, generated gendered subjectivities that were often exorbitant in their magnitude (p.27). These subjectivities confirmed the sense of privilege earned by the colonists, based as they were on their “hardy, good character” and not on race or class (p. 27). In turn, these discourses
generated a notion that “being European … emphasized a bearing, a standard of living and a set of cultural competences and practices” that indigenous and metis culture could never claim (p.27). Stoler contends that while these archetypal subjectivities are present in some way in the colonial context, they did not always generate the same discourses and dispositifs. Saskatchewan moved through its colonial phase to the settler phase rather quickly. However, it is the contention of this analysis that the colonial experience and the discourses generated at that time still exist in Saskatchewan society. One need only to explore the historico-political issues surrounding indigenous cultures in the modern age to determine that these discourses and their historicity still problematize the place of the ‘other’ in our culture.

In many of the early British and French colonies, the authorities restricted access to European women, promoting concubinary arrangements instead. As Stoler (2002) contends, this was thought to impose “a less onerous financial burden” on those in the employ of colonial governments (p. 29). The presence of European women some argued would “exert a restraining check” on the hard drinking conduct of the settlers. However, others argued that the presence of white European women would essentially rupture the social fabric of these ‘imagined communities’ (p. 30). A similar discourse was generated in the Prairie Provinces at the turn of the twentieth century as the suffragette movement could trace its origins back to local agrarian social organizations and temperance leagues. As Kalmakoff (1993) writes, the unregulated sale of alcohol was perceived by many women as the cause for many of the social ills in the new provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Many men thought that if women gained the vote, they would use this political power to alter the frontier nature of prairie society. Stoler (2002) contends that
the arrival of women in the former British colonies was tied to “planned strategies of political stabilization,” but resulted in stronger racial divides and greater sanctions for white men and women who transgressed the colonial collective norm (p. 33). This disciplining of what it meant to be white, greatly affected the “gender perceptions and practices that were selectively refashioned to create and maintain the social distinctions” within the colonial setting (p. 40). The polyvalent nature of these discourses meant that their effect was not mitigated by location or time. A woman in the colonial setting experienced, as Stoler (2002) writes:

…the cleavages of racial dominance and internal social distinctions very differently than men precisely because of their ambiguous positions, as both subordinates in colonial hierarchies and as agents of the empire in their own right. Concomitantly the majority of European women who left for the colonies in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century confronted frequent constraint on their domestic, economic, and political options, more limiting than those in …Europe …and in sharp contrast to the opportunities open to colonial men (pp. 41, 42).

According to Stoler (2002), the colonial experience rested on two false premises. The first is the notion that Europeans in the colonies were an easily identifiable and distinctly different entity (p. 42). The second is that the separation between settler and indigenous cultures was “self-evident” rendering it invisible to the colonizer (p.42). Neither of these premises reflected the tensions between those that sought to homogenize the culture and those that wished to retain their own ethnic origins (p. 42). This was particularly true in Saskatchewan and is reflected in many of the school inspectors’ reports. This concern with the ‘Canadianization’ of old world immigrants drove in part the furious pace of school district creation. The ‘land grab’ that made Saskatchewan the third largest province by population in Canada before the war was propelled by
immigrants from many different countries. Not all were British, but the majority were white. Through this lens, the subjugated histories of settler communities no longer seem stable and fixed, but rather reflect the fluid and permeable nature of a norm meant to identify who was ‘white’ and who was less than ‘white’ (p. 43). As such, the disciplining of white sexual subjectivities was about marking an ambit through the control of female sexuality. It was part of a wider set of relations of power that encompassed both class and racial markers. Stoler (2002) writes that sexual dominance is a “discursive symbol, instrumental in the conveyance of [many] other meanings” having more to do with the flow of power and less to do with imperial administration (p.45). Nevertheless the “social embeddedness of sexuality” supports and sustains colonial racism through the imposition and restriction associated with the establishment of the white norm (p. 45). This is the stuff of “distinctions of difference… fears of contamination, physical danger and moral breakdown”” that constitute the generation of the ‘other’ as a danger to the community. Again one comes back to the polyvalent nature of the discourses associated with this complex interface. White women generated the norm that identified the ‘other’ in the colonial context. While in the metropole, white women moving into the public sphere as war labourers constituted a transgression of this same norm. Of this constituting discourse, Stoler (2002) contends that:

What constituted morality vacillated, as did what defined white prestige – and what its defense should entail. No description of European colonial communities fails to note the obsession with white prestige as a basic feature of colonial thinking. Its protection looms as the primary cause of a long list of otherwise inexplicable postures, prejudices, fears, and violence’s. But what upheld that prestige was not a constant …White prestige was a gloss for different intensities of racist practice, gender-specific and culturally coded (p. 54).
European women were positioned in the colonial context as the “bearers of a refined colonial morality” (p. 57). However, to suggest that they are responsible for the racism that is inherent in this context is to miss the way in which their presence and safety was utilized to reconfirm and clarify the divide that determined those that were fit to rule. One can see through the articulation of this set of discourses that their role as defenders of bourgeois morality has a long history.

3.5 The coupling of the discourses of race and sexuality

Through this chapter’s analysis, it becomes possible to regard sex and the proper display of womanhood in the modern age as a powerful interface for subjectivity, race, morality and class. This discursive interplay is present in the emerging Enlightenment discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. As well, it plays a central role in the colonial context that shaped many of the new societies of the twentieth century. To understand how power constricts/produces discourses and subjectivities is to reveal how they have remained socially viable over time. It is also essential to remember, as Foucault (2003) writes, that these discourses emerge historically from a perpetual struggle for dominance/submission which underpins all societies. The right of the sovereign to punish eventually gave way to laws which define the responsibility of the citizen and checked the power of the state. As Foucault (1982) contends, the development of the modern state shifted the investigation of the subject from the Cartesian question ‘who am I,’ I, “as the unique but universal and unhistorical subject” to ‘who are we (pp. 784, 785)?’ As modern society gave up its right to personal conflict, it turned inward to define the parameters of what it meant to be a responsible citizen. This was a natural consequence of classic liberal political reason. Those outside the bandwidth of the norm were unacceptable. This
would eventually change the meaning of what it was to be a citizen. In *Society Must Be Defended* (2003), Foucault contends that through this change of perspective, politics became the continuation of conflict by another means. However, it also generated the discourse of race by turning conflict inward. In the ‘perpetual peace’ of the modern state there was no external enemy; the enemy is inside. New juridico-political mechanisms were needed by the modern state to deal with this phenomenon. As shown, these new juridico-political interventions focused on linking political technologies and calculations to the progress of the species or society. These ‘calculations’ sometimes have unseen consequences as they are modified by dissonant discursive fields. If we think of power as Foucault (2003) describes, in terms of ‘relations of force’ then struggle between individuals and groups continues “to rage within mechanisms of power or at least to constitute the secret motor of institutions, laws and order” which fundamentally effect the manufacture of subjects within our society (pp. 267, 268). Conflict, like politics, divides the social body. Foucault writes that “the subject who speaks in this discourse cannot occupy…the position of the universal subject,” a perspective must be taken (p. 268). This perspective supports a truth which is both strategic and perspectival; allowing one side to lay claim to victory (p. 268). Through this displacement, new avenues for the movement of power through the social body emerged. Through such displacements, Davidson (2003) writes, “discourse battle…something that brings effects” real or imagined, can be contested and resisted or succumbed to (p. xx). For Foucault (2003) this perpetual conflict is channelled into political power as one of the emerging modern mechanisms of government (p. 15). Through this analysis of conflict, Foucault sheds light on how the modern forms of governance manufacture subjects (p. 265). The older judicial model of
sovereignty produces an accounting of the “ideal genesis of the state” centered on natural rights or judicial control over the intent of governmental intervention. This focus on natural rights generates a model of power relations that positions power as a commodity or right which can be owned or possessed (p. 265). The theory of sovereignty “presupposes [a] subject” that is the object of domination (p. 44). As such, it is associated with the individual who holds power repressing those who do not. Thus, the racial discourse emerging is centered on the ‘natural’ right to oppress. However, power cannot be held by one group or individual as it must flow through society. As such, power does not oppress, but constrains and produces. Domination /submission are not characterized by the oppression of one group by another, as the essential difference between oppression and domination is freedom. The subject is free to choose to resist domination. The power relationship inherent in the emerging race, class and gender discourse is not about the ‘right’ one group possesses over another; although much of its history has been written in these terms. In order for the discursive fields of class, race and gender to form and function throughout the societal body it is necessary to view their formation as discursive fields with a historicity and political, strategic intent. This means that the analysis focuses on the way in which, as Foucault (2003) writes, these forces:

…assert themselves in their multiplicity, their differences, their specificity, or their reversibility; we should not be looking for a sort of sovereignty from which powers spring, but showing how various operators of domination support one another, relate to one another, at how they converge and reinforce one another…(p. 45).

Through an understanding of the historicity of this perpetual struggle it is possible to see how the generation of racial subjectivities becomes entangled with generation of sexual subjectivities. The sexual subjectivities of women act as a marker for the
bandwidth of what is acceptable in society. Those outside that bandwidth are marked as the ‘other’. Recall that Butler (2006) theorized that the ‘other’ was essential to the performativity of gender. Through this lens sexual and racial discourse can be seen to be linked and articulated through each other. Not unlike Stoler’s (2002) theory that the ambit of acceptable sexuality in the colonies also generated the characteristics associated with an unacceptable sexuality. The ambit that defined the responsible citizen articulated those citizens that are unacceptable and incapable or unwilling to conform. Therefore, racial discourse and sexual discourse are linked as they are articulate through the same power technology, that of normalization. The historicity of the disciplining of women’s sexual subjectivities, in Great Britain during the Victorian age and the Great War reveals how each of these interlocking and overlapping discourses evolved through time. Each is articulated through the other. This, in turn, affects the performativity of the subject by constraining and producing the subjectivities available, while also generating the subjectivity of the ‘other.’

These discourses began as an attempt to discipline the urban working poor at the time of massive industrialization and continued essentially unabated through the period of this study, changing and adapting to fit the milieu. One can see the historical events occurring at a time of war as an intensification of these discourses. However, it is also possible to see them as a new offshoot or: something whose lineage is probably yet undefined. As Davidson (2003) writes the discourses that emerge from these struggles are “a place and instrument of confrontation, a “weapon…of control, of subjection, of qualification and of disqualification” and represent a series of forces which must be overcome or submitted to (p. xx). An analysis of the historicity of these discourses is not
about the judicial right that establishes legitimacy or illegitimacy, but rather about this perpetual struggle (p. 17). There is no right to racial superiority, only a dominant group or race that holds its superiority as a ‘natural’ right. The power relationship that forms these discursive fields is grounded, as Foucault (2003) writes, in the subjugated knowledges which have been disqualified as “nonconceptual…insufficiently elaborated …naïve…inferior” and which constitute a disciplinary framing alien to the right of law (p. 7). The power relationship that constitutes the discourses of race, class or gender is grounded in normalization, a normalization that shapes the thinking of individuals. This leads to the overall disciplining of society as it “increasingly colonizes the procedures” and scope of the law (pp. 39, 40). One can see this in the rise of the concept of ‘political correctness’ within modern society. Unwritten laws produced so that a range of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours can be arranged in a hierarchy; generating subjecthood in consonance with the goals of normalization. For Foucault (2003) understanding the emergence of race or gender as a discourse requires a focus on the means by which subjects are produced. Foucault’s view of subject production is tied to the flow of power:

A theory of domination, of dominations, rather than a theory of sovereignty: this means that rather than starting with the subject (or even subjects) and elements that exist prior to the relationship and that can be localized, we begin with the power relation itself… we should not therefore be asking subjects how, why, and by what right they can agree to being subjugated… (p. 45).

Through such an analysis it is possible to see how multiple relays of power constitute gender, race and class relations in society. Moreover, sex/desire and its regulation becomes a powerful lens through which these relays can be articulated. Although Foucault acknowledges that sex is a powerful and dense transfer point for
power relations, his analysis, according to Stoler (1995), lacks breadth. For Stoler it is through this union of discipline and the regulating effects of normalization that the concept of bio-power emerges. Stoler describes bio-power as “a political technology that brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge/power an agent of transformation” for the species (p. 3). It is here that Stoler departs from what she describes as Foucault’s “self-referential” analysis and its Euro-centric focus. Stoler (1995) pursues a history of sexuality that takes into account the empirical context and the racial configurations generated by it. She writes:

…we should see race and sexuality as ordering mechanisms that shared their emergence with the bourgeois order of the early nineteenth century, ‘the beginnings of the modern age.’ Such a perspective figures race, racism and its representations as structured entailments of post-Enlightenment universals, as formative features of modernity, as deeply embedded in bourgeois liberalism, not as aberrant off shoots of them (p.9).

Sex and its regulation in the modern state reveals a society in constant struggle in which one group attempts to dominate another to achieve a certain effect. Like politics, war can be a useful tool to analyse this domination/submission dyad. Thus, Foucault’s (2003) admonishment that there exists “the rule of the tactical polyvalence of discourse” which must be examined on two levels: its “tactical productivity” and “strategic integration” in the pursuit of a particular goal (p. xx). These characteristic are essential to modern state formation. The “choice men” of which Curtis (1992) writes, were charged with the governmental task of maintaining and expanding the governmental mechanisms of the Saskatchewan educational system: the apparatus of security, the school inspectors, the teachers. They (the inspectors) sought to maintain a tactical productivity through a strategic integration of the guiding principles of a government within the tenets of
bourgeois liberalism and its focus on individuality and personal responsibility. The tactics employed by the government of Saskatchewan had a productivity that was aimed at modifying the populace, to bring together disparate, old world attitudes into a new age of modern governance. As stated earlier, Foucault was interested in the way in which sex became a historically constituted field of study. However, if one approaches this field of study through Stoler’s and Curtis’s analytical lens one begins to see the way in which sex not only constituted other fields of knowledge such as race and gender, but also became essential to state formation. Along with a ‘choice men,’ ‘choice women’ were needed to establish the internal sexual /racial boundaries of the dominant culture.

These discourses are exercised in a way that renders them an invisible part of the social landscape, permitting governmental edifices to objectify individuals and the conditions in which they lived as objects of study. It is this objectification of private lives that make them subject to the governmental rationalization and the regulation of society. Any tangible social inequalities fall away and are replaced with an increasing emphasis on self-responsibility and individual blame. This is where Stoler (1995) insists “two distinct technologies of power operating on different levels” come together (p.33). One addresses the disciplining of individual bodies – women should discipline their sexuality to reflect the modesty associated with middle-class hegemony. The other addressing the “global’ regulation of the biological process of human beings;” individuals must be regulated in their behaviours to ensure the best outcomes for the society as a whole. This is where the imperative of racism and colonialism gains its power and traction in the modern age (p.33) Stoler (1995) suggests that the science of sex in the late Victorian age allowed “the penetration of social and self-disciplining regimes” into almost all of the
domains of modern life (p. 3). Foucault (2003) would agree and like Stoler, remarks on how the connection between the life of the individual and the life of the species generates the discourse of race:

It will become the discourse of a battle that has to be waged not between races, but by a race that is portrayed as the one true race, the race that holds the power and is entitled to define the norm, and against those who deviate from that norm, against those who pose a threat to the biological heritage. At this point, we have all those biological-racist discourses of degeneracy, but also all those institutions within the social body which make the discourse of race struggle function as a principle of exclusion and segregation and, ultimately, as a way of normalizing society (p. 61).

Smart (1997) like Foucault points to the way in which this dispositif became, in the Edwardian era, tied to notions of racial and national superiority most often associated with the colonial process:

...what becomes even clearer in this sphere...is the overarching significance of ‘race’ to the concepts of protection and sexual morality. In the nineteenth century the concept of sexual morality is clearly white. Those who fail to achieve this standard are less than white; less than British (p. 25).

Herzog (1999) writes that this dispositif also “organizes [the] reality” and has a powerful effect on the way in which people:

...experience, reality construe it and even constitute it through organization, social and normative activity. This concept is carried by individuals in society; it confers meaning on their world but at the same time restricts their potential range of activity. It is a cultural system that catalogues the world and directs peoples’ desires, aspirations, choices and behavior (p. 53).

Thus, it is possible through this analysis of these seemingly dissonant discursive fields to see that the disciplining of women’s sexuality was also the means by which the discourses of race, class and womanhood could be articulate within a free society. Such an analysis cannot reveal the origin of these fields or expose a time when they were not
articulated through each other. It is only in time of social upheaval that their connectedness bubbles to the surface for the analyst to see.

3.6 The governmentality of regulating women’s work

While the school inspectors’ reports continue to focus on the problems facing the professionalization of the teaching staff throughout the war, these same reports reveal elements of the gender, race and class based boundaries which defined Saskatchewan’s colonial context. It is not surprising that these elements begin to appear in the wartime period. The war heightened anxieties regarding the continuation of white privilege in the province as the ambit that defined white respectability within the white community was challenged by the necessities of war. The old social order that had prevailed before the beginning of the conflict was being rent and torn by the social strife of the suffrage movement and the need to replace traditionally male dominated occupations with women. War anxiety and the egalitarian suffragette movement heightened public awareness of a fluidity of the societal situation on the prairies. Kalmakoff (1993) contends that the liberal government of the day kept the issue of enfranchisement in abeyance until it felt it was pragmatic to deal with it. Although the enfranchisement movement never became an issue for the inspectors and their management of the school system, their yearly reports of the obstacles encountered in their attempts to standardize the educational system point to the ambit by which the colonial context was defined. As W.S. Cram, the inspector of the Swift Current district wrote in his annual report of 1916, those boundaries remained a priority and a rural teacher’s responsibility:

The public school must guarantee the safety and perpetuity of the state. It cannot do this in a province [with] 45 per cent. of foreign extraction without a live co-operative interest in these problems and a well-qualified teaching staff (p.77).
The educational system of the province and the hierarchy which it represented became more stratified and stable during the war. This could have occurred because the education system was seen as a stabilizing social force. During the war years the inspectors’ reports were codified, the curriculum expanded, libraries established and school buildings began to follow a standardized building plan. With the hiring of itinerate nurses, student health became the purview of the state, allowing government officials’ to further penetrate the lives of their citizens. New subjects, such as Agriculture, Household Science, and Manual Training entered the curriculum. As the young women of Saskatchewan entered into the profession of teaching, the teaching cadre stabilized and the hectic pace of district development slowed. It is not clear whether the war generated these opportunities; they could have come about through attrition or expansion. Nevertheless, the war years represent a time in Saskatchewan history when the teacher population became less migrant. School based events began to proliferate: school picnics, rural teachers’ association meetings, ‘better school days,’ and school summer fairs. These events were all indicative of a maturing organization. Fairs and school picnics were a continuation and expansion on the discourses surrounding the school as a special place with a specific communal role. They also served to bring together diverse communities in a show of patriotic inclusion, as well as providing an enclosed space which increased the efficiency of the productivity of governmental power at the local level. Although this application of power was not entirely visible to the participants, it is important to note that in many instances the school fair or community gatherings became an opportunity for professional development. Professional development was sadly lacking in the early
years of the system. R. D. Coutts wrote in his annual report (1916) of the way in which these events expanded to encompass several dissonant disciplinary fields:

Two rural education associations were formed during the year, that of Assiniboia and that of Woodrow. The association of Assiniboia held a successful school fair on September 28, which was attended by the schools of the two adjoining municipalities of Stonehenge and Lake of the Rivers…A teacher convention was called for the day of the Assiniboia School fair and the two subsequent days. It was a success both in point of the numbers and in the character of the addresses and discussions. This convention organised itself into a teachers’ association for the inspectorate (pp. 117, 118).

Money was raised for the Patriotic Fund and Belgian Relief work. While on the surface it appeared that local communities were supporting the regiments fighting in the fields of France and Belgium, the subjugated knowledges beneath reveal a different perspective. While it is clear that these events were officially sanctioned as a celebration of self-sufficiency and self-sacrifice for the war effort, they also reveal the way in which the contours of the dominant discourses surrounding class, colonialism, race and gender were played out in this settler culture. These events were also an example of what Stoler (2002) refers to as the “etymology of the colonizer” present within the colonial context (p. 75). They served to demarcate the settler population, namely who belonged in Saskatchewan after the pioneering phase and who did not. Such events, as Stoler writes, perpetuated the “preservation of ‘little traditions’ and “reconstituted peasantries” that are the hallmark of small towns everywhere (p.22). As such, the maturing educational system marked the boundaries of respectable whiteness. Health inspections of students coupled with the introduction of domestic sciences as a requisite course in the curriculum was reminiscent of the work of British social workers during the Victorian period. Recall, these interventions were carried out by middle-class women, most by volunteers, who
were urged to ‘care’ for their charges. In Saskatchewan during the war years, that volunteer work was also carried out by teachers, urged by their inspectors to care about their pupils and the communities in which they lived.

For Skeggs (1997) this notion of “the caring self” implicit in these interventions is of analytic interest. The ‘caring self’ is arguably the conduit through which the disciplining of the self and others flows. By problematizing the self (are you caring enough?) the individual is encouraged to self-modify. It is in many ways a form of bio-power—a place where governmental reason acts on the biology of the citizenry. Caring for students was seen as the means by which a teacher could care for herself and thus, maximize her potential. It also formed a disciplinary hierarchy by which a woman could invest in her future as a teacher. Through Stoler’s (2002) analysis of the colonial dyad the significance of women in the colonial context can be read through their ability to care and their moral positioning. As such, the caring of women became essential to establishment and maintenance of white privilege. Of this Stoler writes:

Colonial politicians and moral reforms stipulated new codes of conduct that emphasized respectability, domesticity, and more carefully segregated use of space. All these measures focused on European women…But colonial politics was not just concerned with sex; nor did sexual relations reduce colonial politics. Sex in the colonies had to do with sexual access and reproduction, class distinctions and racial demarcation, nationalism and European identity – in different measure and not all at the same time (p.78).

The subjectivity of the ‘caring self’ as Skeggs (1997) has shown, was historically introduced to working class women in the Victorian age through a state-sponsored intervention and brought together “domesticity and sexuality in opposition to each other” to reinforce the existing middle-class social hegemony (p. 46). The effect was to precipitate the winding of respectability and morality around “a complex set of practices
and representations which defined appropriate and acceptable modes of behaviour, language and appearance” for women (p. 56). However, the caring self, warns Skeggs, is produced through “the conflation of caring for [and] caring about;” thus, a woman who was not capable of caring for others, could not care for her home, could not care for herself (p. 56). Thus, through caring, a woman becomes the model and epitome for others to aspire to and a significant cog in the normalizing discourse. This ethical positioning is clearly elaborated in Foucault’s (2001) notion of the “ethics of the self.” The ethics of the self, Batters (2011) contends, involves the subject having the ability to cleave to the status quo while maintaining the freedom to question it (p. 2). As Foucault (1997) insists, the status-quo is the “result of subjugating individuals in the very reality of a social practice by mechanisms of power that appeal to a truth” (p. 32). This truth is associated with a set of ethical practices. This link between the caring and the ethics of the self will be explored further in the following chapter. In this case the truth is seen as a natural function of being a woman. However, this notion provides for only one type of womanhood, defined by a particular set of practices, and caring for the self and the ‘other’ is one of these. This truth is contingent. It is kept in place by the discursive framing and the dispositif which in turn adapts to new knowledges as they are made available to the discursive field. Thus, the subjugated knowledges, the little truths, are over ridden, but never really lost to the field and may re-emerge at different times and in different locals. Thus, we can link the caring of the self and others to the disciplining of sexual subjectivities in the Victorian age and the war years. It was the means by which the women of Great Britain and Canada were encouraged to modify themselves. It is important to note that this is not subversion or determination, but rather it is through such
a mechanism that one can outfit oneself with a personal truth— an adaptation of the regulating norm which defines one’s performance of subjecthood.

This conflation between ‘care of the self’ and caring for others is part of a dispositif that regulates the societal ‘truth’ of women’s subjectivities. As Skeggs (1997) writes, it is through this dispositif that women were “offer[ed] the means to value, trade and invest in themselves” while remaining subjugated to the dominant discourse of domestication and middle-class hegemony (p. 56). Central to this was the ideology of the private sphere. However, in order for women to move into the profession of teaching it was necessary to extend the private sphere to include the classroom. Education became one of the acceptable occupations available to women because of its association with the traditional role of nurturing. As Herzog (1999) contends the distinction between the public and private sphere is fundamentally the product of Western thought. The private sphere was essential to maintaining racial and sexual boundaries of western bourgeois culture (p. 34). Even the word private itself demarks a lack of status; it is derived from the Latin root, meaning deprived. Of this dyad Herzog (1999) writes:

…The dichotomous axes are the separation between the market and home, consumption and production, and private and public, and when these are overlaid on the sexual dichotomy, men/women, the ethical dualism that is forged determines different rules of behavior in each sphere and different social expectations from each gender. The gulf between the private and the public becomes a basic organizing principle of everyday life and a central shaping force of gender identity (p. 37).

Historically, this model has been socially dominant. Middle-class bourgeois women gained status by being firmly entrenched in the domestic sphere. Working-class women, as a result of being forced economically to enter the work force, lost status. This split between the private and public sphere demarcated more than just class lines. Within
this dyad, the only socially acceptable labour available to middle-class women outside
the home was volunteer work, because this was seen as benefiting the community. Thus,
the boundary that demarcated paid work from volunteer work also marked the ambit of
middle-class respectability. Herzog (1999) contends that while men had careers, women’s
work was seen more of a calling. Such labour was defined “essentially in terms of its
contribution to the common good;” a common good defined by middle class hegemony
(p. 38). As a result, three dichotomies emerged that defined the public/private separation:
the first is gender differentiation; the second is the separation of between political and
apolitical; the third is the division between private and public (p. 43). The private sphere
was viewed as being occupied by apolitical, domestic, women. As Herzog (1999) writes
this social arrangement becomes so “taken for granted” that it seems invisible (p.44).
Men and women saw it as a natural thing. This ‘naturalness’ however, is contrived. Men
see it as a duty to profess “chivalrous norms and profess themselves eager to do battle” in
the dirty business of politics and business for the sake of their family (p. 45). With the
rise of state-sponsored education, parental discretion regarding the possible futures of the
female members of the family compelled many of them to consider outfitting their
daughters with the skills necessary for self-sufficiency. Through this interaction the wake
of power through the societal body is made visible. A governmental intervention to
maximize the productivity of the populace generates opportunities for young women
while the discursive field and its dispositif regulates and constricts those opportunities,
cleaving to the societal norm. This phenomenon is unique to the late nineteenth and early
twentieth century. Such a development led to several professions being considered as an
extension of the private sphere. As Herzog (1999) contends the concept of a “feminised
“profession” was a means by which women could be integrated into the work force and the public/private split maintained (pp. 93, 94). The development of ‘women’s professions’ represents one of those knowledges that was subjugated by the regulatory norm. The surface inscription reads that women moved into particular professions because of a ‘natural’ affinity; however, this cleavage could not occur if not for the discursive field and dispositif regulating a women’s sexual subjectivity. Indeed, the concept itself needs to be interrogated because it assumes that the labour market is “neutral, universal, or blind;” rather than governed by discourses that have become so acceptable as to make their “cultural assumptions” invisible (p. 93).

As Herzog (1999) contends, the disciplines and careers available to women at the turn of the century were associated with health, education and medical services. These careers were geared towards children and serving the needs of the community (p. 93). This developed to reconcile an obvious conflict. If professionalism was conflated with “activism, confidence and self-assertion” and the feminine ideal was associated with “passivism, humility and self-sacrifice” then women’s work needed to be to professions which “provide[d] services that represented the [culturally determined] fulfillment of womanhood” (pp. 93, 94). Along with this extension of the private into the public came the necessary managers, consultants and regulations that accompany any form of modern institutional organization. As such, a disciplinary regime was enacted with its corresponding technologies, surveillance, classification, regulation, and examination and in turn generated a disciplinary norm. The hierarchies that form around the concept of public/private delineated the appropriate performance of the sexual subjecthood of women.
The disciplining of sexual subjectivities that began with the old and new poor laws and established middle class hegemony eventually determined in the colonies the price of white respectability. This, in turn, reinforced the ‘rightness’ of the gendered private/public split. As universal state-sponsored education emerged as the norm of the twentieth century, the public/private split was extended into the labour market in order to maintain the discourse of this norm. As Carabine (2001b) has shown, this norm delineated motherhood, caring and nurturing as the proper normal expression of female sexuality. As this norm established itself within pedagogy it made nurturing and caring as an essential part of the pedagogical relationship. This regulatory norm would eventually come to define the truth of teaching regardless of the sex of the teacher. It would become enshrined as the part of the vocation of teaching. Men would be encouraged to modify their teaching styles to fit the ‘feminization’ of the profession. When applied to social policy and sexuality, Carabine (2001a) writes, normalization disciplines in three main ways: 1) in constituting appropriate sexuality and sexual behaviours, 2) by performing a regulative capacity “through which not only is heterosexuality established and secured,” and 3) as a regulatory function circulating through the social body which assures that heterosexuality is viewed as ‘normal’ (pp. 278-279). Normalization underpins the notion that social policy and its associated status is linked to the performance of appropriate sexuality and sexual behaviour. Stoler (2002) insists that this boundary between normal and abnormal “took as much discursive, political energy to produce as that which bound sex to power and the ‘truth’ of identity to sex” (p. 167). As such, its historicity is filled with the subjugated knowledges which would tend to deny the ‘truth’ of that identity. It isn’t that other sexual subjectivities were unavailable. These discourses can be incredibly
flexible. During the pioneering phase of the province’s development the boundaries that
defined ‘normal’ sexually were much more elastic. Lack of available women, great
distances between populations and other factors led the colonialist to define what was
socially acceptable in much broader terms. The ambit that defined white respectability
was much more fluid. As Stoler (2002) has shown, this is a common element in the early
phases of colonial development. Her analysis of concubinage has shown that this
arrangement was preferred during the early stages of colonialization. It fell from favour
as colonial formation progressed and the boundaries of white prestige and power were
redefined and strengthened. This development was often preceded by an influx of
European women to the colony. Skeggs (2005) would agree, noting that the social/sexual
discourse defining a woman’s morality have fluctuated through time. In the post-modern
era the neo-conservative movement has focused on the morality of working-class women
as a threat to middle-class values of individual responsibility, reviving this discursive
field. Skeggs (2005) writes:

The excessive, unhealthy publicly immoral white working class
woman, I argue, epitomizes the zeitgeist of the moment – a crisis in
middle-class authority and security... and a handy figure for the
government to deflect its cuts in welfare provision via the
identification of a social problem (p.968).

3.7 The caring self

By the middle of the First World War a clear majority of the teachers in the
Saskatchewan educational system were young women, coming of age at an uncertain
time. This uncertainty was heightened by emerging discourses surrounding the formation
of the modern school system. State sponsor schooling, as Hunter (1996) describes, is
inherently pastoral and disciplinary:
The school system...is positively and irrevocably bureaucratic and disciplinary, emerging as it does from the exigencies of social governance and from the pastoral disciplines with which the administrative State attempted to meet exigencies. This does not mean that the [modern] school system has been inimical to the goal of self-realization. On the contrary, one of the most distinctive characteristics of the modern ‘popular’ school...is that, in adapting the milieu of pastoral guidance to its own uses, State schooling made self-realization into a central disciplinary objective (p. 149).

The pastoral influence on the emerging concept of state-sponsored schooling is significant; it would come to influence teaching praxis in the age of modernity.

Modernity is defined by Barker (2005) as a period:

marked by the move from feudalism (or agrarianism) toward capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, the nation-state and its constituent institutions and forms of surveillance (p. 444).

The pastoral power technology would loom especially large in the poiesis of the Saskatchewan system due to its emphasis on elementary education and its largely female teaching staff. The pastoral approach would eventually generate a ‘truth’ regarding teaching praxis and the vocation of teaching. Implicit in the pastoral regime is the practice of care for the self. Care for the self is associated with ancient Greek, Hellenistic and Roman civilizations. As Davidson (2005) writes, to care for the self required individuals to “constitute [themselves] as a moral subject,” (p. xviii). This was achieved in ancient times through a prescribed series of practices, rituals and mediations. The Christian church in the 3rd and 4th century adapted this ancient philosophy to use in its monastic enclosures. The focus of caring for the self in the pastoral tradition however, shifts from the search for the “soul-subject” to that of the “soul-substance” (“Care for the self and pastoral power,” 2007). Through the ancient practice a subject is guided to find the truth of oneself through a series of ritualized practices. In the pastoral the individual
finds the truth through conversion, stemming from the revelation of the divine. As Foucault (2005) writes, the revelation shifts; rather than the individual achieving enlightenment through an inward examination of the soul; enlightenment is now brought forth through the acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge is centred on the renunciation of the self as flawed and wanting. Both practices feature a problematizing of the self; finding the flaws one has and exposing them to modification. In the Greco-Roman practice the individual exposes their flaws to themselves; in the Christian tradition one exposes oneself to a divine representative. In the pastoral regime a form of ethical labour is designed to produce a self-reflecting subject. The modern school utilizes this pastoral approach to manufacture subjecthood. Hunter (1996) writes:

…this subject was and is the result of an unchosen initiation into a spiritual discipline that equips individuals to comport themselves as reflective subjects. Indeed it is the fact that Christian pedagogy exists as a discipline, rather than an ideology that allowed it to slip its theological moorings and to reappear in the form of secular moral education. In fact this latter ‘humanist’ pedagogy employs practices of problematization and forms of ethical labour adapted from its Christian prototype. The self-reflective, self-regulating students that it forms are thus no less the result of unconditional initiation into the disciplines of conscience (p.163).

Following Hunter’s analysis one concludes that caring for the self or as it became known in the Christian faith, ‘know thy self’ is an integral discourse constituting the modern notion of teaching. This is a central element in self-reflective behaviour. Recall that caring for the self is conflated with caring for the other. Through this connection one can begin to perceive the regulating discourses surrounding the social technology of the “caring teacher.” Caring becomes a watch word for the regulation of the life of the individual. A woman who was capable of regulating her sexuality is representative of a ‘caring woman’ and is thus capable of caring for and regulating others. A women’s
caring, and the morality associated with this subjectivity, marked the parameters of white privilege in the colonial context; it was a visible reminder of what separated ‘us’ from ‘them.’ This caring is universal, the prerogative of women, and associated with the regulation of the private sphere. In short, this discourse supports and upholds the submission of the ‘other’ to the normalizing discourse which supports not only the regulation of the individual, but the regulation of the species. It is a form of bio-power. It is through this normalization process that the discourse of race, patriarchy and class emerge.

One can only imagine the schizophrenic ‘tug of war’ that many of those young female women must have experienced during the lead up to and through the war years in Saskatchewan. The introduction of universal schooling in the province left many of these young women in possession of a high school or post-secondary education, but with limited career opportunities to utilize it. Regulated as they were by the ideology of separate spheres of influence, many moved into ‘women’s professions.’ Teaching was one of these. The fight for the franchise on the prairies, as well, brought into question the sexual and political morals of women much older than themselves. Unlike their British counterparts, prairie suffragists had a more pragmatic view of the relationships between the sexes. There is an echo here of Curtis’s (1992) “government by choice men” theory. Prairie suffragists argued that the validation of female personhood was integral to this new system (p. 5). However, along with this system came the concern that if prairie women gained the vote they would begin to alter the society in such a way that would be disadvantageous to men, generating its own unique anxieties. The Conservative premier of Manitoba, Sir Rodman Roblin addressed the subject of enfranchisement for women in
1914 in front of a large delegation of both men and women gathered in front of the Legislative Assembly:

“Most women,” he told the petitioners, “don’t want the vote.” In Colorado, he informed them, where women could vote, “they shrank from the polls as from a pestilence.” Woman suffrage, he said. “would be a retrograde movement…it will break up the home…it will throw the children into the arms of servant girls” (Gutkin, 1996, p.1).

To want to enter the work force, own land, achieve personhood legally, was to have one’s womanhood questioned by a patriarchal society. The young women that entered the teaching profession in Saskatchewan found themselves surrounded by possibilities but restricted by the public/private sphere ideology which extended the private sphere and all of its suffocating regulations into their workplace. The classroom was to be an extension of the home. Their profession also marked out the boundaries of white privilege in the colonial community and instilled the values of middle-class hegemony. In a more sinister way it demarked those that were acceptable, singled them out as superior from those that were unacceptable, morally or physically and racially flawed. Their superiors urged them in this work; to be an essential cog in state formation and unification. Thus, the notion of superiority, racial, gender and moral, became deeply embedded in the concept of citizenry of Saskatchewan. Submission to the word, and renunciation of the self were necessary in order to convert the ‘other’ to the true path. This is the only way to salvation. The British colonial project was dependent on the notion that the colonizing powers with their Christian morals and caring attitudes were superior to the indigenous population. Such a deficit in the Indigenous population generated a ‘civilizing’ claim on which the colonizing process could rest. The coupling of
notions of moral superiority, respectability and civilization anchored the British colonial expansion both at home and abroad, as Skeggs (1997) has written:

...the Christian unity of the nation, and order and regulation at home were believed to be essential for the success and expansion abroad. Social stability was considered to be dependent upon moral purity; the moral condition of the nation was seen to derive from the moral standards of woman: woman came to signify the success or failure of the colonial project (p. 42).

Gender in the emerging modern age becomes not only the lynch pin on which the colonial project rests, but much more. Gender becomes a powerful interface in which sexuality, identity and the performance of female subjectivities are tightly wound around the generation of the ‘other.’ This circular underpinning supports the norm and defines abnormality. The performance of female sexuality in the Edwardian age as in the Victorian age revolved around middle-class notions of sobriety, piety and restrained sexuality. As such this performance not only defines bourgeois middle class, but also those that through their lack threaten it. Stoler (1995) holds that the values that successive British governments tried to inculcate through the science of sex maps a terrain of distinction on which is written the history of the generation of the ‘proper’ British citizenry.

The sexual practices of colonizer and colonized were according to Stoler (1995) “fundamental to the colonial order of things” and cannot be distinguished from the colonial project as a whole (p.4). For Stoler, these middle-class discourses of “civility, self-control, self-discipline and self-determination” were “productive of racial distinctions” and represented more than a simple class divide (p.8). For women of the Saskatchewan educational system, the ethics of the self are clearly conflated with caring; both for themselves and the ones they care for. This has become a central feature of the
pedagogical relationship; one cannot help but see the way in which this would
problematicize the ‘other’ within the classroom context. Especially in Canada when the
Indigenous population did not gain access to the public school system until later in the
century. The discourses of caring and morality were by this time tightly wrapped around
each other and firmly established as the way things are done; their deleterious effects
made invisible to all except the ‘other.’

There is an echo here of Butler’s (2006) contention that the polyvalent nature of
these discourses leads to their expression through a variety of sexual, gendered, social,
class and economic categories. Thus, the language of difference is expressed through
female subjectivities. The ‘other’ is generated as a self-disciplining discourse and the
performance of ‘proper’ female subjectivities is conflated with the private sphere. The
moral panic over the possible polluting effects of the working poor in the in early
Victorian period, the sexual anxiety that arose in Great Britain and Canada during the
First World War as well as the anxiety generated on the prairies over the enfranchisement
of women are all connected through the regulation of the proper performance of female
sexuality. I would assert that these aspects are representative of the flow of
power/knowledge through the social field; as evident by the historicity of their wake,
some of which has been revealed by this limited genealogy. Each time the social field
problematicized the performance of female subjectivities, this discursive framing rebound
with greater intensity, subjugating existing local knowledges and replacing them with the
same societal concerns regarding the supposed power of female sexuality and the
hegemonic power of the middle class. It is this discursive framing and its generation of
female subjectivities that problematicize the teacher in the nascent educational system of
Saskatchewan. Through this lens it becomes possible to view the young women of the Saskatchewan educational system as intimately tied through their performance of gender to the discourses surrounding the colonial, class and racial systems of thought, particularly at a time when the crisis of war loomed large. These discourses defined these young women’s existence, shaped their experience and ultimately would be the legacy that they passed to many of their students. The fundamental principles of the Saskatchewan education system, the materiality of the lone school house, and the civilizing claim of the colonizer, found expression through the subjectivities of these young women, partickally in the performance of gender.

3.8 Socially acceptable

Women were granted the vote in Saskatchewan in 1916. There was, as Kalmakoff (1993) states, little opposition to women’s suffrage in the province. The same anxiety that pervaded the British psychic did not manifest itself with the same furore on the prairies as it did in the metropole. This may be the result of the pragmatic nature of the pioneering spirit or it could be attributed to the inevitability of the endeavour. However, it is the contention of this thesis that the regulation of the female subjectivities of women carried on in the colonies as it did in Great Britain.

In the end, the disenfranchisement of women would be challenged and resolved on the prairies far more quickly in the colonies than in the metropole. The long awaited equality associated with this victory however, would be fleeting. As Kent (1993) insists, “feminists’ understandings of masculinity and femininity – of gender and sexual identity – became transformed during the war” in such a way that in the post war period the views of feminists and anti-feminists were essentially the same (p. 4). The role of women
would, by the end of the war, become synonymous with the traditional roles of motherhood and maternity. In many ways the discourses surrounding women and the regulation of their subjectivities before, during and after the First World War represent a unique opportunity for study. The breaks between the discourses that defined a women’s role in society before the war, the resulting confusion as these discourses were undermined by wartime labour shortages, and the resulting intensification as they recovered their force in the post war period exposes the subjugated knowledges which would tend to deny that there is but a ‘proper’ female subjectivity. If as Butler (2006) writes, gender is a strategy that is implicit in cultural survival, this period represents a slippage in the discursive field that defines cultural survival for women. These upheavals in the discursive field, occurring as they did during the formation of the province of Saskatchewan would have a powerful impact on the subjectivities of prairie women. As one can see this is not a traditional narrative, but rather a tangled mess of discourse. Some of the discourses work to support the grand narrative of women achieving personhood and acting as substitutes for men fighting in the trenches of Europe; while others displace or refute these ‘truths’. The women, who made up over 80 percent of the education system’s teachers, were for the most part unaffected by enfranchisement; they were too young. Only women over thirty would gain the vote. However, the resulting decimation of the feminist movement would effectively tie the subjectivity of a female teacher to the private realm, forcing the classroom to become an extension of the home. This private/public space would become associated with the most traditional sphere of influence for women: motherhood, caring and nurturing. The nature of that caring, its
connection to the ethics of the female self, and its influence on the pedagogical relationship will be explored in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are (Foucault, 1982, p. 785).

“Is it hard?”
“Not if you have the right attitudes. Its having the right attitudes that’s hard” (Pirsig, 1975, p. 372).

By 1919, the year after hostilities ended on the European continent, the Saskatchewan educational system was employing 6,386 teachers; 5,117 of these were women (Annual report, 1919, p. 23). A little over 20 percent of the teaching population in the province were men. One would have thought that the men returning form the battlefields of Europe would have rushed into teaching to counter the de-skilling of the profession of which Danylewycz & Prentice (1991b) write. This did not occur. Male teachers in Saskatchewan were still paid more than a female with the same credentials; wage parity was still an issue in the profession. A male teacher, according to the 1919 annual report, working in a rural setting on a provisional certificate earned a hundred dollars more per annum than a female teacher with the same credentials (Annual report, 1919, p.23). As the degree of certification increased so did the differential in pay. But this did not tempt men back into the profession. This is but one example of the many post-war contradictions present in the Saskatchewan educational system. The gender gap in teaching which generated so much consternation for the Ministry of Education a decade earlier remained largely intact. In 1925, the province was employing 7,520 teachers of which, 5,506 were female (Annual report, 1925, p. 19). After six years, the number of women employed by the province as teachers remained constant at 73 percent. Although the pace of district expansion slowed throughout the 1920s, the problems that plagued the nascent system largely remained intact-too few teachers, many still working under
provisional certificates, resulting in the de-skilling of the profession, poor attendance and underfunded schools. As Foght outlined in his report of 1918, school consolidation remained a possible solution. However, as much as the government remained committed to the project, the cost of its implementation remained beyond its grasp. Augustus Ball wrote in his 1919 report:

A consolidated school is a large district of at least 30 square miles. The board of the district is responsible for the cost of conveying students to school residing more than a mile and a half from the school. The government through a grant pays for a third of the cost. The most expensive of these large districts was Cupar with a student catch basin of 56 miles and 284 students. The cost of conveyance was 7730.75 while the teachers of the school were paid 5850.00 (p. 15).

Saskatchewan after World War I returned to the same economic woes that plagued the province before the war. Farmers were worse off after the hostilities ended. There was, as Lew & McInnis (2006) contend, a significant economic depression in 1921 followed by several years of post-war inflation (p. 21). However, per capita income fell after the war in Canada and this was “more a North American than worldwide phenomenon” (p.12).

Falling wheat prices had a devastating effect on the province’s economy. Saskatchewan had retro-fitted much of its agricultural output to address wartime shortages. The resulting monoculture left many farmers precariously tied to grain prices. Due to the resulting peace, demand fell and a glut of wheat filled the markets. Like the economy, the school system in the post war era was plagued by its own ‘slump.’ The ‘rural school problem’ still remained. The poor attendance record of previous years had not faded. In 1919, the Annual report records 13,326 attendance warning notices sent to parents (Annual report, 1919, p. 17). While in that same year the annual attendance
dropped below 63 percent. The Saskatchewan school inspectors however, place that number closer to 77 percent (p. 17). The discrepancy was blamed on statistical error by the ministry. The Department of Education would not codify its attendance statistics with the other Prairie Provinces until 1921. If one ‘reads between the lines’ of the annual reports to the Ministry of Education it becomes clear that the aleatory decision by the Martin government to reject the Foght report and all of its recommendations for dealing with Saskatchewan’s rural school problem had not paid off. Of this dilemma Augustus Ball wrote in his annual report of 1918:

…it has become clear that we have reached a parting of the way in some and smaller districts, each having one room school in operation. Thus, the school will be brought slightly nearer to the homes of the children, but with all the weaknesses and disadvantages of the one room school inadequately supported financially will remain (p. 14).

However fumbling, the system slowly continued to improve. By the middle of the 1920s, attendance had risen and the formation of new districts had slowed to less than sixty a year province wide. The teaching staff remained largely female, largely transient, and largely under-trained. Rural schools did not remain open year round. They closed during the harsh winter months. Stable employment remained elusive for many rural teachers. Recent statistics from Services Canada reveals that at the elementary and kindergarten school levels, Canadian schools still employ more women than men. In Saskatchewan and in Canada as a whole, women teachers remain essential to the educational systems, even in the twenty-first century. The dispositif that generated the practices and ‘truths’ that shaped the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity remained a large part of prairie pedagogy. This chapter will explore this dispositif, its relationship to self-
regulation, disciplining the truth, power and the ethics of caring derived from the ancient art of ‘care of the self’ (subjectivity) within the education system.

4.1 Subjectivity and truth

One cannot deny the historicity of the connection between women, teaching and the subjectivities that this relationship generates. How subjectivities form is related to the formation of truth, or as Foucault (1976) refers to it, the rules and regulations that govern the “games of truth” (p. 2). Foucault contends that these ‘games of truth’ represent the way in which “certain relations of subject and object are formed and modified” within a particular field or domain (p. 2). For Foucault, thought is an act that “posits a subject and an object” along with their possible relationship to each other within such fields (p. 1). Games of truth modify the relationship between subject and object by affecting how the field is constituted. As true and false determinations regarding the knowledge present within the field shift, so does the way in which the field constitutes subjecthood. Once we thought the world was flat and the sun revolved around the earth, this constituted a certain relationship between subject and object, humans and the universe. As the true and false of our place within reality shifts so does this relationship. It is not a “matter of defining the formal conditions” of the relationship between subject/object (p. 2). Nor is it a matter of defining empirically when and where object and subject mutually inform each other. It is, according to Foucault (1976), necessary to determine:

…what the subject must be, to what condition he [sic] is subject, what status he[sic] must have, what position he[sic] must occupy in reality or in imaginary, in order to become a legitimate subject of this or that type of knowledge (p. 2).

Thus, the subjectivity of caring can be found in many professions, but the subjectivity of the ‘caring teacher’ is available only in one constituted field of
knowledge: education. Teachers are not forced to assume this subjectivity. However, like many social norms it is adopted and becomes as standard as individual subjects recognize the truth claim associated with the subjectivity. As Foucault (1976) writes, games of truth do not represent “the discovery of true things,” but rather what can be imagined, said or practiced, depends on the veracity of these true and false statements or veridictions generated in specific fields of knowledge. The solidity and durability of a subjectivity rest on its veridictions (p. 3). Foucault (1976) writes:

[This]… is neither a history of acquisitions nor a history of concealments of truth; it is the history of ‘veridictions,’ understood as the forms according to which discourse capable of being declared true or false are articulated concerning a domain of things. What the conditions of this emergence were, the price that was paid for it, so to speak, its effect on reality and the way in which, linking a certain type of object to certain modalities of the subject, it constituted the historical a priori of a possible experience for a period of time, an area and for given individuals (p.3).

This analysis would not be applicable if not for the rise of Enlightenment discourse and its associated disciplines. As such, one can analyse what these veridictions exclude or displace. In other words, what previous possibilities were rendered impotent by the emergence of these new and unpredicted veridictions. Through this lens one can clearly appreciate Foucault’s interest in what defines and constitutes insanity, deviancy and penal behaviour. Foucault through this approach, sought to reveal how a willing subject constitutes themselves as both a self-reflective subject and object. The caring attitude associated with teaching and the regulation of female subjectivities is one such self-constituting act. Foucault (1976) describes this process as:
…the formation of procedures by which the subject is led to observe himself [sic] analyse himself [sic] interpret himself [sic] recognize himself [sic] as a domain of possible knowledge. In short this concerns the history of ‘subjectivity, ‘if what is meant by the term is the way in which the subject experiences himself [sic] in a game of truth where he [sic] relates to himself (p. 4).

Foucault (1976) contends that these self-constituting acts form the basis of Western thought. Indeed it was through this form of introspection that:

…individuals were all called on to recognize themselves as subjects of pleasure, of desire, of lust, of temptation and were urged to deploy, by various means (self-examination, spiritual exercises, admission, confession), the game of true and false in regard to themselves and what constitutes the most secret, the most individual part of their subjectivity (p. 5).

Foucault would return to this question of how the subject is constituted time and time again throughout his career. In an interview a year before his death, Foucault ‘confessed’ that his real interest was not the inquiry into the relationship between power/knowledge, but rather the “ways in which human beings are constituted as subjects” through the process and production of ‘truths’ (Peters, 2004, p. 50).

Subjectivities are made available to an individual through his or her access to these truths. The way in which the ‘truth’ of teaching was generated on the prairies shaped the subjectivities available to teachers within the system. The ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity was generated by the perceived truth associated with the act of teaching. As Batters (2011) writes, the constituted subject is formulated through the interaction of “three major and inherently connected forces: power, truth and subjectivity;” these in turn compose the governance of the self (p. 1). Besley (2005) writes:
In his early thinking he [Foucault] had conceived of the relationship between the subject and ‘games of truth’ in terms of either coercive practices (psychiatry or prison) or theoretical-scientific discourses (the analysis of wealth, of language, of living beings, especially in *The Order of Things*). In his later writings he broke with this relationship to emphasis games of truth not as coercive practice, but rather as an *ascetic practice of self-formation*. ‘Ascetic’ in this context means an ‘exercise of self upon the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and attain a certain mode of being’ (p. 79).

As Foucault (1976) contends, the games of truth are not imposed on the subject. The subject and the object “are both constituted only under certain simultaneous conditions,” which can be modified by a field of knowledge and the subject’s experience of it. It is a form of thinking and acting at once. This produces a grid of intelligibility by which the practices and truth associated with the dispositif of the field provide the subject with the ability to know and critique reality (p. 7). Through such a lens, the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity became the grid of intelligibility by which the practice of teaching in Saskatchewan was defined. However, such practices of self-formation have a historicity which reveals the ‘truths’ that have been accepted into the field and those that have been rejected. As Foucault (1976) writes, the history of these “concrete practices” reveals the way in which the “subject is constituted in the immanence of a domain of knowledge” (p. 6). Understanding the way in which the caring self became part of the pedagogical relation and the truth that it eventually generated regarding teaching, reveals the way in which teaching itself was problematized and the possible solutions that were generated within the field to modify the problem. In short, one could say that the way in which teaching was problematized in Saskatchewan led to the generation of the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity. However, one could equally say that the generation of the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity problematized the way we teach. The truth claim associated with caring: an
individual incapable of caring for others is incapable of caring for themselves, informs and shapes the way in which the duties and responsibilities of the pedagogical relationship. The subject and the object mutually inform each other. A critique of these practices, as Batters (2011) insists must reveal how they were generated, modified, reversed, and eventually accepted to generate a truth regarding this subjectivity:

...critique is an essential component of individual freedom and the politics of the self. It is a means of maintaining mobility of mind and spirit; of avoiding a fixed, stabilized view of the ever-changing present; of maintaining a critical awareness of oneself and the place and time in which one resides. While critique does not declare truth, it instead analyzes what Foucault calls various ‘discourses of truth.’ It helps make available ones’ ability to exert freedom in a civilization dictated by forces of power (p. 1).

Foucault (2005) in the last years of his life began to explore this ascetic exercise on the self, or how one comes to know the truth of one’s self. Central to his exploration was the ancient Greco-Roman practice of ‘care of the self’ along with the Greek notion of parrhesia. Parrhesia is translated from the Greek as ‘frank talk’ or ‘truth telling.’ The two, ‘care of the self’ and parrhesia were, according to Foucault, essential in Greek culture to the formation of an ethical subject. It is important to note that truth-telling in the ancient Greek practice has considerably different connotations than what we think of truth telling today. In the Greek tradition parrhesia was speaking the truth of one’s self to others. To be able to do this was to understand and appreciate the way in which the discourses of power shape the individual’s subjectivity. In a series of lectures (1981-1982), Foucault provided a genealogy of these ancient practices and their effect on the western concept of knowledge. Foucault through these lectures, attempted to determine, what Davidson (2005) refers to as, “the forms of thought” that allow a subject to have access to the truth (p. xxiii). Davidson elaborates on these forms of thought:
We will call ‘philosophy’ the form of thought that asks what it is that allows the subject to have access to the truth and which attempts to determine the conditions and limits to the subject’s access to the truth. If we call this ‘philosophy’ then I think we could call ‘spirituality’ the pursuit, practice, and experience through which the subject carries out the necessary trans-formations on himself [herself] in order to have access to the truth (p. xxiii).

As stated, Foucault (2005) used a genealogical approach to investigate the techniques and practices of parrhesia in human relationships and how these practices were incorporated into western thought. Peters (2003) contends that central to this analysis is education (p. 207). As state school systems developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, these ancient techniques were incorporated into the matrix of the schools’ governing principles and altered somewhat to serve the state’s need to shape the population’s ethos. Hunter (1996) claims the modern school system that emerged at the turn of the century in North America had two primary goals: “the mass moral training of the population,” and the perpetuation of the state itself through the inculcation of the ethical self (p. 148). Hunter refers to this dyad as the birth of the “pedagogical state” (p. 149). As such, it can be said that the ancient art of ‘care of the self,’ the modern government of the self, the governmental art of population management are related by the aim to modify the behaviours of individuals. It was crucial to the developing modern state-sponsored school system that it inculcates this form of self-disciplining. A self-modifying citizen was essential to the governmental goal of population maximization. Teachers in rural prairie schools were expected to inculcate these same self-disciplining techniques so as to model the behaviour for their students. However, as with the disciplining of women’s sexuality, the narrative of self-responsibility and meritocracy would subjugate the history of this form of self-disciplining. Its historicity would become
somewhat invisible to those within the institution: just another part of going to school. The combination of a moral self-regulating discourse and the regulation of women’s sexuality through the caring ethic would, in essence, restrict the subjectivities made available in the pedagogical relationship for both women and men.

The first part of this chapter will briefly sketch out the history and the practices associated with what Foucault (2005) referred to as “techne tou biou” or the art of living. The art of living employs the care of the self as a mechanism by which the subject may gain access to the truth of themselves. Part two of this chapter will explore the relationship between pastoral disciplining systems and the ancient art of ‘care of the self.’ The focus of care of the self shifted in the pastoral context. Care for the self became ‘know thy self.’ This is a fundamental shift in perspective which would reverberate in modern western thought. As society secularized, the religious overtones associated with the monastic formulation of individual ethics would drop away and knowledge in and for itself would become the catalyst that revealed the truth. However, the essence of ‘care of the self’ remained as a fundamental way to access the truth. Thus, in the modern era to ‘know thy self’ became the process through which a subject uncovers the truth of themselves. Discovering who we are and our place within society’s matrix became an a priori function of the modern state school. Part three of this chapter will explore the feminist ethics of care and its formulation as a gendered ethical formation (see Noddings, 1984; Gilligan, 1982). It is the contention of this paper that the formation of feminist ethics, particularly in the educational milieu, legitimatizes the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity. However, it is also the contention of this paper that the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity with its accompanying discursive field problematizes the ‘other.’ It
demarcates the ambit of a racialized and gendered norm. Is the formulation of a caring ethic, caring in its traditional form? How can the formation of an ethic designed to free women from the patriarchy of traditional morality ignore its own historical, moral, gendered and racial disciplining, particularly within the colonial context? Does the ethics of caring refute or embrace this past? Can one cleave to a system of moral principles that denies universality; is context driven and situated in the self, while denying the historicity of the subjectivity that generated the need for such a system?

3.2 The ‘epimeleia heautou’

‘Care of the self’ or epimeleia heautou involves a series of exercises and practices performed on the self, for the self. In essence, it is a critique of the self. Foucault (1997) wrote that critique is the “art of voluntary inservitude” and this practice of “reflective indocility” is essential to cultivate a critical awareness of one’s place within an ever-changing world (p. 32). Care of the self is a lifelong work. The practice usually employs a guide. However, this is not a pedagogical relationship. The guide’s role is to prescribe a series of exercises and practices that allow the individual to turn back on self and examine their life, in what Batters (2011) describes as an “ethically driven” manner (p.2). As such, the guide’s role more closely resembles that of a healer or physician than that of a teacher. The exercises and practices resemble a prescription for achieving access to an ethical orientation. Care of the self does not seek to uncover unrealized revelations. This is not psychoanalysis where the patient is patiently led to reveal themselves and ‘confess’ their secret soul. This is an exercise, or a series of practices, which attempt to condition the soul. Foucault (2005) writes:
…the problem for the subject or the individual soul is to turn its gaze upon itself, to recognize itself in what it is and, recognizing itself in what it is, to recall the truths that issue from it and that it has been able to contemplate (p.29).

Thus, to practice ‘care of the self’ is the problematization of the self. It assures the subject access to individual truth which will lead to the formation of an individual ethic. This practice was incorporated into Christian monastic practices in the third and fourth centuries. Recall, Hunter (1996) insists that the modern state school is fundamentally derived from the union of disciplinary and pastoral practices (p.149). As such, this ancient art and the practice of generating individual ethics has become for the student in the modern school experience a crucial goal. Following Hunter’s contention, one can conclude that formation of an individual ethic, the ability to care for the self, is an essential governmental exercise in the management of the population. It is my contention that the construct of an ethic of care in education, long thought to be the unique purview of women, is an outgrowth of the same dispositif that generated the problematizing of the self in the ancient art of caring, pastoral discipline and the governmentality of the populace. In *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, Foucault (2005) presents a full genealogy of this ancient art. It is not my intention to repeat this work. However, my focus is on what Davidson (2005) refers to as the “practices of subjectivation” associated with the historicity of this practice and its place within the modern school system (p. xx). Subjectivation is a term coined by Foucault (2005) and refers to the constituting of the individual subject. How one gains access to the truth of oneself is how one formulates oneself as an ethical subject. The practice of ‘care of the self” became a general cultural phenomenon in Hellenistic and Roman society (pp. 4-5). Foucault, through his
exploration of this cultural phenomenon, attempted to assess its impact on modern western thought.

Foucault’s (2005) interest was in the way ‘care of the self’ became in modern western thought ‘know thy self.’ Foucault was also interested in the way in which ‘know thy self’ in modern Western thought gave birth to what Davidson (2005) refers to as “an extremely rich and dense set of notions, practices, ways of being” while ‘care of the self’ was lost to history (p. 12). Although both concepts share a generalized set of practices, the way in which the subject accesses the truth is different. However, both of these self-reflective practices share the same goal: to constitute a moral and ethical subject. As Foucault (2005) writes, the conflation between these two distinct elements has a tendency, whether implicitly or explicitly, to postulate a general or universal theory of the subject (p. xxii). Such an analysis would tend to support the perspective that there is but one truth and one pathway by which the individual can gain access to it. Through such a lens, the universality and solidity of thought often associated with Western society finds its support. Thus, Foucault (2005) focused his analysis on the “the forms of reflexivity” which shape these historical practices and gave the concept of ‘care of the self’ and its doppelganger ‘know thy self,’ its “variable, historical, and never universal” meaning (p. xxii).

Care of the self was practiced by many philosophical groups in ancient Greece and Rome. It was, as Foucault (2005) writes, “inscribed at the center of the human community;” and a part of everyday Greek life (p. 3). However, it certainly did not refer to a form of self-knowledge. Indeed, Foucault insists that the percept of ‘know thy self’ seems to be an afterthought associated with the ‘care of the self’ (p. 5). He writes:
The ‘gnothi seauton’ (“know yourself”) appears, quite clearly and again in a number of significant texts, within the more general framework of the ‘epimeleia heautou’ (care of oneself) as one of the forms, one of the consequences, as a sort of concrete, precise and particular application of the general rule: you must attend to yourself, you must not forget yourself, you must take care of yourself. The rule “know yourself” appears and is formulated within and at the forefront of this care (pp. 4,5).

‘Epimeleia heautou,’ as Batters (2011) writes, informed ‘gnothi seauton’ (p. 8). Foucault (2005) writes, ‘epimeleia heautou’ was “a certain way of considering things, of behaving in the world, undertaking actions, and having relations” with your community and with oneself (p. 10). In short, ‘care of the self’ is an attitude and a direction. It became in the ancient world a “principle of all rational conduct” in all aspects of life. Epimeleia heautou was a “principle of moral rationality” that helped the individual to constitute themselves as an ethical subject (p.9). It informed the art of living. Epimeleia heautou was the means by which an individual could prepare themselves for life and arm themselves against the precarious possibilities of daily living (p.88). The practice of ‘epimeleia heautou’ involved, as Davidson (2005) writes, three forms of reflexivity: memory, meditation and method (p. xxii). The memory practice, in a condensed form, involved a daily account of what was to be achieved by the subject, how it was achieved and whether the subject had reached these goals (p.163). The memory practice involved taking account of the subject’s actions and intent on a daily basis. The meditation practice consisted of reflecting on the self. Meditation translated from the Greek means ‘to care.’ In this practice, the self is the object attempting to free its self from the obligations set by daily life. Foucault (2005) writes of these obligations:
We live within this system of obligation-reward, of indebtedness-activity-pleasure. This is the relationship to the self from which we must free our-selves. In what then, does freeing ourselves from this relationship to the self consist? “proderit nobis inspicere rerum naturam” (observing, inspecting the nature of things will help us in this liberation) (p. 273).

The meditation exercise attempts to rationalize the flaws and vices that keep the self bound to the obligation and reward dyad. The method, as Batters (2011) writes, refers to the exercises and practices that train the individual to consider the power relations that stand in the way of determining ones relationship to the various discourses of truth (p.6). I am aware that this is a sketch utilizing a very broad brush. My intent is not to provide a complete view of ‘epimeleia heautou’ but rather to reveal the way in which the modern school system mimics the goals and practices of this ancient art. The modern state school utilizes many of these forms of reflexivity. Memorization, method and meditation, are practiced on a daily basis within these institutions. Students are introduced to such pedagogical techniques at a very early age. In the modern Western school system, students are expected to give daily accounts of their actions and progress in their studies. Their actions, thoughts and attitudes, are parsed to reveal how much care they place in themselves and their educational career. Memorization and meditation are practiced through method, the focus of which is often their future lives. However, in the modern school system the focus of these practices is not the cultivation of the self for the self. These practices are concentrated on the cultivation of the self as a citizen. This shift from the self to others which began as ‘epimeleia heautou’ (‘care of the self’) was overshadowed by ‘gnothi seauton’ (‘know thy self’) in the Christian era.
4.3 The pastoral turn

As stated, the pastoral influence on the emerging concept of state-sponsored schooling is significant. This pastoral discourse would influence the way in which the government of Saskatchewan ‘imagined’ education in the province. The inspectors’ reports and the apparatus of security that they represented often portrayed the ideal teacher as a guide to both students and the community as a whole. This positioning of the teacher was crucial to the development of the school system in Saskatchewan. However, it is clear that this governmental discourse was largely ignored by the teachers, who were themselves young, inexperienced and often marginally trained. As Howard A. Everts (1917) wrote in his report to the Ministry:

Manners and morals, civics, physical training, hygiene and temperance… all leave much to be desired by way of a statement of aim or purpose, and suggestion regarding ways and means of approach. In the hands of an educational expert such directions might prove sufficient, but in the hands of the average teacher they are not particularly useful (p. 137).

The failure to inculcate the teacher as a unifying force in the community was seen by the school inspectors as the root cause of the incongruities present in the school system. Foght (1918) made this connection perfectly clear:

The range of educational progressiveness varies from section to section; it is determined by economic conditions, density and race origin of the local population. This is mitigated by the enthusiasm of the inspector and the teacher in each school. In short, conditions vary from district to district and these are shaped by economic and social conditions as well as the professional spirit of the teachers (p. 52).

The inspection cadre of Saskatchewan’s school system attempted to inculcate this pastoral approach in all of its schools. Like the priests of the third and fourth centuries, teachers in the emerging state schools would model this ‘care’ as a means of ethical formation. Many of the practices utilized by the priests involve limitation and constraints
on the habits of the supplicant: speaking, eating, and sleeping. Many of these limiting practices are present in the modern school enclosure. The paradox is self-evident. The practice of ‘care of the self’ in ancient times is egoism; it involves a set of austere moral practices focused on the soul of the individual. The practices of the Christian church during the third and fourth centuries utilized this same austerity; however, the focus was on renunciation of the self or non-egoism. Foucault (2005) writes:

> These austere rules, which are found again identical in their codified structure, appear reacclimatized, transposed, and transferred within a context of a general ethic of non-egoism taking the form of a Christian obligation of self-renunciation or of a ‘modern’ obligation towards others – whether this be other people, the collectivity, the class, or the fatherland (p. 13).

For Foucault, this paradox is one of the reasons the ‘care of the self’ was overshadowed by ‘know thy self’ in the modern age. The focus of the care moved from the self to the other. However, the goal of the paradigm remained, the search for the truth of oneself. In the pastoral tradition the soul is wanting and must be examined and its secrets excised. The individual finds truth through conversion. This conversion is achieved through revelation of the truth through the divine. There was, as Foucault (2005) writes, in the ancient practice, a sense of movement and return (p. 248). The subject, in order to gain the knowledge of the truth of themselves must move toward himself [sic] and then the self must turn back on itself to reveal the way in which relations of power have shaped their individual ethics (p. 248). This theme of moving towards Enlightenment and returning enlightened is a significant theme in the practice of ‘care of the self.’ Such a self-directed theme is rejected within the Christian context; it is replaced with confession, renunciation and a rebirth of the self (salvation). Foucault (2005) contends that in:
…the principle axis of Christian spirituality, [there is] a rejection, a refusal, which is obviously not without ambiguities, of this theme of return to the self. The fundamental principle of Christian asceticism is that renunciation of the self is the essential moment of what enables us to gain access to the other life, to the light, to truth and salvation (p. 250).

This is an important shift. The triad of confession, renunciation and salvation shifts the focus of this self-reflective practice from self-recognition to self-renunciation. The guide employed in the ‘epimeleia heautou’ is no longer an advisor in the Christian practice. The spiritual guide is an inquisitor. Rather than the individual achieving enlightenment through an inward examination of the soul; enlightenment is now brought forth through the acquisition of knowledge passed from the guide to penitent. Here we see the similarity between the pastoral and the pedagogical experience. This new knowledge of the self can only be obtained by problematizing the self. Salvation can only be achieved through the renunciation of one’s flaws. Thus, in the Christian context, renunciation and salvation are the pathways to ‘know thy self.’ The knowledge needed to live a fulfilled life lies outside the subject and must be embraced to facilitate the re-birth of the subject. This is the process by which the subject gains access to the truth, whether it is a personal or universal truth. This paper has already outlined the confessional as an important power technology which allows the productivity of power to work on the actions of the subject. Renunciation and salvation are part of this power interface. These three power technologies work to produce a self-modifying ethical subject-albeit a self-modifying, ethical, Christian subject. One can see how this renunciation of the self problematizes the ‘other’ particularly if the ‘other’ is differentiated by a racial or gendered ambit. One must give up their identity and assume the identity offered, the old life for a new life.
Foucault (2005) writes that the renunciation of the self in the Christian practice comprised three characteristics that the ancient practice of ‘care of the self’ does not: 1) the Christian conversion requires a sudden “historical – metaphysical upheaval” which changes the subjects “mode of being” in one single event or realization, 2) in the midst of this sudden upheaval there is a transition: a transition from death to life, mortality to immortality, ignorance to wisdom, 3) this upheaval and transition can only be achieved “insomuch as a break takes place in the subject” through which the true self is revealed (p. 211). Similarly, salvation according to Foucault (2005), requires the subject to pass through three distinct modes of being:

…salvation [as we envision it] normally appears in a binary system. It is situated between life and death, or mortality and immortality… Salvation effectuates a crossing over…It is always on the boundary… Second…salvation is always linked to a dramatic force of an event, which may be situated either in the thread of worldly events or in a different temporality… individual, historical events or metahistorical events – organize salvation and make it possible. Finally…when we speak of salvation we always think of a complex operation…in which someone else (an other, the Other) is always required (p. 181).

Both salvation and renunciation in the Christian tradition involve problematizing the self like ‘epimeleia heautou.’ As well, the flaws inherent in one’s character or soul are modified through ritual practices involving austerity and self-denial. In the Greco-Roman practice, however, these flaws are revealed to the subject alone, the self-modification occurs internally: thus the guide’s role as prescriptive healer. In the Christian tradition the guide becomes a divine representative, a spiritual expert. The relationship between this spiritual advisor and the supplicant becomes pedagogical. Renunciation and salvation represent, as Foucault (2005) has written, a crossing, there is an ambit that is recognized before the process of renunciation begins. This crossing must
be witnessed by another, whether it is a congregation or the spiritual advisor. Here again, the wake of power is visible in the demarcation between those that are saved and those that have yet to be saved. In the pastoral regime this form of ethical labour was intended to produce a self-reflecting subject. The self-reflecting subject is, according to Hunter (1996), something the modern state school strives to produce. The modern school embraces this pastoral concept of renunciation and salvation to manufacture the subjecthood of potential citizens. The Christian ethic of renunciation and salvation are essential for the subject to gain access to the truth and as such are a central feature of the modern pedagogical relationship. It is through these practices of renunciation and salvation that the individual are led to confront the truth of themselves. A subject capable of speaking this truth is capable and ready to formulate their own personal ethic. Renunciation requires the subject to speak. It is through this truth-telling that the subject confirms their ‘crossing-over.’ This truth-telling is crucial to both the pedagogical relationship and the Christian ascesis. Without truth-telling the spiritual advisor cannot instruct the penitent through this learning experience. The instructor has several distinct roles, according to Foucault: (2005) teaching, preaching, confession and spiritual guidance (p. 363). However, the most important aspect of this process is that the potential subject must be led. As Foucault writes, this shift had an impact on the formation of Western thought:

…the person who consequently is still in the realm of ignorance and perdition – has something to say. He [sic] has something to say and he [sic] has to say a truth. …The truth about himself. It is, I think, an absolutely crucial moment in the history of subjectivity in the West, or in the relations between subjectivity and truth, when the task and obligation of truth-telling about one-self is inserted within the procedure indispensable for salvation, within techniques of the development and transformation of the subject by himself [sic] (p. 364).
Truth telling, according to Foucault (2005), is the basis for revelation “of a text and of a relationship of faith,” which leads to the sacrifice of oneself and the renunciation of the self (p. 327). By acting on the actions of the other, by making some things easier and others more difficult, the pastoral tradition establishes a power relationship between penitent and the spiritual advisor. Acting on actions is fundamental to the flow of power through the societal body. It does so through renunciation, which individualizes and totalizes the subject. Subject and object mutually inform each other, leading the subject to perform a new subjectivity. It is through this process that subjectivities are made available or constrained. It is this necessity of renunciation which problematizes the ‘other’ in society. Those that refuse to walk the path of enlightenment are classified as heathens which in turn generates and shapes the subjectivity of the ‘other’ in society.

All of these power technologies, confession, renunciation, truth-telling and salvation, are found in the educational context. When a teacher confronts a student one or more of these technologies comes into play. Pearson (2010) refers to the interplay of these pastoral power mechanisms within the pedagogical relationship as “educational dramas” (p. 53). She writes:

…these dramas often occur in sequences, one spontaneously leading to the next, in which an adult asks a question; the child makes a certain response, trying to solve the problem posed; and the adult responds by dramatizing the consequences of the child’s attempted solution or by asking new questions, which makes the child think about what the repercussions might be (p. 53).

Although Pearson (2010) is examining the role of pastoral power within an anthropologic context, anyone that has attempted to teach a child or student recognizes this sequence of questioning and truth telling. It is a form of power associated with the subject’s individualization. One can also see that these ‘dramas’ retain some of the salient
features of ‘epimeleia heautou.’ The questioning sequence features a sense of movement. As well, the teacher turns the child’s response back on itself, requiring the child to look back on their reasoning and consider the ramifications of their solutions. It is also possible to see the pastoral influence in Pearson’s (2010) model; the pupil is led to the proper answer by expert knowledge. All three pastoral power technologies are brought into play. The pupil searches for the answers through the teacher’s responses, questioning their own self-knowledge, eventually rejecting that which they held as true for the new truth offered. There is a shift, a break between what the pupil knew and what is known after. A re-birth of awareness occurs. The child learns. The ‘ah ha’ moment that the teacher has carefully cultivated arrives as the student accepts the knowledge associated with this new reality.

These pastoral technologies were incorporated into several different professional fields. However, the modern state school relied on them to produce a self-modifying ethical subject in accordance with the governmental goal of perpetuation of the state and its citizens. Recall that modern liberal political thought tends to focus on a citizen capable of accepting the responsibilities imposed upon it in order to guarantee and perpetuate that citizen’s freedom from excessive state intervention. As Hunter (1996) insists “bureaucratic administration and pastoral-disciplinary pedagogy” emerge in the modern state school as fundamental pillars on which this self-reflective citizenry rests. Moreover, it is clear that the “capacity to conduct oneself as a rational reflective person” has displaced the rites of the Christian church with its emphasis on the hereafter. Salvation in the modern era has been temporally displaced. Salvation now ties the ethical subject to the power and perpetuation of the state. Hunter (1996) insists that:
…if we are to understand the dissemination of self-reflective personhood, [we must look] to the construction of that special pedagogical milieu in which such personhood is formed as a disciplined comportment (p. 161).

4.4 Caring and the caring ethic

If one envisions the modern state school as a pastoral disciplining institution utilized by governmental discourse to produce a self-reflective subject/citizen, then one can conclude that the caring attitude of the teacher is essential to this project. ‘Care’ as an ancient practice, historically lies at the base of the self-reflective ethical subject. One cannot be a self-modifying ethical subject and only think of oneself. One has to embrace the ‘other.’ Not only must the subject recognize the other as an equal in this self-modifying endeavour; the other is a necessary witness to that modification. This internal struggle must be externalized. As such, in the function of the modern state school, it became crucial that teachers assume and model these ethical behaviours for students. In the Saskatchewan educational system, the progenitors of these behaviours were for the most part women. As shown, little has changed in this respect over the last ninety years. Women still make up the majority of elementary school teachers in the modern state schools of Canada and the education system still relies on the pastoral disciplining it inherited from the Christian church. Women and the dispositif which supports the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity along with the pedagogy associated with it have become an essential cog in the perpetuation of these habits. This has been acknowledged by educational theorists, although it remains disputed terrain. Feminist educational theorists have suggested caring can be the basis to formulate a feminine ethic. Noddings (1984) and Gilligan (1982) are the main proponents of such an ethical formation. Both authors stress that “traditional moral theories, principles, practices and policies” lack or ignore the
values and virtues that are culturally associated with women (“Feminist ethics” 2009, p. 5). Gilligan’s *In a Different Voice* (1982) challenged the notion that traditional moral or ethical constructs are universal and gender neutral. For Gilligan, these theories display a gender bias which favours basic rights which are associated with justice and fairness. For Gilligan (1982) such a focus favours the male perspective as it denies patriarchy.

Gilligan’s (1982) formulation of care as a form of feminine moral development is a challenge to Kohlberg’s (1984) moral development theory. Gilligan contends that Kohlberg’s theory displays the gender bias noted above. Gilligan insists that Kohlberg’s study utilized participants that were mostly male, and displayed a principled way of reasoning when discussing morality, in essence ignoring the feminine perspective. However, the difference between these two models has less to do with gender and more to do with the way in which the discourses surrounding women and the feminine generate the ‘truth’ of caring. Gilligan understood that male notions of morality emerge from a patriarchal discursive field which has generated its own male ‘truth’ regarding morality, justice and fairness. One of the characteristics of this masculine dispositif is its perceived universality. Women, on the other hand, looked to their relationships with others as an indicator of their personal moral development. In other words, women tend to see their morality reflected in their care and treatment of the other. As Jorgensen (2006) writes, through this lens “justice and care are two different types of moral reasoning that take different developmental pathways” (p. 181).

Kohlberg’s theory of moral development encompasses a six-stage sequence grouped into three levels, and each level has two stages. Level one, referred to as the preconventional stage, is characterized by the individual being judged by direct
consequences; their perspective is on their own needs. Gilligan (1982) refers to this as the selfish level and contends that girls, through learning to care for others, come to realize their selfishness is wrong. At level two, the conventional stage, individuals recognize the rules and expectations of others by comparing it to society’s views. Girls, Gilligan (1982) writes, at this level of their moral development tend not to act on their own concerns, equating caring with self-sacrifice and as such, the interests of others dominate their moral development. Kohlberg’s level three, the postconventional stage, is marked by individuals separating themselves from society’s moral constructs and reaching the conclusion that right and wrong are contingent on the situation. Gilligan noted that her respondents seldom move past stage one of level two in Kohlberg’s model, the ‘good intentions’ stage. Gilligan characterized this stage as the good boy/nice girl orientation where individuals adhere to prevailing norms of society in order to secure approval and love from the other (“Feminist Ethics,” 2009). Gilligan (1982) contends that this is problematic. It is harmful to the caring individual not to consider their own needs as well as the needs of others. A relationship with the other requires a reciprocal response and as such, if either ones’ concerns are ignored then one of the individuals is constrained by the other. In Kohlberg’s model, this stage is characterized by obedience to authority and doing one’s duty. This led Gilligan to conclude that the stages of Kohlberg’s level three: the law and order, social-contract legalistic and the universal ethical principle orientation, demonstrated a gender bias associated with justice and fairness. Of this Beauchamp & Childress (2001) write:
…men tend to embrace an ethic of rights using quasi-legal terminology and impartial principle…women tend to affirm an ethic of care that centers on responsiveness in an interconnected network of needs, care and prevention of harm. Taking care of others is the core notion (p. 371).

The ethics of care, as proposed by Gilligan and others, then are specifically critical of the traditional liberal political theory of impartiality and universality. As Beauchamp & Childress (2001) contend, the male perspective of morality often invokes the rights of others particularly in the form of non-interference. Men believe that justice and fairness should be respected and it is not their place to interfere or impose their moral imperative on another. The ethics of care correspondingly insists that caring-for is self-critical rather than self-protective. This leads the practitioner of this ethic to focus on the consequences of choice. Gilligan (1982) contends that at the third stage of moral development women realize the turmoil inflicted by inequality on all relationships, and men come to see the limitation associated with non-interference and indifference. As such, the feminist ethic of care attempts to realize a new formulation of moral development which embraces ‘care’ as a unique form of moral expression. However, as Puka (1990) writes, one must be cautious when supporting ‘care’ as an ethical orientation. According to Puka, the concern lies in trying to “distinguish [a] women’s care taking strengths from her socialized servile weaknesses,” promoting a positive feminine value over a negative (p. 58). To conflate these two characteristics, Puka writes, is to turn victimization into a virtue and “legitimize subjugation to gender” in a misguided attempt to turn caring into some form of female self-affirmation (p. 58). This in turn, promotes and strengthens sexism in society. As well, if one considers Butler’s (2006) contention that there is no essential self behind the performance of, in this case
morality, the framing of an essential masculine or feminine morality has little traction. The performance of morality reflects the discourses present at the time of the performance. These discourses determine the performance regardless of gender. There is no essential female or male essence differentiating the morality being performed. One must examine the way in which the dispositifs took shape and the truths and practices associated with it that shape our notions of a feminine or a masculine morality.

Noddings (1984) agrees with Gilligan that traditional models of moral development are gender biased and that ‘care’ is a unique feminine model for moral development. However, Noddings goes farther; she re situates care as a model for moral education. Noddings in *Caring, a Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (1984) makes it very clear; the goal of education is the moral development of the student. This moral education should be based on the care of the other. She writes:

> I shall claim that we are dependent on each other even in the quest for personal goodness. How good I can be is partly a function of how you – the other – receive and respond to me. Whatever virtue I exercise is completed, fulfilled in you (p. 6).

This statement has resonance with several of the issues surrounding men and women brought forth in this paper. There is an echo here of Skeggs (1997) and her contention that through caring, women were given a unique means by which they could trade and invest in themselves. One can also find reference to Curtis’s (1992) theory that good government was based on the cultivation of “good men [sic] or citizens.” There is a reiteration as well of Butler’s (2006) contention that the ‘other’ is essential for the formation of a particular subjectivity. However, Noddings’ theory of care as a feminine approach to ethics does not focus solely on the gender bias associated with tradition moral development theories. Noddings (1984) has a systematic approach for the way in
which caring can be regarded as its own form of ethics. For Noddings, traditional
morality is rooted in principles of justice, fairness and universality, while caring and its
eths finds its origins in the feminine based concepts of receptivity, responsiveness and
relationality. While Nodding (1984) acknowledges that caring is not the sole bailiwick
of women (men can care too), she views caring as a traditional female role. She makes a
distinction between natural and ethical caring. Natural caring is associated with “I want”
and ethical caring is associated with “I must” (“Caring a feminine approach to ethics,”
2015). Nodding (1984) refers to the care giver as “one-caring” and the care receiver as
“the cared-for” (p.4). For Noddings caring is “quite naturally” associated with parenting
and education (p. 172). Of this she writes:

The one-caring has one great aim: to preserve and enhance caring in
herself and in those with whom she comes in contact. This quite
naturally becomes the first aim of parenting and education. It is an
aim that is built into the process itself – not one that lies somewhere
beyond it. Everything that is proposed as part of education is
examined in its light. That which diminishes it is rejected, that which
casts doubt on its maintenance is postponed, and that which enhances
it is embraced (p. 172).

Engrossment, motivational displacement and the notion of receptiveness are
essential in Noddings’ (1984) moral development model. As Noddings contends, these
traits are usually associated with the feminine. One must be engrossed in the cared-for so
as to displace their selfish motives. This is the antithesis of traditional ethics, with its
focus on universality, justice and fairness. Caring relies on the context and the individual.
It is receptive and responsive to the needs of the cared-for. For Noddings the pursuit of
the intellectual and the aesthetic in education endangers the ethical ideal (p. 174).
Noddings contends that through caring:
We cannot separate means and ends in education, because the desired result is part of the process, and the process carries with it the notion of persons undergoing it becoming somehow ‘better.’ If what we do instructionally achieves the instructional end – A learns X – we have failed educationally. A is not ‘better’ as a result of our efforts. He can receive neither the teacher nor the subject as one-caring (p. 174).

For Noddings (1984) then, ethical behaviour does not arise out of a combination of nature and nurture but rather through genuine encounters of caring and being cared for (p. 175). This model does not forgo choice. Our ethical behaviours emerge, as Noddings (1984) writes, through our commitment and receptivity and “each choice tends to maintain, enhance or diminish” us in our acts of caring (p. 175). In educational terms this means the teacher of a student must be receptive to the student’s personal experience. The teacher must ‘walk in his or her shoes’ and be receptive to the student’s needs. This will, in turn, generate reciprocation in the student which will aid in the educational process. By remaining receptive and responsive, the teacher places the student’s well-being above her own. For Noddings the ‘caring teacher’ has two tasks: to enlarge the student’s world by “presenting an effective selection of that world” and to strive cooperatively with the student to find “competency in [the] world” the student has chosen (p. 178). However, Noddings is firm in reiterating that the teacher’s primary duty is to “nurture the student’s ethical ideal” (p. 178). Such an approach can be challenging in the modern school system, the focus of which is often the enterprise of education itself not the individual student. As Noddings (1984) contends, too often public institutions replace the imperative of “I must do something” with “something should be done,” removing the foci from the responsive and receptive associated with caring to the rational and objective associated with problem solving (p. 25). Of this Noddings (1984) writes:
The danger is that caring, which is essentially nonrational in that it requires engrossment and displacement of motivation, may gradually or abruptly be transformed into abstract problem solving. There is, then a shift of focus from the cared-for to the ‘problem.’ Opportunities arise for self-interest, and persons entrusted with caring may lack the necessary engrossment in those to be cared for… Those entrusted with caring may focus on satisfying the formulated requirements for caretaking and fail to be present in their interactions with the cared-for (pp. 25-26).

For Nodding (1984), problem-solving through the rational and objective is not a mistake in this institutionalized situation; however, the rational and objective must be “continually refreshed with commitment” in the form of one-caring (p.26). The matter that needs to be confronted in the modern state school is its piecemeal approach to the development of the student. School trains intelligence while the training of morality remains in the home or in the church; this represents a major failure in education. Noddings advocates a more holistic approach to education. Beginning with one-caring and moving through to the student, the teacher presents an “effective world to the student” which encourages the student to take charge and become an ethical and moral agent. As Noddings contends such a stance by the teacher challenges the discourses of power which define the teacher/student relationship. Noddings acknowledges that the flow of power in the traditional pedagogical relationship is often used to set the ethical agenda for the student, leading to an abandonment of the student’s ethical choices.

Noddings (1984) writes of the teacher’s ability to influence students:

The teacher’s power is, thus, awesome. It is she who presents the ‘effective world’ to the student. In doing this, she realizes that the student, as an ethical agent, will make his own selection from the presented possibilities and so, in a very important sense, she is prepared to put her motive energy in the service of his projects. She has already had a hand in selecting those projects and will continue to guide and inform them, but the objectives themselves must be embraced by the student (pp. 176-177).
There is much of the ‘epimeleia heautou’ (‘care of the self’) in Noddings (1984) positioning of the teacher and the subjectivity that he/she must assume. In the Noddings model, the teacher is placed in the non-judgmental role of the guide, encouraging the student or supplicant to enhance their own ethical stance in the pursuit of their own truth. The positioning of the teacher in this way also challenges the gender bias inherent in traditional moral development. Noddings maintains that this positioning confronts the “masculine curriculum masquerade” of standards, testing and meritocracy that is the hallmark of the modern state school (p.192). These attributes, Noddings (1984) contends, contribute to a “systematic dehumanization” of students through the loss of the feminine (p. 193). Although Noddings confirms that there are specific masculine practices which are associated with caring, it is the feminine on which she focuses. For Noddings (1984) it seems, caring is a natural extension of the female psyche. She writes that it is a combination of psychological and biological influences that produces a natural inclination in women to mother and care (p.128). Although she admits socialization may be a factor she regards this theory as nonsensical. She writes:

The socialization view, as an explanatory theory seems nonsense. We are not nearly so successful at socializing people into roles as we are at reproducing mothering in women. Mothering is not a role but a relationship (p. 128).

Therefore, one must conclude that, for Noddings (1984), the subjectivities available for women are inherently focused on mothering and caring and are not socially shaped. However, subjectivities are intrinsically social and not essential to a particular gender. A gendered subjectivity is performative. It is shaped by the discursive framing present in the ‘other’s’ interpellation. As such, feminine subjectivities are generated through the interaction of the power/knowledge relationship. For the patriarchy of the
modern school system to exist there must be bias which places women in an inferior position socially. One cannot challenge this patriarchy, as Gilligan and Noddings have, and deny its inherently social framing. Recall Salih’s (2002) contention that nothing exists “that is not social” (p. 55). There is no field of origin in which women were not being viewed, shaped or thought of as potential carers. This is one of the many contradictions in Noddings’s work. Furthermore, as Hoagland (1990) writes, if I care for myself “only as I care for others and am cared for” then my ethical identity is caught up and determined by the social receptiveness of the other (p. 110). The ‘other’ is essential to the formulation of the caring self, whether the other is the guide, priest, teacher or student. My caring of my students and myself is, as Hoagland insists, “other-directed” (p. 110). In short, the other becomes the determining factor on how my caring is received and reflected back on me as one-caring. This is a power relationship which generates subjugation. Rather than challenging patriarchy, Hoagland (1990) claims it reinforces it:

One who cares must perceive herself not just as both separate and related, but as ethically both separate and related; otherwise she cannot acknowledge difference, for example that one is black and the other white in a racist society. And denying difference will lead to undermining the connection and perpetuating racism as well as sexism, ageism, heterosexism, and many other aspects of our social structure (p. 111).

Puka (1990) agrees, however his focus is on the inconsistencies in Gilligan’s challenge to the Kohlberg model. Puka suggests that there are inherent power relationships in Gilligan’s model of moral development based on care. Kohlberg’s level one to which Gilligan has referred to as the ‘selfish’ level, is characterized by Puka (1990) as “protect yourself against harm from those in power” (p. 66) While level two, which Gilligan has referred to as the ‘denying self-interests in favour of caring for others stage;’ is characterized by Puka as an attempt to overcome ongoing powerlessness by
“…play[ing] the roles those in power set for you” and concealing your inner wants and needs until such a time that they can be expressed freely (p.66). The last level, the postconventional level, which Gilligan has described as the stage when women realize that they must incorporate their own needs into their caring, Puka (1990) identifies as the stage, where individuals

...ferret out spheres of power for pursuing [their] interests within the gaps of the established power structure. Embrace the competencies of those oppressed roles one cannot avoid. Identify with them and use them with one’s ‘true’ competencies as a source of evolving strength and pride (p.66).

One cannot help but acknowledge the Machiavellian nature of Puka’s characterizations of Gilligan’s model. However, putting that aside, it does suggest that these tactics of power are a learned response. Women confronted with patriarchy on a daily basis turn to caring as a form of liberation. Puka (1990) as well, notes in his analysis of Gilligan’s study, that the interviews conducted with the woman respondents were centered on or around the dilemma of unwanted or unplanned pregnancies. Puka contends that this is a time when the women of the study were “facing the oppressive machinations of sexist institutions” and uncertain of their positioning in their personal relationships (p. 66). Thus, Puka contends, that Gilligan’s model is centered on “socialization [and] reflective consciousness-raising” rather than moral development (p. 67). For Puka, Gilligan’s study reflects a “care as liberation” theme rather than care as a moral framework. Puka (1990) elaborates on this theme:
More significant, then, is a continuing emphasis on the sexism problem throughout Gilligan’s discussion and her excerpts from respondents…When Gilligan and her respondents speak of relationships…there is scarce mention of the relational network of siblings and friends that supposedly defines care’s relational orientations. While there are some abstract generalizations about caring for ‘others’ or for a ‘future child’ in this text, the only actual ongoing relationships emphasized are with the ‘boyfriend’ or ‘lover.’ Moreover, the egregiously sexist nature of these relationships and of the women’s situations in them (especially regarding abortion) are emphasized in each case (p. 70).

One could say that caring, seen through Puka’s (1990) lens, is the means by which women confront and turn aside the sexism. Caring differentiates women from men. Through that differentiation, the patriarchy which determines social status is turned aside and the focus shifts toward the unique qualities associated with this aspect of the feminine psyche. Moreover, Puka’s analysis seems to confirm Skeggs (1997) contention that caring and its moral implications give women the means to confront patriarchy by emphasizing something that is recognized by women as unique to the feminine. Puka recognizes that while socialization and reflective coping may not be the dominant forces in caring they each have a robust role to play in defining this feminine attribute.

Similarly, there are criticisms of Noddings contention that caring should form the basis of a moral education. The most obvious is whether the state should assume the role of securing and reproducing morality in its citizens. Such a societal construct has been the starting point for many a dystopian novel. In a pluralistic society how can one limit oneself to a set of values which does not seem to enjoy broad social consensus? Moreover how can a moral system which denies universality generate a universal system? As Houston (1990) suggests, caring defines the self through the caring of others. Nodding (1984) confirms this stance:
I am obliged, then...The source of my obligation is the value I place on the relatedness of caring. This value itself arises as a product of actual caring and being cared-for and my reflection on the goodness of these concrete caring situations (p. 84).

This is a dangerous model for women to advocate. As Houston (1990) contends, such social positioning can lead to exploitation that reinforces the patriarchy present in society. A woman’s one-caring and her moral worth are “wholly dependent upon her capacity to care” for herself and others (p. 117). Of this dilemma she writes:

Any given woman may be always the one in service to others. Her projects may be valued only to the extent that they serve others; she may be perceived to have moral worth only as she serves others. In such a set of relationships she is diminished (p. 117).

Noddings (1984) contends that engrossment is a “receptive mode” through which we in our caring “receive” without “evaluation or assessment” the other (p.34). This is particularly troublesome for Houston. As she insists, this places the onus for “the actualization of the other’s ethical ideal” on the one-caring (p. 116). Houston (1990) contends this may lead women to internalize their own caring and dismiss the faults of other; thereby encouraging the formation or continuation of abuse. She writes:

My concerns with Noddings ethics first arose when, in reading these prescriptions, I was struck by how, if this ethic could be taken as an accurate description of woman’s moral thinking, it might explain what reduces the ability of women to resist physical and sexual abuse. I thought Noddings had captured what it is that often induces a kind of moral paralysis in the one-caring in situations where she needs to protect herself: we [women] feel responsible for the moral goodness of those who abuse us, exploit us, harm us (p. 116).

Houston (1990) lists three features of Noddings proposed ethic built on caring in which she has issues: 1) the ambiguity of the moral worth of persons (such as the cared-for), 2) the valuation of caring relations in abstraction from their social, political and economic contexts and 3) the inordinate value placed on caring as opposed to other moral
values (p. 116). One can see that Houston’s concerns are interlinked by the lack of social analysis in Noddings work. Without knowing the economic, social and political history of the cared-for it is impossible to comprehend their moral orientation or to establish the level of care needed to prevent giving primacy to one’s own ethical orientation over that of the cared-for. This is particularly true in the pedagogical relationship where both the teacher and the student are vulnerable to exploitation. Like Gilligan’s, Noddings’s approach is one-dimensional. As Puka (1990) writes, the lack of acknowledgment in Gilligan’s study of the social/emotional impact associated with an unwanted pregnancy taints the participants’ response. With its refusal to acknowledge the social dimensions of morality both attempts to model caring as a form of ethical behaviour are riddled with contradictions. Part of the issue, at least in Noddings model, is in attempting to integrate something that is integral to the pedagogical relationship into a moral theory. As Halwani (2003) insists this overburdens the concept:

…the trick here is to balance two things: first, to offer a plausible concept of care without, at the same time, packing too much into it so that it loses its substance…Second, we must be careful not to be too ambitious in what theoretical ethical work we want our concept of care to perform. We should not, for instance, claim that our concept of care can be the sole basis for good moral theory (p. 28).

Halwani (2003) acknowledges that Gilligan (1982) recognized this lack and advocates that care be augmented with other moral development approaches. However, this statement generates some concern as neither Noddings nor Gilligan have articulated which of those other approaches would be suitable. Moreover, one must ask the obvious: is what Noddings and Gilligan describe caring? Puka’s (1990) analysis seems to point to ‘care as liberation’ as opposed to care as moral development, particularly in Gilligan’s study. As for Noddings, being attentive, contextually driven and aware of your student’s
needs, in essence engrossed. Isn’t this good teaching? Can it really be stretched to provide a foundation for a moral education? However flawed the attempt to extend caring and make it the foundation for a moral education is, one cannot deny that caring has become an essential part of the pedagogical relationship. Moreover, caring has become a part of the ethical work which teachers use to delineate their level of commitment to their praxis. Nevertheless, I would contend that this ethical work has more to do with the ancient art of ‘epimeleia heautou’ than it does with the model that Noddings (1984) or Gilligan (1982) provides. If Puka (1990) is right and Gilligan’s analysis has more to do with caring as liberation, one can conclude that caring provides the means by which the ambit that is the private sphere can be transgressed in a socially acceptable way. This would provide women a socially acceptable means of infringing on this ambit without becoming socially and sexually suspect. Although men did not need to utilize this social technology to cross this ambit, caring nevertheless became an integral part of the relationship between student and teacher. As such, it has come to delineate the profession and vocation of teaching, regardless of gender of the teacher.

The future of caring in the modern state school is concerning as well. Teachers are, through educational policy, being shaped to maximize their potentials and ‘perform’ as they have never been asked to do previously. As Ball (2003) writes the intensification of the performativity of the teacher has brought into question all the assumptions we have made regarding the role of education in society. In modern institutions, like state-sponsored schools, the worker is now a “promiscuous self, an enterprising self with a passion for excellence” and a drive to maximize their potential (p. 215). Ball (2003) writes:
Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organizations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of ‘quality’ or ‘moments’ of promotion or inspection (p. 216).

Accordingly, Rose (1996) contends that this form of performativity is part of the governmental discourse of advanced liberal governments. Its goal is to maximize the potential of the population, to turn the citizen into a self-fulling, self-modifying individual. Those incapable of this transition have failed to maximize themselves and are viewed in society as lacking personal responsibility. Rose (1996) contends that this has led to a caricature which

…from a variety of directions, the disadvantaged individual has come to be seen as potentially and ideally an active agent in the fabrication of their own existence. Those ‘excluded’ from the benefits of a life of choice and self-fulfillment are no longer merely passive support of a set of social determinations: they are people whose self-responsibility and self-fulfilling aspirations have been deformed by the dependency culture, whose efforts at self-advancement have been frustrated for so long that they suffer from ‘learned helplessness’ (p. 59).

As such, failure to perform, to meet expectations, is equated with the inability to care for oneself. Recall it was Skeggs (1997) who wrote that a woman unable to care for herself was incapable of caring for others (p. 56). In this performance culture, the inability to perform is equated with a lack of self-responsibility and care of the self. In many ways there is a direct line between the interventions of the school inspectors during the poiesis of the Saskatchewan school system and these systems of advanced liberal rule in modern schooling. This is what an apparatus of security evolves into after a century of development and refinement. These techniques have been calculated to produce a desired effect: to reform teaching and the teacher. Gone are the fumbling attempts at reform so
prevalent during the origins of the school system in Saskatchewan. The Foght (1918) report in the modern era would not turn to consolidation as the means of addressing the ‘rural school problem,’ but would now focus on the management of teachers, the maximizing of their pedagogical praxis, fostering common aims, producing a mission statement on how to bring quality elementary education to the far-flung corners of the province. In the modern state school, teachers act in accordance with this new vocabulary of performativity: specific objectives, responsible time frames and adequate evaluations. What is the future of the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity in the face of these changes? Is there any room in this new teaching environment for a moral education and the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity? This performativity and its relation to the caring teacher subjectivity will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

… the state plays less and less of a role as the information available in the social formation comes from a wide range of sources. The control of learning through state-sponsored institutions is replaced by networks of information, in which to be ‘educated’ is to have consumed the information necessary for the optimising of performance (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 175).

Time stand still…
I'm not looking back, but I want to look around me now (Peart, 1987).

In his annual report (1919) to the Ministry of Education of the province of Saskatchewan, school inspector J. H. Gallaway lamented the lack of professionalism exhibited by the rural teachers of the Wilkie district:

I regret that teachers do not do more professional reading on current topics as dealt with in newspapers, magazines and books. If teachers would ‘keep abreast of the times’ as every successful lawyer, doctor, minister and other professional man or woman must do, they would be surprised to find what a source of satisfaction, inspiration and power it would prove to them. It is a very rare teacher indeed who does this and yet falls short of success in her whole work as a teacher (p. 153).

Gallaway was not alone in his disappointment. Many of the inspectors found that the teachers of the nascent education system lacked the competency, conscientiousness and efficiency associated with professionality. L.J. Charbonneau, inspector of the Turtleford district acknowledged that the isolation of a rural teacher is “accountable for much of the indifference and lack of ambition often discovered” in the rural classroom (Annual report, 1919, p. 109). However, it is clearly articulated in the inspectors’ reports that most of the teachers in Saskatchewan lacked the desire to refine their skills and teaching methods through further professional augmentation at the province’s Normal Schools. There are many suggestions made by the inspectors to the ministry on how to address this deficiency. Increasing salaries, better teacher accommodations and the
establishment of a pension scheme were but a few. It was felt that addressing this lack of interest would not only be the means of keeping teachers of Saskatchewan from leaving the profession, but also stemming their nomadic tendencies. Their reluctance to upgrade their skills was viewed by the inspectors as teacher centred and not a systemic failure of the system. However, the government did not act on any of these suggestions. This chapter explores the relationship between teacher professionalism in the Saskatchewan educational system and the shaping the subjectivity of the ‘caring teacher.’

As Foght (1918) wrote in his survey of Saskatchewan rural education, teacher training in Canada differed considerably from that available in the United States. Saskatchewan had been training teachers in its Normal Schools since 1890; however, it was not until 1913 that a permanent home was found in Regina for the province’s first teacher training institution. In 1919, then Deputy Minister for Education Augustus Ball, reported to the provincial legislature that of the 3,286 professional teaching certificates issued that year, 1,992 were issued to Saskatchewan Normal School graduates (Annual report, 1919, p.16). Foght conceded that in Canada at least, each province had developed its own approach to Normal School Training. Curricular and academic calendars were adjusted to reflect the challenges and the associated diversity of each province. In Saskatchewan, the exiguous population spread as it was over such a large territory presented multiple challenges; weather was a constant problem, as was the distance needed to travel to school and back. As a result, Saskatchewan’s Normal School regular course was 10 to 16 weeks long. Ontario’s Normal School course, by comparison required 36 weeks. American Normal Schools, as Foght (1918) wrote, would only grant a school diploma after a full year of study (p.117). According to Foght, the emphasis in
Canada’s Normal Schools was placed on methods of teaching, academic studies and professional subject matter (p.117). Normal Schools in the United States however, devote approximately 40 percent of their time to “repeating the academic subject matter from the teacher point of view” and teaching “such other academic courses [which were]…essential to success” of the candidate (p. 117). Foght (1918) never made it clear what academic courses were required for a student teacher’s success, but one can imagine that these courses were tailored to the individual student’s interests. As such, American Normal Schools provided a greater variety of courses than their Canadian counterpart. As usual, Foght somewhat gleefully pointed out the short-comings of Saskatchewan’s Normal Schools while promoting the unique qualities of the American system as a possible surrogate. However, once again, Foght did not address the systemic discourses on which the Saskatchewan educational system rests. The teacher shortage in Saskatchewan kept Normal School courses short and small. Teachers were expected to return during the winter or summer holidays to upgrade their qualifications. Most did not. Foght would have been a true educational expert if he had managed to address this systemic failing by providing a procedure by which the Ministry of Education could motivate the provinces’ teachers to continually upgrade their teaching praxis.

Accordingly, many of the inspectors’ reports to the Ministry of Education expressed the view that the teachers of Saskatchewan lacked enthusiasm, assiduity and competence to perform the duties expected of them. What is curious, however, is that while the inspectors lamented their teachers’ lack of on-going professional development, they never addressed their own failing in promoting this very necessary element of teaching. The inspectors were responsible for teaching the short courses at the province’s
Normal Schools during the winter, the same courses the provinces’ teachers’ needed to upgrade their credentials. They were also responsible for monitoring the effectiveness of that augmentation. How is it possible, given that the inspectors of the Saskatchewan educational system were both instructor and evaluator of teacher training, that they found this problem so insurmountable? Could it be that they were incapable of exercising the reflexivity that they claimed many of their teachers lacked? Or was it that the concept of reflexive teaching had not yet been accepted as a standard of practice? Each inspector found different reasons to explain the deficiency. They were not unified, and so recommended and pursued different solutions, many of which simply exacerbated the original problem. Perhaps this is why the province rejected most if not all of their suggestions to deal with this dilemma. Howard A. Everts, inspector for the district of Elbow, blamed the malady on a lack of organization. There is, he wrote in his annual report to the ministry (1919), a “shocking amount of time…wasted through defective organisation,” adding that “weak methods of instruction” and “lack of proper correlation of subjects” were to blame for this inefficiency (pp. 141, 142). James Little, inspector for the Wolsey district, compared the teachers in his district to “soldiers in the front line trenches with the lines of communication broken and the ammunition running low” (Annual report, 1919, p. 191). A very romantic notion given the World War One had ended the year before the tabling of this report. J. Marshall, the inspector for the Indian Head district, blamed the lack of reflexivity in teaching methods on the length of the Normal School’s course load:

Either the style of teaching in the Normal Schools here and elsewhere, is insufficiently practical or young people at the age of our teachers are very weak in the power of abstract analysis and in the application of principles (Annual report, 1919, p. 201).
Eight of the 45 inspectors reporting to the Ministry in 1919 complained about this lack of professionalism in the teachers’ ranks at length. Many more complained of the mechanical-like delivery by their teachers, or their lack of organization. This was not unique to 1919. It is a recurrent theme in the inspectors’ reports going back to the founding of the system in 1905. Inspectors consistently reported that their teachers lacked organizational skills, reflexivity and base knowledge. J.J. Maxwell (1919), the inspector for the Shaunavon school district advocated the introduction of “standardised tests for measuring the results of teaching,” tying performance to pay for the first time in the province (p. 210). However, it was N. Latour (1919), the inspector for the Sceptre school district, who generated the proper syncretism to solve the issue when he wrote in his annual report to the Ministry:

If teaching is to be considered a real profession and if we are to retain our best male teachers, such conditions [remuneration for continuing education] must be remedied. I think the only solution is for the teachers to become thoroughly organised (p. 187).

At first glance, it seems as if Inspector Latour is advocating the establishment of a teachers’ union to prevent the migration of male teachers from the profession. However, one could also argue that Latour’s statements were the continuation of a governmental discourse surrounding efforts to professionalize the teaching profession. By 1919, the movement of men out of the teaching profession had largely occurred; those that remained had worked their way into urban schools or administration. Nevertheless, as the inspectors struggled to make their teachers into professional men and women, their efforts were hampered by a government all too willing to allow its teaching cadre to remain, largely young, untrained, female and poorly remunerated. Many of the inspectors acknowledged that the newly formed rural school associations along with annual school
fairs, had provided many of the teachers in the nascent system with an opportunity to develop professionally through interaction with other teachers, trustees and students. During these meetings, new forms of school management, teacher praxis and school development were often discussed. However, talk of the formation of a teachers’ union was not welcomed in the province. Yet this was precisely what was needed. The teachers of the province lacked a disciplinary enclosure to provide a regime of disciplinary discourses that would define and shape what it meant to be a professional teacher. Prado (2000) writes that power/knowledge and the discourses they generate can only function in an “institutional context:” the school, the factory, the parade ground, the asylum or hospital (p. 63). Disciplinary techniques have evolved to function where large groups of individuals gather “for significant periods of time” as such time is required for an individual to self-modify to the disciplinary norm (p. 63). Disciplinary power functions through a tripartite system of surveillance, classification and regulation. The inspectors provided the regulation, while the government classified. However, at the time, a system of surveillance was not available. It was not economically viable or fiscally prudent to try to monitor the 6,000 plus teachers of the province. However, surveillance is essential to the formation of hierarchy as it provides a normalizing judgment. This judgment provides a baseline of accreditation to which all the teachers of the province could cleave. Without such a baseline the teachers of the province could not see any potential in improving their accreditation. The result was a flat hierarchy. The hierarchy that did exist in 1919 was between rural and city teachers. City schools attracted teachers with higher credentials because these schools offered better pay and a stable, working school year.
The province upgraded teachers’ credentials through their time and course work at the provinces’ Normal Schools; this was the norm that the government aspired to inculcate. However, many of the rural teachers never upgraded their skills. This left the majority of teachers holding either second- or third-class certificates. In 1918, there were 6,062 teachers employed by the province; 1,015 were male and 5,047 were female (Annual report, 1918, p.22). The majority of 4,452 teachers were issued either second- or third-class certificates (p. 22). Men, teaching in city or town schools on third-class certificates accounted for a little over half a percent of the total (p. 22). Bereft of the disciplinary technique of hierarchical observation and the normalizing judgement it generates, the teachers of the province had very little reason to motivate themselves. Rural education associations and school fairs could only provide so much interaction with other teachers. As a result, the teachers of the province were, for the most part, homogenous: young female teachers with very similar qualifications. Within this enclosure, there was no economic or social advantage related to professional development. The history of the movement of teachers in and out of the profession or in and out of different school districts provides ample evidence of this indifference.

It is the contention of this chapter that in the nascent period of the Saskatchewan educational system, caring was conflated with professionalism. This is not unlike the way in which caring in the Victorian age was conflated with middle-class status. A professional teacher not only cared for her students, but also the community in which she lived. This was a norm that the government strived to keep in place: the teacher as a leader in the community and the school house at the center of it. However, it is the contention of this chapter that as the emphasis on professional development increased,
particularly in the post-modern era, the intensification of teacher performance, management and accountability has fragmented the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity. The first section of this chapter will provide a brief history of the development of professional teaching organizations and federations in the province. Saskatchewan was late in generating a professional enclosure for its teachers due to sentiment within teachers’ ranks that such organizations would erode their personal autonomy. The second section of this chapter will examine the relationship between the governance of the self and the changing face of teaching professionalism in what Rose (1996) has described as the era of “Advanced Liberalism” (p. 50). The last section of this chapter will focus on the relationship between teacher subjectivities and the origins, processes and effects of performativity in public institutions. As Ball (2003) contends, intensifications in performance, management and accountability have produced new forms of teacher subjects. As the focus of ‘care for the self’ shifts in this new job culture, the relationship between individual teachers and students is displaced by the relationship between teachers and management. Older forms of subjectivities, such as the ‘caring teacher’ are de-evolved and eventually folded into performance and accountability.

5.1 A brief history of teacher organizations in Saskatchewan

The origins of professional teacher organizations in Saskatchewan are long and fragmented. Teachers in the province of Saskatchewan were well aware of the need for union representation to curb trustee abuse. It was not unusual for a teacher to be dismissed without cause or replaced by a teacher willing to work for less pay. There were many attempts to gather the teachers of the province under one professional umbrella; most failed. What prevented this was the inability of the teaching cadre to speak with one
voice. One of the key factors in this uneven evolution was the split between rural and urban employment. This cannot be more strongly emphasized. Urban teachers made considerably more money per annum. The only exceptions were rural teachers working under provisional certificates. This situation was mostly due to trustee desperation. Many trustees waited far too long to secure a teacher for the upcoming academic year, and would pay what was necessary when the deadline to open the local school approached. Urban teachers had, as well, a greater ability to shape the contours of the profession by their proximity to power. Rural teachers could not spend the time or money needed to travel to the conferences and meetings that occurred in urban localities throughout the year. It was at these meetings that the politics of education and the implementation of educational policy in the province were discussed. It was here that the decisions regarding the deployment of educational resources were made. A rural school association met but once a year. They seldom elicited more than a passing mention in an inspector’s annual report.

Spaull (1991), contends that factors particular to Canada influenced the slow growth of teacher organizations in the western provinces: 1) the local dimensions of Canadian schooling: larger numbers of rural schools resulted in weak organizations, with little or no central control, 2) an absence of a clearly defined career hierarchy for teachers to follow, 3) trustees who lacked the understanding of the role of teachers as employees, 4) and an absence in Canada of a strong labour tradition compared to Europe, Britain and America (pp. 35-36). There was, as well, considerable resistance among teachers to the idea of a professional enclosure. Teachers in rural areas viewed such organizations as an urban phenomenon, with little interest in the problems of small rural schools. As such,
the autonomy that teachers enjoyed would be seceded to a central authority in which rural teachers had little if any influence. With this urban/rural split in their ranks, the teachers of the province came to distrust the union concept. Even the name could and did give some teachers pause. As a result, the formation of a teachers’ federation in Saskatchewan was often contradictory and uneven. Spaull (1991) agrees, noting as teacher salaries declined during the Great Depression, the trend amongst teachers to form unions grew despite rural misgivings. As well, Spaull notes that after the First World War, Canadians as a whole became increasingly aware of the “democratic process and the importance of education” in society (p. 27). It was into this field of contradictions that the first of Saskatchewan’s teachers’ unions attempted to organize.

The earliest teacher organization pre-dates the formation of the province. The Territorial Teachers’ Association was the first teaching association on the prairies. By 1907, two years after the formation of the province, a group of concerned citizens organized the Saskatchewan Educational Association. According to Tyre (1968), this organization was not formed to advocate for “the economic concerns of teachers,” but rather to promote the growth of education in the province (p. 14). In 1914, the Saskatchewan Teachers’ Union was formed. Its focus was the improvement of pay and working conditions of the province’s teachers. The union changed its name four years later to the Saskatchewan Teachers’ Alliance due to the negative connotations associated with the union label. The early records of the Alliance, according to Tyre (1968), were lost to fire during the twenties. As a result there is “a dearth of information about how it functioned and fared” during its tenure (p. 38). However, the Alliance did move the interests of teachers in the province forward. The Alliance was instrumental in
securing the continuous contract for teachers, the 200 day school year, a superannuation plan and a board of reference to vet teacher complaints (p. 84). Perhaps the greatest step forward to achieving a truly functioning professional enclosure was the board of reference. As stated, it was not unusual for rural school boards to fire or reduce teachers’ salaries without just cause. Spaull (1991) contends that it was also the “unwillingness of education associations, controlled by school inspectors,” to discuss “issues affecting teachers’ lives” that led to this focus on job security (p. 28). As such, a teacher unjustly fired could, if she was a member of the Alliance, request a board of reference. The Department of Education would then investigate the allegation made by the teacher to determine if the case had merit. Upon a satisfactory investigation, a hearing would be scheduled. The teacher, the board of trustees, and a member of the Ministry of Education would vet the teacher’s complaint with the member from the Ministry acting as the judiciary. The decision of the Ministry of Education was final. There was no appeal. The board of reference was as much about disciplining teachers as it was curbing trustee abuses. Its function was to establish the parameters by which teachers could challenge the authority of the board of trustees and by association the Ministry of Education. However, the establishment of said parameters shaped the formation of a disciplinary enclosure. The quasi-legal character of such a board is an important element in the establishment of this disciplinary regime. It is an edifice through which the productivity of power/knowledge could flow. Such an edifice acts on the action of others through the knowledge it generates. Of this Foucault (2000) writes:
The inquiry is precisely a political form – a form of power management and exercise that, through the judicial institutions, became, in Western culture, a way of authenticating truth, of acquiring and transmitting things that would be regarded as true. The inquiry is a form of knowledge-power. Analysis of such forms should lead us to a stricter analysis of the relations between knowledge and economico-political determinants (p. 52).

Through this form of veridiction, the Alliance could legitimize, politically and legally, the teaching profession in Saskatchewan and its position as arbiter of that legitimization. As Deacon (2002) writes, this form of quasi-legal inquiry represents the interconnections of several different related disciplines (p. 447). The object of this interconnection is the “inculcation in bodies of an immanent spiral of increasing compliance and utility,” through which the disciplinary technique of hierarchical observation could flow (p. 447). This hierarchical observation generates a ‘normalizing gaze’ that establishes an ambit of acceptable behaviour. Foucault (1984) writes that the “…mechanism [of quasi-legal inquiry] itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful” (p. 182). Thus, while the board of reference secured a means of redressing the abuses of trustees, it also took on the resemblance of a board of legal inquiry which gave it status. The more the board of reference resembled a board of legal inquiry the more its judgments appeared to gain validity, not only to the teaching profession, but to other disciplines as well. The Board of Education’s compliance with the board of reference legitimized its procedures further. However, as Tyre (1968) writes, it was not unusual for the trustees who made up the local school board to ignore a ruling handed down by the board of reference; local control of schooling remained paramount in the province. While the formation of this quasi-legal board of reference was a first step in the formation of a
professional enclosure; it would seem that the formation of the legal code which would regulate the teaching profession in the province would require more time and more teeth.

Tyre (1968) concedes there was friction between the Alliance and rural teachers from the start. The rural teachers felt that the Alliance was undemocratic, filled with urban teachers and unaware or unconcerned with the plight of other teachers labouring in the wilds of the prairie:

Feeling developed among rural teachers in the 1920s that the Alliance was too much under the domination of urban teachers, neglected the interests of teachers in rural areas and was not truly representative of all the teachers in the province (p. 14).

Perhaps this is best reflected in the membership rolls of the Alliance. As Tyre (1968) contends, the Alliance’s membership was dreadful despite twenty years of existence. It began with a membership of less than twenty and fifteen years later, that number had grown to slightly under 2500 members. Despite fifteen years of recruitment, the Alliance’s membership included fewer than half the teachers in the province (p. 38).

The organization had the great misfortune of coming into existence just before the onslaught of the Great Depression. The effect was to place the Alliance in the middle of a maelstrom of teacher discontent centered on its inability to effect change in the educational system. Although teachers accused the Alliance of favouring urban teachers, most of its endeavours actually centered on teachers in rural areas. These teachers were at the mercy of local trustees and ratepayers and represented the bulk of the profession. Overall, urban teachers fared better than their rural counterparts during the Depression in Saskatchewan. As such, the frustration that rural teachers felt and which they aimed at the Alliance could have simply stemmed from nothing more than economic disdain.

Whatever the origin, the Alliance could not weather this lack of support.


5.2 Problematizing the professional self

The friction between the Alliance and the rural teachers would find expression in the formation of the Rural Teachers’ Association in 1931. Although short-lived, this organization would lay the some of the foundational policies of the Saskatchewan Teachers’ Federation. The Rural Teachers’ Association, Tyre (1968) writes, was mindful of the perception among rural teachers that the Alliance was undemocratic. It went to great lengths to ensure teacher participation in its organizational structure (p. 79). The president was appointed by five members of the executive who were elected by a council made up of a single member from each of the 38 inspectorates in the province (p. 79). Thus, the teaching community of the province that was predominantly rural had effective representation in the association. Tyre (1968) contends that the most attractive feature of the Rural Teachers’ Association was its membership fees: an employed teacher paid a dollar to join and those without work twenty five cents (p. 80). The Rural Teachers’ Association campaigned for larger school units, a minimum salary and statutory membership for all teachers within the organization. It would eventually merge with the Alliance to form the STF in 1934. Of the policies introduced by the RTA, arguably the most significant was mandatory membership. Spaull (1991) contends that this policy “spread like a prairie grassfire across the rest of Canada” fueled by the desperation of the Depression and its associated economic turmoil (p. 32). Mandatory membership was another essential cog in the formation of a professional enclosure. Deacon (2002) contends that within such an enclosure the three techniques of power: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination, could manufacture a docile body
on which the disciplinary discourse of the institution could be written (p. 448). Of this Deacon (2002) writes:

These terms are significant in that each hints simultaneously at an exercise of power (hierarchy; judgement; testing) and a formation of knowledge (observation; normalization; evaluation) (p. 448).

Hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment come together in the disciplinary technology of the examination:

In it [examination] are combined the ceremony of power and the form of experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth. At the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those subjected. The superimposition of the power relations and knowledge relations assumes in the examination all its visible brilliance (Foucault, 1995, pp. 184-185).

The professional enclosure differentiates and divides individuals. Those in good standing are separated from those sanctioned through the generation of a normalizing gaze. Deacon (2002) writes that this “principle of enclosure” is neither “constant nor indispensable,” however through this strategy, individuals are regarded “both as objects and as instruments of [the] ...exercise” of the enclosure (p. 448). With the emergence of a teachers’ union, Saskatchewan’s teachers found the means to invest in themselves and their profession. However, it is clear that the school inspectors and the teachers did not understand the distinction between professionalism and professionality. Professionalism, according to Whitty (2001), refers to the “strategies and rhetorics employed by members of an occupation” to improve their “status, salary and [working] conditions’ in their chosen field (p. 162). Professionality refers to the “knowledge, skills and procedures” employed by individuals in the performance of their duties (p. 162). The professional enclosure provided the means by which teachers could improve their professionalism
while the short class offered at the province’s Normal Schools continued to provide the means by which they could improve their professionality. However, these two terms are often conflated, particularly in the inspectors’ annual reports to the Ministry of Education. It is the contention of this chapter that the sources of this confusion was centered on the concept of ‘gnothi seauton’ or ‘know thy self’ which overshadow ‘epimeleia heautou,’ or ‘care of the self,’ in the modern era. The ability to know oneself, particularly as a professional, informs the use and deployment of those strategies and rhetorics one needed to improve their status, salary and working conditions.

As stated to earlier in this chapter, the inspectors of the Saskatchewan school system often commented on the lack of reflexivity in their teachers, although reflexivity was not part of the vocabulary of teaching at that time. Reflexivity is defined as a circular relationship in which both the cause and the effect influence each other in such a way that neither can be assigned as a cause or effect. The inspectors felt that their teachers did not realize the bi-directional nature of this process or its significance to the pedagogical relationship. This lack of engagement led to a mechanical delivery, as well as an emphasis on subject matter that could be learned by rote. Many of the inspectors found this problem disheartening. J.E. Coombs, inspector of the Saskatoon district, wrote of this in his annual report of 1919:

…the teachers’ success depends to a great extent upon the ability to select material suited to the stage of development the child has reached, in arranging it logically and presenting it in such a way that the child can interpret it; nor do they realise that mental growth is most rapid when the child is constantly required to recall its former experiences and use them in interpreting the new matter presented (p. 112).

W.S. Grooms commented on the lack of reflexivity in his annual report to the ministry in 1918:
Poor work on the part of many teachers is due to the low academic standing and lack of initiative on their part in the way of self-improvement. Very few of our teachers are doing any reading which would give them a better understanding of the principles and practice of teaching or which would improve their knowledge of the subject in the Course of Study (p. 96).

Or again, as inspector J.F. Hutchinson commented on the professionality of his teachers in the Kinistino school district in the annual report to the Ministry in 1917:

…we have great need to investigate closely our method of preparation of the teacher. There is something wrong some place. There are too many teachers weak in educational ideals and in power to see and to think. They simply impart some information…They do not train men and women for living. Inasmuch as this mental inertness is not confined to teachers of lower certificates, I conclude that lack of information is not the cause. What a man [sic] is rather than what symbols he has memorised seems to determine his success as a teacher (p. 101)

There are many such examples in the inspectors’ reports during the first twenty years of the Saskatchewan educational system; too many to repeat in this dissertation. All seem to point to a Normal School experience in which reflection on the self and awareness of the fluidity of student/teacher relationship is lacking. Perhaps Foght (1918) was right when he wrote that American Normal Schools spent considerable time “reteaching the academic subject matter from the teacher point of view” so as to emphasize the need for this reflexivity in the pedagogical relationship (p. 117). Caring and reflexivity share many of the same characteristics. Reflexivity is engrossment; it involves motivational displacement as it problematizes the self and the other. Indeed, both reflexivity and caring emerge from the same quintessence, that of the ancient art of ‘epimeleia heautou’ or ‘care of the self.’ Of reflexivity Danielewicz (2001) writes:

It [reflexivity] involves a person’s active analysis of past situations, events, and products, with the inherent goal of critique and revision for the explicit purpose of achieving an understanding that can lead to change in thought or behaviour (p. 155-156).
One can see the similarities between the meditation/memory practice utilized in the ‘care of the self’ and the reflexivity exercise utilized in the modern art of teaching. The meditation/memory practice associated with the ‘care of the self’ involved re-accounting the events of the day, what was accomplished and what one needed still to do. In teaching this process is part of becoming a reflective practitioner; to participate consciously and creatively in your growth and development as a teacher. Moreover, as the modern state schools emerged in the nineteenth century; caring and its modern counterpart, reflexivity, became an integral component of modern pedagogy. Recall that this form of reflexivity is also a central component of the ‘gnothi seauton’ or ‘know thy self’ utilized by the Christian church to problematize the penitent’s soul. When the modern state school appropriated the disciplinary enclosure of the Christian church it also appropriated its emphasis on self-problematization and self-renunciation. The inspectors through their reports are in essence commenting that their teachers are incapable of problematizing themselves or their praxis. An intrinsic element of ‘know thy self’ is the capacity to perform this action. The truth of oneself must be uncovered in order to achieve enlightenment. However, the inspectors emphasize a lack of professionalism and not a lack of reflexivity. It is not surprising that this occurred. The dispositif that shapes the subjectivity of the ‘caring teacher’ also generates the many truths which shape our modern concepts of professionalism and professionality. Many of the Enlightenment disciplines share these truths and practices. Caring and reflexivity are found in many medical, social and psychological disciplines. The dispositif that shapes the ‘caring teacher’ is not solely responsible for these truths; other discourses come into play. However, its influence is clear. The men that made up the inspection corps of the
Saskatchewan educational system lacked the vocabulary that would eventually come to define the relationship between reflexivity and professionalism. What can be seen through this conflation between professionalism in the modern era and ‘care for the self’ in the ancient era, is the emergence of new systems of knowledge. These newly emerging systems in turn shape new truths and practices regarding teaching praxis and professional teaching. As Prado (2000) documents, a similar shift occurred in penal punishment as it moved from disciplining the body to disciplining the mind:

Judges came to assess not particular crimes but the perpetrators of those crimes. This meant that souls were judged not just by the severity of their crimes, but with a view to how they were to be managed, manipulated and controlled. The aim is [not to punish, but] to contain and eradicate desires and unacceptable behaviours (p. 59-60).

As these new ‘truths’ became viable new practices emerged to accompany them. Problematization of the self became a central feature of the modern concept of professionalism. Am I capable of living up to the expectations of my profession? What can I do to improve my praxis? These concerns were not articulated in the inspectors’ reports because the concepts had yet to be accepted as ‘standards of practice.’ They certainly had not been internalized by the teachers of the province. As Prado (2000) insists, “the soul is the mind reconceived ‘as a surface of inscription’” on which the discourse of power can be inscribed (p. 59). The ‘truths’ of modern teacher professionalism had yet to fully be inscribed. The inspectors, however, resorted to the generalized term of professionalism to embody what they felt were a group of practices and the truths their teachers lacked. The foundation of this dispositif was in the ancient art of ‘care of the self’ and its doppelganger, ‘know thy self.’ As such, these two practices
would remain as part of the dispositif shaping our modern concept of what it means to act as a professional.

By the spring of 1933, the Saskatchewan Teachers’ Alliance’s membership roll had shrunk to six hundred teachers. As Tyre (1968) writes, a shortage of funds generated by a dwindling membership forced the organization to cancel its convention that year (p. 80). As the Alliance’s fortunes shrank, the Rural Teachers’ Association’s fortunes grew (p. 80). In the spring of 1933 the Alliance and the R.T.A. began talks on forming a new association. This was only made possible by the departure of two members of the executive of the R.T.A. who opposed the union. Both left to take teaching jobs outside the province. An October conference was scheduled in Regina where the details of the merger and the formation of the Saskatchewan Teachers’ Federation could be discussed. The Rural Teachers’ Association had been in existence for less than two years, while the history of the Alliance encompassed twenty. The Saskatchewan Teachers’ Federation adopted the R.T.A.’s democratic form of organization, as well as its concept of “an automatic membership whereby teachers would be required by statute to join” the fledgling organization (p. 83). In 1935, the Liberals under James Gardiner passed the Teachers’ Federation Act. According to Gallen (2006) this gave the S.T.F. “significant powers of self-regulation” over the profession (p. 166). Although the act granted the S.T.F. disciplinary authority over its membership, that authority wasn’t recognized until 1948 when the original act was amended. The S.T.F. then elected a disciplinary committee with the power to hear complaints of unprofessional conduct. With the passing of a code of ethics in 1957, the disciplinary enclosure was finally sealed. With this development, the hierarchical observation that is generated within the disciplinary
enclosure placed the individual under a normalizing gaze, marking their position in the hierarchy while demarking those above and below. This normalizing gaze encourages individuals to problematize themselves and their position within the hierarchy. If one aspires to scale the hierarchical structure, one must adopt the mannerisms and behaviours of the individuals above. Invisible and yet enveloping, the discourses of discipline define behaviour by regulating what is acceptable and what is not. It is a small step from there to exercising self-regulation. It is the knowledge of being constantly under surveillance by your peers or by the professional enclosure, coupled with disciplinary power’s ability to hold the subject within the mechanics of objectification that generates a docile body on which disciplinary discourses can be written. The professional enclosure turns each individual subject into a center of calculation by placing the subject under an objectifying gaze. The generated docile body internalizes these disciplinary techniques and becomes, as Prado (2000) contends, “complicitous in… [its] own subjugation” (p. 64). This has led Lynd (1972) to conclude that hegemony and authority are multi-faceted:

It is not even that authority has disappeared, nor even that it has lost in strength, but that it has been transformed from the overt authority of force to the anonymous authority of persuasion and suggestion… Modern man [sic] is obliged to nourish the illusion that everything is done with his [sic] consent, even though such consent [is being] extracted from him[sic] by subtle manipulation (p. 129).

It was this practice that was so lacking during the poiesis of the educational system. Problematizing the self is implicit in the practices and exercises that originated in the ‘care of the self’ and the Christian concept of ‘know thy self.’ In short, to problematize the self is to practice care. Thus, caring involves reflexivity, not only of the self but in one’s praxis and ethical orientation. Through reflexivity one focuses on the process of teaching as a reciprocal experience in which one practices the ‘care of the self’
as well as the care for the other. Both these actions require the individual to know oneself. One cannot separate professionalism from reflexivity, or reflexive praxis from caring in the modern pedagogical relationship. Gallen (2006) agrees, writing that caring and its ethics form the foundation of the professionalism of teaching:

The STF itself has worked diligently to bring issues affecting teachers, children, and education to the forefront of political decision-making. In many cases, provincial initiatives have been encouraged to reflect ethics of caring and community that Saskatchewan teachers see underlying their professionalism and professional status (p. 178).

The S.T.F. passed its code of ethics in 1957 after three years of deliberation. As Gallen (2006) writes, with new provisions introduced to the Teachers’ Federation Act by the government of Saskatchewan, the S.T.F. gained not only the right to discipline its members for unprofessional conduct but also for incompetency (p. 169). A Code of Professional Conduct quickly followed along with a Code of Conduct Respecting the Collective Interests of Teachers. The latter laid out the provisions by which the S.T.F. would bargain for improvements to the profession. These provisions further tied the conduct of individual teachers to the conduct of the professional enclosure. These codices were reviewed and updated in 1997 by the S.T.F.’s committee on professionalism. Its goal, as Gallen (2006) writes, was to “re-examine the profession’s responsibility for standards of practice… [and its] codes of conduct regarding ethics, competency and the collective interests” of the teachers in the provinces’ employ (p. 169). The professional enclosure brought together a multiplicity of discourses that had surrounded teaching in the province since its inception. As Foucault (1971) writes, discourses are productive and restrictive; they prohibit through the use of ritual, covering objects and the “privileged or exclusive right to speak” with authority and truth (p. 8). These discourses are “historical
[and] modifiable” while still remaining “institutionally constraining” on those within the enclosure (p. 10). As such, the discourses that generated the professional teaching enclosure did not displace previous forms of teacher subjectivity; they incorporated them. The ‘caring teacher’ technology was enshrined within this new regime. Thus, while a new era of professional teaching had begun in Saskatchewan with the advent of the S.T.F.’s professional enclosure, teaching in the province retained its historical arc. This was inevitable, as those historical events give the discursive regime generated by the enclosure its veridiction. Of this Foucault (1971) writes:

It is always possible one could speak the truth in a void; one would only be in the true, however, if one obeyed the rules of some discursive ‘policy’ which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke. Disciplines constitute a system of control in the production of discourse fixing its limits through the action of an identity taking the form of a permanent reactivation of the rules (p. 17).

As such, caring remains a functioning discourse within the code of conduct of the S.T.F. Moreover, any time the discourses generated by the professional enclosure and the code of conduct it supports are evoked, the historically constituted discourses that form the foundations of the profession are reactivated, restated and reconfirmed. Foucault (1971) refers to this as “fellowships of discourse” and writes:

A rather different function is filled by ‘fellowships of discourse’ whose function is to preserve or to reproduce discourse, but in order that it should circulate within a closed community, according to strict regulations, without those in possession being dispossessed by this very distribution (p. 18).

Thus, the ‘caring teacher’ technology is enshrined within this new disciplinary enclosure along with its historicity and the events that constitute its emergence within the disciplinary field. The historical arc that generated a profession constituted largely of females and its focus on the cultivation of a student’s individual ethic would be restated
time and time again whenever the discursive rules of the enclosure were evoked by those within and accepted or confirmed. Through this analysis it is possible to understand how Saskatchewan, while sharing similar topography and historical developments of Manitoba and Alberta, produced a unique educational system. However, it would be the fellowship of discourse which would have profound impact on the professionalization of teaching in the modern era.

5.3 Market reform in education

As Gleeson & Gunter (2001) write, with the disciplinary enclosure sealed, teachers “enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and trust” in the post-war period (1945-1975) (p. 140). Teachers, it was assumed by the government and public, “knew what was best for the pupils in their care” and so exercised considerable freedom regarding their implementation of the curriculum (p.140). The state’s role in education was to provide the funding through taxation necessary to maintain the system and the professionalism and professionality of the teaching cadre was left to the S.T.F. This changed however, during the 60s and 70s when the autonomy of the public school system came under fire by reformers who challenged the effectiveness of public schooling in the United States, Britain and Canada. As Ellis (2012) notes, these radical reformers challenged the narrative that public education was “won by enlightened, liberal reformers, from a grudging class of aristocrats” to the benefit of the working class in the early nineteenth century (p. 4). Educational reform, the likes of which Egerton Ryerson promoted in Canada, was re-envisioned as an imposition on the working class. The school promoters of the early nineteenth century were portrayed as “self-interested and rather self-satisfied, middle class liberals” whose altruistic intentions were largely in doubt (p. 4). Moreover,
many of the reforms enacted by these school promoters were viewed as largely resisted by the working class. To these new educational reformers, state-sponsored public education had never lived up to the romantic narrative its supporters had generated in the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Public education’s promise to address structural inequality in society had never been fulfilled. Indeed, the reformers insist that the elitism and bureaucracy associated with the educational system in the late 60s and early 70s, reproduced the very same economic, racial and class barriers that had existed decades before (see Katz, 1968; Spring, 1973; Tyack, 1974). As well, these same school reformers, according to Ellis (2012), complained that public schooling had become so bureaucratic and heavy-handed that it had lost its ability to address local concerns. Foucault (1971) would tend to agree that an education system is the “political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourse” (p.19) It was the discourse of educational autonomy that the school reformers sought to appropriate from teacher unions and state-sponsored school boards. The social promise of state-sponsored school needed to be refreshed. Of this Tyack (1974) writes:

…despite frequent good intentions and abundant rhetoric about ‘equal educational opportunity,’ schools have rarely taught the children of the poor effectively– and this failure has been systematic, not idiosyncratic (p.11).

This critique of public education emanated from a much larger critique of social liberalism. As Rose (1996) writes, pundits from the left were concerned that the increasing costs of maintaining the social services, education and health of the nation were unsustainable. While on the right the concern was more centered on the contradictions generated between a capitalist economy and a welfare state which produced nothing, but consumed national wealth (p. 51). The rhetoric, whether from the
right or the left focused, Rose (1996) insists, on the perceived elitism associated with governmental intervention into the freedom and liberty of the state’s citizens:

…the arrogance of government overreach; of the dangers of imminent government overload; the absurdity of politicians trying to second guess the market by picking winners; claims that Keynesian demand management stimulated inflationary expectations and led to the debasement of the currency. Others claimed that measures intended to decrease poverty had actually increased inequality; that attempts to assist the disadvantaged had actually worsened their disadvantage (p. 51).

Recall that liberalism was conceived of as a means by which the reach of the state into the lives of its citizens could be curtailed. From the right and the left came criticism that the welfare state had grown too large and unwieldy. As Rose (1996) contends, the cause of this expansion was unlimited growth of the “empire of social expertise” associated with governmental policy (p. 52). The backlash that arose as these specialist sought “to demand their own rights and fields of discretion” was centered on personal freedom (p. 52). Individual citizens began to protest the intrusiveness of governmental power:

Individuals came to reconceptualise themselves…narativizing their dissatisfaction in the potent language of rights, they organized themselves into their own association, contesting the power of expertise, protesting against relations that now appeared patronizing and demeaning of their autonomy, demanding increased resources for their particular conditions and claiming a say in the decisions that affected their lives (p. 52).

The rhetoric of these reformers would be used as a blueprint to reform educational services by the emerging New Right political parties in Britain, New Zealand Australia, Canada and the United States during the 80s. I am aware that the terms ‘Conservative,’ ‘New Right,’ ‘Liberal,’ and ‘Left Wing’ are contested terms. As Bessant (2011) writes, they encompass “a number of philosophical and ethical orientations” which generate
difficulties “assembling a coherent collective characterization[s]” of individuals which cleave to these political subjectivities. Nevertheless, the historicity of these attacks against existing educational policy, occurring as they did in different times and in different countries, are remarkable in the attributes they share. As such, I feel that such generalizations have validity within the limited scope of this analysis.

As Ellis (2012) writes, the earlier liberal educational reformers developed “the crucial questions about educational and social inequality and the contribution of bureaucratized school systems” which led to the perceived “deterioration of public school systems” in Great Britain, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and to a lesser extent Canada (p. 8). Peter McLaren’s *Life in Schools* (2007) documents the effect of this debate clearly. *Life in Schools* relates McLaren’s experiences and a number of incidents from his four years of teaching elementary school in Toronto’s Jane-Finch Corridor. As this critique was incorporated into the rhetoric of the New Right and the New Left, it would have a profound effect on the way in which teachers perceived their commitment to their students and the schools in which they worked. It would generate a narrative, that according to Ball (2006), linked the decline of standards in the public education system with the “loss of… traditional authority… of the state,” leading to a loss of legitimacy (p 29). Generating what Habermas (1976) has referred to as a “legitimation crisis.” As Ball (2006) writes, teachers and their liberal curriculum were perceived to be responsible for this crisis:
Teachers and black youth provided relatively unpopular and susceptible groups (in very different ways) which could be constructed as specific scapegoats for general social problems. The streets and the classrooms were no longer safe places to be. A ‘moral panic’ was being constructed, and taken up with enthusiasm in the media, with teachers ‘named’ and cast in the role of ‘folk devils’ [see Cohen, 1980] (p. 29).

This political rhetoric, Ball (2006) insists, mistakenly conflates progressivism with egalitarianism. This was one of the two key factors in the phenomenon of Thatcherism in Great Britain (p. 30). The second was the relationship between the decline of traditional values and the decline of the nation (p. 31). Accordingly, as Ball (2006) writes, these factors led to a discursive terrain in which a division was erected between:

…the madness of egalitarianism, social engineering and democracy in education over and against reason of tradition, discipline and authority. To engage in the discourse of [this] madness would be to court exclusion from the arenas of [education] policy. From 1976, only certain policies were possible, only certain policies were sane and rational. Thus, in those places where policy was being made only certain concepts, conceptions, proposals and pleas were utterable or at least hearable (p 33).

The New Right and the New Left used the perception of declining educational standards as an ideological wedge issue against each other. The concept of the ‘Nation’ was resurrected while the ‘Social’ was dismissed as madness. The nation was dependent on good quality schools that would produce good quality citizens. The re-emergence of the “Nation” as a political entity allowed school reforms to further conflate the ‘crisis’ in education with other perceived social ills. Of this Ball (2006) writes:
Racial politics (and immigration laws) are bound with a rediscovery of Nation… These in turn are articulated with attacks on trade unionism (‘the enemy within’) and student radicalism. The whole package is tied in turn to the virtues of the traditional family which are set over and against the ‘rise’ in sexual permissiveness, pornography, abortion and homosexuality. These affinities within the discourse capture and evoke a whole range of common sense fears and concerns (p. 31).

It must be noted that this did not occur without resistance; the discursive field was shaky, uneven and often contradictory (See Ball, 2006; Bessant, 2011; Grace, 1991; Ginsberg, 2016). However, the prevailing attitude was that the ‘crisis’ in education threatened the security of the ‘Nation’ and that lazy, socialist, teachers with their liberal curriculum were to blame. The pendulum of public opinion had begun to swing back towards educational accountability-particularly teacher accountability. Gleeson & Gunter (2001) write of this shift:

Concern over declining educational standards associated with alleged abuse of teachers’ licensed autonomy led, at the time, to widespread reforms … By identifying teachers as ‘part of the problem’ of low-skill, low-wage, low-productivity economy, the pendulum of license swung in favour of exposing teachers…to…the tightening ratchet of state control (p. 140).

As Ball (2006) contends, teachers were portrayed as “preaching revolution, socialism, egalitarianism, feminism and sexual deviation,” linking the crisis in education to social disorder (p. 28). This led one commentator to decry that the “left-wing educationalist’s” goal was “revolution, not by armed over-throw…but by the transformation of institutions from within” government institutions (p. 29). As Grace (1991) has shown, similar issues arose in New Zealand in the late 80s:
Singled out for strong criticism were poor educational standards and dubious liberal approaches to the curriculum which it was claimed arose from the un-due influence of radicals within the teaching profession… ‘the people’ must ‘seize back control of the education system’ from the vested interests in education, particularly the ‘liberal and feminist-dominated teacher unions’ (p. 31).

Note the nature of the rhetoric: “the people must seize back,” as if something had been wrenched away from them, something that should be rightfully theirs. Bessant (2011) has documented a similar phenomenon occurring during the 90s in Australia:

Such conservatives also argue that an alliance between ‘leftist’ and post-modernist’ teachers has led to enlist intellectual and political perspectives that run counter to the instincts, values and commitments of ‘ordinary’ Australians (p. 638).

Again the rhetoric: “ordinary Australians;” this vocabulary appeals to common sense notions of national strength and pride. The United States experienced a similar phenomenon in 1983. The Reagan administration published a report entitled A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform. This report conflated a threat to the safety of the nation with, what Ginsberg (2016) has referred to as a “rising tide of mediocrity” in US schools (p. 1). Similar themes emerged at different periods during the Thatcher administration in Great Britain, the Howard government in Australia and Lange government of New Zealand. Namely incompetent teachers and a liberal progressive curriculum have led to a lack of emphasis on traditional family values and academic discipline, generating a threat to the nation. Of this Ginsberg (2016) writes:

In support of their conclusions the commissioners presented numerous indicators of risk, including Americans’ poor academic performance relative to students overseas, high levels of functional illiteracy among U.S. adults and seventeen year olds, and declining achievement-test scores. The commissioners also cited increasing enrollments in college remedial course, increasing business and military expenditures on remedial education and a diluted curriculum in the schools (p.1).
As Rose (1996) contends, these neo-conservative and neo-liberal regimes re-activated the “sceptical vigilance over political government” associated with classical liberalism (p. 53). Although this process was uneven it eventually coalesced around the concept of governing in a new advanced way, a re-conception of governmental power. The government would act on the action of others at a distance by reconceiving the citizen as consumer of services. The relationship between government and those it governed would reconceive:

…these actors [citizens] in new ways as subjects of responsibility, autonomy and choice, and seek to act upon them through shaping and utilizing their freedom (p. 54).

Governmentality of the soul would move from the expert to the individual as consumer of expert knowledge. The ‘truth’ of the expert would remain. However, the power/knowledge relationship, as Rose (1996) writes, shifted in the hierarchy from those “regulatory powers ‘above’ – planning and compulsion – ‘to below;’” those exercising their freedom of choice through consumption (p. 54). This, the neo-conservatives and liberals insisted would maximize choice, and with it freedom and liberty. Expert knowledge and the power associated would be positioned as a commodity, outside the purview of government. Citizens could then select from a range of options. The freedom to choose which apparatus or service one utilized would result in less government and shift the onus for a ‘good life’ from government to the individual citizen.

As Ball (2006) writes, the neo-liberals and neo-conservatives insisted that government should not be the de facto provider of public education. The state as the sole provider “of [educational] services eradicates choice and competition, reduces efficiency, stifles innovation and removes [the] personal liberty” from its citizens (p. 37). The
market should be the arbiter of the delivery of education. The inequalities of the market are fair because the market takes into account that its effects are “unprincipled” and therefore “there is no deliberate bias – hence no racism or sexism” imbedded within its delivery of services (p. 38). The market provides liberty, choice and competition; these factors in turn “encourage the pursuit of new ideas and methods” in education (p. 38). As such, the market reform of education was centered on two complimentary elements: the parent and freedom of choice. Choice set common sense against expertise and the powerless parent against an unresponsive self-serving bureaucracy (p.34). Reforming the delivery of educational service to reflect market provisions would change the way education is delivered in many of these countries. The United States would introduce a voucher system, charter schools and opt-out schemes designed to increase individual parental choice. These new innovations were embraced with enthusiasm in some countries while in others their impact would be slight. In some U.S. states, schools are administered by private for-profit companies, thus removing for the first time the responsibility of educating the populace from government. In Canada, Alberta is the only province to license charter schools. As Levin (1998) has written, in Canada, freedom of education is expressed in choice of school, albeit a local choice:

…students can cross district boundaries without additional fees… students in most provinces – at least in urban areas – can choose between English-language schools, French-immersion schools, bilingual schools…Catholic schools (publicly funded in provinces with approximately two-thirds of the population), private schools and so on (p. 135).

Although the ‘crisis’ in education arose in different countries and at different times the market reforms share very similar characteristics. Market reform of education would ensure: 1) greater parent and community empowerment (the parents are the final
arbitrator of their child’s schooling, not the government, principal or teacher); 2) efficient school management (public education budgets are an enormous burden on the public purse and the government must be concerned with the effectiveness and profitability of its expenditures); 3) strong accountability (there must be verifiable results to justify the public expense of schooling); 4) contestable provision (parents must have the right to opt-out and send their child to a private or charter school, while being reimbursed from the public coffers) 5) lastly, local input on the hiring and firing of teachers and principals (Grace, 1991, p. 34). Above all, education was to be regarded as a product, bought and sold to a consumer: the parent. The market epitomized freedom; freedom to choose, to spend, to compete and through such choice, the expression of individual liberty. Those that fail, as Ball (2006) writes, have no one to blame but themselves (p. 37). Any social inequalities that exist “must lie in the culture, the family, or the individual” and not in the system (p. 37). This emerging dispositif and its associated truths would have a profound impact on teacher subjectivities. New concepts entered the discursive field, such as student management, teacher performance and accountability. These would redefine the role of education in society while intensifying teacher responsibility. The emerging paradigm would interpellate teachers to assume new subjectivities, eroding and displacing those that previously existed. The nature of the ‘performance’ of teacher would shift to reflect these new discourses. The era of social liberalism was coming to an end as a new epoch emerged: Advanced Liberalism.

5.4 Care of the self in the era of advanced liberalism

The political concept known as liberalism has evolved over time. As Munster (2005) writes, liberalism can be seen as advancing historically through three separate but
related stages: the classical liberalism of the nineteenth century that gave way to the social liberalism of the welfare state in the twentieth century then shifted to advanced liberalism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (p. 3). These stages represent three distinct periods; however, they are related by their raison d’être.

Liberalism is an ongoing critique of the expansion of state authority into the lives of its citizens. In each stage however, the means by which to achieve this goal differs. Classical liberalism is best associated with the term laissez-faire. The government’s role in this political paradigm is to ensure “the play of natural and necessary modes of relations which permit natural regulation” in the market and thus in society (p. 4). In short, the role of the state is to ensure a self-regulating, self-leveling economy. In the era of social liberalism the role of the state expands. A self-regulating market is only possible if the individual citizen is both economically secure and independent (p.4). As such, in this paradigm, as Munster (2005) contends, the state becomes a center through which the citizens can be “shaped, guided, channeled, directed, controlled [and] supported” through a series of governmental edifices and services (p. 4). The questionable sustainability of such a model of governance brought social liberalism into disrepute with many critics.

Advanced liberalism attempts to address this shortcoming. As Munster writes, advanced liberalism attempts to “re-responsibilise the ways in which individuals conduct their freedom” in society (p. 4). Rose (1992) has described this phenomenon as the emergence of an “enterprise culture” (p. 141). The individual citizen becomes an “enterprising self” within this paradigm, selecting from the services available, both private and public. Through such choice an individual may customize their potential (p. 141). Of the impact of this shift Rose writes:
…this image of an ‘enterprising self’ is so potent because it is not an idiosyncratic obsession of the right of the political spectrum. On the contrary, it resonates with basic presuppositions concerning the contemporary self that are widely distributed in our present, presuppositions that are embodied in the very language that we use to make persons thinkable, and in our ideal conceptions of what people should be (p. 141).

Accordingly, as Rose (1992) insists, an enterprising self “aspires to autonomy…strives for personal fulfilment…it is to interpret its reality and destiny as matters of individual responsibility” in which personal choice is the final arbiter of success and failure (p. 142). This subjectivity links the individual to the “political vocabulary of advanced liberal democracies,” freeing them from the obligation and reward dyad associated with the ‘epimeleia heautou’ or the ‘care of the self’ (p. 142).

Citizens are seen as individuals with rights and freedoms. The obligation associated with social liberalism, to exercise one’s freedoms in a responsible way, is replaced with the responsibility to make the best choice from any number of possibilities. This in turn, shifts the onus for a ‘well lived life’ from the government to the individual, while increasing their freedom from governmental intervention. As Rose (1992) writes, this political shift underpins the art of governance in the twenty-first century:

Specific styles of political discourse may be ephemeral…but the presupposition of the autonomous, choosing, free self as the value, ideal and objective underpinning and legitimating political activity imbues the political mentalities of the modern West, as well as those now sweeping what used to be termed ‘Eastern Europe’ (p. 142).

The new discourses emerging from this new political rationality have transformed subjectivities and eroded older ones. As Rose (1992) contends, ‘enterprise’ acts as a potent interface in which “general political deliberations” and “specific programmes” are problematized while simultaneously generating new truths and practices designed to
transform them (p. 145). However, it is not just governmental rationale that is subject to this problematization. The notion of individual actors “competing with one another on the market” acts as an “image of a mode of activity” which transforms multiple communities (p. 145).

Enterprise here…designates a kind of organizational form… Organizations are problematized in terms of their lack of enterprise: it is this that epitomizes their weakness and their failings. Correlatively, they are to be reconstructed by promoting and utilizing the enterprise capacities of each and all, encouraging them to conduct themselves with boldness and vigour, to calculate for their own advantage, to drive themselves hard and to accept risks in the pursuit of goals (pp145-146).

The governmental edifices previously associated with the social liberalism and the public sectors are transformed through this new political paradigm. The emerging intensification in personal performance and choice has had an enormous impact on how educational services are delivered and the subjectivities of those delivering them. This shift was perceived to be the answer to the general ineffectiveness of public education. As Rose (1996) has stated the “general political deliberations” and “specific programmes” surrounding education and educational services were devolved in a bid to address the perceived elitism and unresponsiveness of the educational sector. New subjectivities were generated, old ones reformed and a new working relationship between individual actors proposed (see Ball, 2003; Power & Witty, 1996; Troman, 2000).

Giddens (1991) comments on this transformation:

Systems of accumulated expertise – which form important dis-embedding influences – represent multiple sources of authority, frequently internally contested and divergent in their implications. In the setting of what I call ‘high’ or ‘late’ modernity – our present-day world – the self, like the broader institutional contexts in which it exists, has to be reflexively made. Yet this task has to be accomplished amid a puzzling diversity of options and possibilities (p. 3).
The result of this disembedding is a ‘low-trust’ society with an emphasis on management, accountability and performance. The performance of teacher becomes more associated with the ethics of business rather than the ethics of the self. As Ball (2003) writes these educational reforms are increasingly anchored in “three interrelated policy techniques: the market, managerialism and performativity,” as former educational policies based on student/teacher autonomy are eroded (p. 215). This performativity includes not only the performance of individual actors, but also the organization to which they belong. Not only does it change what educators do, “it changes who they are” and the way in which they relate to each other (p. 215). It is a process of devolution or the re-regulation of self-regulation (p. 217) Individual actors are reconfigured and new vocabularies generated which are in line with “institutional self-interest, pragmatics and performative worth” within the institutional context (p. 218). This, in turn, shifts traditional loyalties from those associated with the professional cadre to those of the institution. Thus, schools that had previously been thought of as having the same standards are now seen as good, bad or mediocre. As Ball (1997) has written these “manufactured representations” of school performance can hide the “bad effects [such] as the intensification of teachers’ work” which strain teacher collegiality and authenticity (p. 318). Ball insists this form of performativity has different connotations than those utilized by Butler (2006) in Gender Trouble. For Ball (2003) performativity is:

…a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic) (p. 216).
According to Ball (2003) these performances stand as calculable “displays of quality” which “encapsulate or represent the worth” of the individual /organization (p 216). Essential to this phenomenon is that these performances take place in a field of judgment (p. 216). Given the paradigm of ‘enterprise,’ this field of judgment is a self-regulating discursive field which interpellates a specific subjectivity often conflated with professionalism. In education, it often generates a subjectivity that is at odds with reflexivity of modern teaching. Reflexivity in this field is not directed at praxis or at the reciprocal relationship between student and teacher where cause and effect are indistinguishable. The focus of this reflexivity is the performance and not the soul. Its intent is to modify by delineating those who can achieve the desired results from those who cannot. It mimics a disciplinary enclosure; however, the discourses of accountability are written on performance and not the docile body. There is an inauthenticity associated with this subjectivity. It is important to acknowledge this subtle shift. In a disciplinary field the individual is encouraged to self-modify to the dominant discourses by becoming, as Prado (2000) writes, “complicitous in… [its] own subjugation” through the inculcation of a favoured paradigm (p. 63). In short, the individual sees the ‘good’ in adapting or modifying their behaviour to the discursive field. This good can be expressed in many ways: good for the individual, family, community, or the nation-to name a few. However, the locus of the discourse of ‘accountable performance’ is the performance itself, not the self-modifying individual. Disciplinary discourses work at the level of the body and as so are internalized, while performance discourses are not. This is theater in many ways. It requires the creation of what Ball (1997) has referred to as “fabrications.” As Ball (1997) writes, fabrications are inauthentic representations of a professional self. Performance
culture problematizes the professional performance, and through the performance, the individual self. As such, contrary to Butler’s (2006) assertion, there is an essentialism behind these performances—a doer behind the deed. There is no attempt in accountability performances to establish an ethical orientation; the falseness associated with the performance precludes one. In the new management of quality and maximization the ‘care of the self’ and ‘know thy self’ have been replaced with a parody without, as Jameson (1997) writes, “any of parody’s ulterior motives, amputated of the satirical impulse, devoid of laughter and of any conviction” (p. 17).

Under this new paradigm, the confessional used by the Christians is now transformed into an inquisition. The two edifices share similar characteristics but their intent is considerably different. Under the paradigm of accountability there is no revelation, no secret knowledge gained, only problematization of the performance and this is problematization without end. No one can achieve perfection; no one is without the capacity to improve their performance. Some teachers adapt but many experience, as Ball (2003) writes, high levels of existential angst (p. 219). Of this phenomenon Ball (2000) writes:

Here then is guilt, uncertainty, instability and the emergence of a new subjectivity— a new kind of teacher. What we see here is a particular set of ‘practices through which we act upon ourselves and one another in order to make us particular kinds of beings’ … Crucially and this is central to my argument, together, these forms of regulation, or governmentality, have a social and interpersonal dimension. They are folded into complex institutional, team, group and communal relations (p. 4).

One need only read the entries of The Guardian newspaper online blog “Secret Teacher” to realize the impact this inauthenticity has on teachers in the United Kingdom. On this ground as Ball (2003) writes, there are:
...struggles [that are] often highly personal. Expressed in the lexicons of belief and commitment, service and even love, and of mental health and emotional well-being. The struggles are often internalized and set care of the self against duty to others (p.216).

Thus, one can understand Ball’s hesitancy to utilize Butler’s (2006) theory of gender formation to describe these fabrications. This is not a true subjectivity. However, the tension between the historically constituted discourses of caring/reflexivity and this new regime emphasizing accountability and performance is clearly detectable in the comments of teachers writing on the Guardian’s newspaper blog. It is clear this form of performance consumption transcends nothing. There is no ethical development or hidden revelations behind it. This form of prudentialism attempts to displace the caring subjectivity with a discursive regime based on individual choice. The ethics associated with the ‘care of the self’ have been devolved to a point in which questions of right, wrong and moral primacy have been delineated to reflect how one accounts for one’s self through their consumption. The result is a schizophrenic choice: caring or performing. Caring requires time and commitment, whereas performing is the based on achieving the desired goal and moving on. Often this situation generates an existential crisis in the individual, pitting purpose against meaning. Eventually, as Ball (2003) writes the older ethical orientations of “professional judgement and co-operation” are dislodged and then replaced with competition in this political paradigm (p. 218). Power & Whitty (1996) stress, that this emphasis on performance results in the relationships between staff moving toward a “flatter structure” as the “old hierarchies and boundaries” are reformed and abandoned (p. 9). The result is the fragmentation of traditional relationships within the school along with the loss of curricular and teacher/student autonomy (p. 10).
Regarding this effect, Power & Whitty (1996) cite Robertson’s (1993) research in Western Australia:

The connection between performance and accountability within marketized educational systems has tended to lead to the fragmentation and delineation of curriculum content and the reduction in teacher/learner autonomy... Robertson and Soucek’s research… found that the new [marketized] curriculum… was at the same time both highly tailored and modularized into consumable packages [while being] excessively assessed [and that] these features work to compartmentalize school learning and teaching… develop[ing] an intense sense of alienation between the student and the teachers… exaggerating the reductive, technocratic and fragmented nature of much school knowledge (pp. 10-11)

As Smyth et al. (2000) contend, there is no place for the “primacy of caring relations in work with pupils and colleagues” within this new management panopticism (p. 140). The re-imagined teacher responds to what Ball (2003) describes as “external requirements… specified targets” and continuous appraisals (p. 222). This sets up a dichotomy in which increasing technologies of accountability consume the ability to improve one’s praxis, thus making it impossible to improve output. In turn, this generates what Ball has described as “values schizophrenia” (p. 221). Professional judgment and values are dismissed as relics of an imperfect past. This lack of professional authenticity, in both praxis and collegial relationships becomes a central tenant of this new bureaucracy, slicing back on the sense of professionalism that the teaching profession has historically struggled to achieve. What went before has been undermined by what Gleeson & Gunter (2001) refer to as “corporate behaviourism” (p. 150).

…why would I share my good ideas with you when you might use them to achieve progression through the system over me? …The concern is that good educational practice or innovating teaching, far from becoming shared amongst a school staff, will be seen as a personal commodity to be sold in the internal market of the school (Mahony & Hextall, 2001, pp. 182-183).
The Saskatchewan government introduced such corporate behaviourism to its governance in 2008. By 2011 Lean methodology was being employed in throughout the Saskatchewan school system. The purpose of the Lean methodology, according to a government website is to “reduce or eliminate waste … engagement of employees to seek ways to work better and smarter” and “deliver rapid results” (“Think Lean,” 2014).

Canadian Business (2011) reports that critics:

…characterize them [lean management programs] as the fad diets of the corporate world. Too often, employees fail to buy in to new programs thrust upon them by zealous managers and consultants who seldom stick around long enough to see the results. The criticism has been especially fierce against newer iterations of “lean service” and “lean health care,” said to be stress-inducing, dehumanizing and vulnerable to catastrophic breakdowns (“Lean manufacturing’s oversized claims, 2011).

As a result, this new panopticism of accountability is riddled with contradictions and irony. The largest is the over use of the neologism of teamwork. How can one work as a team in such a paradigm? Perhaps the most significant contradiction is the value-added concept, or the notion that excessive managerialism and accountability adds value to the educational system. As Mahony & Hextall (2001) contend it is never really clear where value is being added to the overall framework. If choice is value, does choice address the structural inadequacies in public education that brought the first liberal education reforms to question the efficiency of the system? Gleeson & Gunter (2001) contend that the only winners in this paradigm are those that have already accumulated status and therefore can weather the accountability storm:

Performance management based on such criteria is likely to have two effects: the first is to reward outcomes that are not grounded in authentic learning or professional practice; and the second is likely to distort values of inclusion, favouring those already endowed with cultural capital (p151).
Here is the crux of the problem: it is impossible to measure educational outcomes and attribute their success or failure to one or a small group of practices, curricula, or individual teachers. Ball (1997) writes:

Put simply, schools, school managements, school cultures are not ‘of a piece.’ Schools are complex, contradictory, sometimes incoherent organizations, like many others. They are assembled over time to form a bricolage of memories, commitments, routines, bright ideas and policy effects…They drift, decay and regenerate (pp. 317-318).

As Mahony & Hextall (2001) write, the delivery of educational services cannot be so narrowly defined as to “identify a particular contribution….by any given teacher” to an individual student’s success. Such success can only be attributed to a “generation of teachers,” some good some bad (p. 184). There are external factors that are result of the merging of several dissonant discourses many of which the liberal school reformers of the 60s and 70s identified as possible contaminants to the success of the project of public schooling: the bureaucratization of teaching and schooling, the nature of standardized curriculum and the role of state schooling in society. This is the politicization of a multiplicity of discourses. It is the attempt to reduce a complex interface to a simple dyad of right/wrong, good/bad. Moreover, this reduction has material effects on the way in which teachers view education and its role in modern society. Of this Connolly (1993) writes:

A modern problem of evil resides paradoxically within the good/evil duality and numerous dualities linked to it. Evil, again, not as a gratuitous action by free agents operating in an innocent institutional matrix, but as undeserved suffering imposed by practices protecting the reassurance…of hegemonic identities. To reach ‘beyond’ the politics of good and evil is not to liquidate ethics but to become ashamed of the transcendent alienation of conventional morality. It is to subject morality to strip searches (p. 366).
Connolly (1993) contends that to reach beyond the dyad of right/wrong, good/evil is to open up space for “relations among alternative, problematic and (often) rival identities” which are generally ignored in the favour of the grand narratives of normalcy. The evolution of a disciplinary enclosure, teachers’ unions and codes of conduct should not forgo the generation of a counter discourse. One needs only to look at the historically constituted discourses of teaching to find that counter-discourse in the ‘caring teacher’ technology. Thus, while I can rail against the marketization of education and its fundamentally flawed contention that the market is unbiased and innovative, I must admit giving parents a greater choice in the delivery of educational services seems a justifiable practice as long as it is acknowledged that this choice reflects the ability to pay and nothing more.

The material effects brought on by this reduction of complex and intertwined discourses to a simple dyad has profound impact on teacher subjectivities. The legacy of truths and practices that found its origins in the ancient practice of ‘care of the self’ or ‘know thy self’ are de-ethicized. The ethical focus of these practices was to generate an ethical orientation. In this new political paradigm this ethical orientation is devolved as there is little or any need for parrhesia. The need for truth telling is replaced with the need to account for one’s actions. The teacher is no longer the guide leading a student to formulate an individual ethic. The teacher simply provides a service and the student through their parents’ choice is the consumer of that service. There cannot be an ethical orientation associated with this form of consumption. An individual cannot bring their ethical orientation to bear on these products. In the delivery of educational services, the ‘ethics of the self’ is replaced with the imperative to secure the best possible results. In
the private sector it is quite possible to manipulate business criteria to improve outcomes; however, in a service sector such as education or health care, manipulation of business criteria seldom produces the expected results. Of this Mahony & Hextall (2001) write:

Within the private sector this value framework [performance for worth] can (arguably) be limited to material factors, eg. profitability, turnover, productivity, design specifications, etc. and the criteria used within the performance management framework can reflect this value structure. This is clearly not the case in the public sector generally (p. 184).

5.5 Conclusion

It is clear that the dispositif that shaped the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity has shifted in the post-modern era. It is also clear that many of the elements that previously shaped this subjectivity remain and continue to influence its performance. The inspectors from the early twentieth century would be appalled at the de-skilling of the teaching profession in the modern era; it was something they had struggled so long to professionalize. Moreover, the inspectors would not have supported the marketization of educational service; it ran counter to their expressed goals of bringing communities together as citizens of a new and developing province. This is clearly articulated in the closing paragraph of J. O’Brien’s annual report to the ministry in 1917:

The discussions that have been proceeding for over two years, with a view to the improvement of the schools, have not, perhaps, shown sufficient regard to the need for preserving to this province a unified common school system. The elements of unity and uniformity are found in practice to exist to a high degree in our present system; we come very close to having a universal common school. The changing or re-casting of any essential feature of the education law is therefore a serious consideration lest anything enter which would have a divisive effect. Every proposed reform should be subjected to close criticism to determine whether it is consistent with the principle of unity or whether it involves the possibility of division (p. 107).
This unity was what the successive governments in Saskatchewan struggled to achieve. It is inconceivable to me that the teachers of the province are unaware of the loss of this unity and the de-evolution of their professional status. However, it is clear that they have little power or influence in the moulding of their profession or professional status. Even their professional organization derives much of its ability to discipline and exclude from a governmental fiat that seems precarious and unstable. The legacy of a predominantly female work force disciplined by an exclusively male administration has made its impact on the profession. How much autonomy should teachers have in the implementation of their duties? Moreover, should there be a curb on the authority exercised over them? After all, principals and administrators seldom concern themselves with the day to day dramas that occur in the classrooms for which they are ultimately responsible for. Nevertheless, it seems we should heed J. O’Brien’s words and study each “proposed reform for the possibility of division” before it is implemented. Perhaps this inspector’s report has a prophetic element to it: a warning to be heeded from almost a century ago.
NOW AND THEN

The diagnostic does not establish the facts of our identity by means of the interplay of distinctions. It establishes that we are difference, that our reason is the difference of forms of discourse, our history is the difference of our times, that our selves are the difference of masks (Foucault, 1972, p. 131).

It is clear that the dispositif that shaped the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity has over time, been altered by the introduction of new discourses generated in the social milieu. The truths and practices associated with this dispositif however, have proven to be quite flexible. At the poiesis of the province, their ‘truths’ demarcated white privilege while providing a fledgling government a means by which to connect disparate communities through the inculcation of middle-class values. However, these truths have a historicity. The ‘truths’ associated with middle-class values are the result of a “new form of political power,” which, as Foucault (1982) writes, has been growing since the sixteenth century (p. 782). The productive power of the state coupled with pastoral power both totalizes and individualizes subjects, generating new forms of subjectivities. The emergence of previously unseen state apparatuses initiated a “new distribution, a new organization of … individualizing power” leading to the introduction of a group of new state actors associated with these governmental edifices (p. 782). The school inspectors of the Saskatchewan education system were but one. Of the productivity of this pairing of state and pastoral power, Foucault writes:

A series of ‘worldly’ aims took the place of religious aims of the traditional pastorate, all the more easily because the latter, for various reasons, had followed in an accessory way a certain number of these aims; we only have to think of the role of medicine and its welfare function assured for a long time by the Catholic and Protestant churches (p. 784).
Foucault (1982) contends that it was through the productivity of this individualizing ‘tactic,’ that a new series of power edifices emerged in the social matrix; “those of the family, medicine, psychiatry, education, and employers,” leading to the generation of multiple discourses surrounding and shaping each. As a result, the middle class values that the state attempt to inculcate shaped the subjectivities available to the populace. In the Victorian age, the subjectivity of the ‘caring woman’ became embedded in these middle-class values. Care or caring was conflated for women with personal worth and an ethical orientation. As these women began to move out of their private homes and into the public realm they brought with them these values of personal worth and caring. Women moved into occupations that reflected and supported this caring subjectivity. They conflated their performance within these occupations with a caring orientation. With the rise of state-sponsored schooling and the movement of women into the teaching profession many of these same values were inculcated into the populace through the education system. As such, the conflation between caring and personal worth became a fundamental part of the school experience in the twentieth century. To be educated in the twentieth century was to be associated with improving oneself and developing an individual ethic. It remains so even today. This is a testament to the polyvalent nature of these discourses and the social technologies they generate. Even when women were offered other social subjectivities, as they were during the World War One and the fight for enfranchisement, caring remained an imperative in the expression of womanhood. As the teaching profession attempts to reach parity in gender relations, caring remains a large part of the pedagogical experience. In the modern era, caring has been professionalized as reflexivity, a fundamental part of the modern pedagogical
relationship. However, the historical techniques of ‘care of the self’ developed in the golden age of Greco-Roman culture have long been part of this relationship and remain so.

In the post-modern era this dispositif and its truths have been challenged in an unprecedented way. There is a tension in the profession between the advanced liberal tactics of performance and accountability, and the historic social technology of caring, the sense of which one can clearly feel in the letters to The Guardian newspaper’s online blog, “secret teacher.” This tension between caring and accountability must somehow be reconciled. However, as Foucault (1977) writes, these seemingly opposite proposals:

…reinforce each other. When a judgment cannot be framed in terms of good and evil, it is stated in terms of normal and abnormal. And when it is necessary to justify this last distinction, it is done in terms of what is good or bad for the individual. These are expressions that signal the fundamental duality of Western consciousness (p.367).

If this tension is voiced in terms of what is good or bad for the individual, of which individual do we speak: the teacher or the student? Clearly it is not good for the teacher. However, it is also apparent that the new technologies of accountability and performance are not about to lose their influence. Moreover, choice/performance/accountability cannot be separated and presented for consumption more or less systematically, as the politics of advanced liberalism attempts. As Connolly (1993) writes, this would tend to give either “explicitly or implicitly …priority to the idea of a fundamental order of identity, gender, sexuality and so on” to cultural and social constructions, an order that many social analysts deny. The politics of the new prudentialism seem to obliterate future interpretations of the way in which these new social technologies of choice and performance interact with other social technologies. Is
it possible to care and be accountable, or are the two diametrically opposed? When one examines the historicity of this dispositif of caring, it is possible to see that many of the challenges to the ‘caring teacher’ subjectivity have their origins in the decisions made by the governments of the nascent province. Is it possible to imagine the challenges generated by the dispositif of choice and performance? Many of these collisions have unforeseen consequences. The early decisions by the government of Saskatchewan to introduce an apparatus of security in order to mitigate risk, along with the decision to turn each small school into a centre of calculation, produced similar concerns generated by the regulatory regime of advanced liberalism. Questions of management, accountability, and performance of teachers, trustees and students abound in the reports of the school of the province’s inspectors. One can see how uneven and uncertain this road was. However, it is clear that the intent of the school promoters in the early years of the Saskatchewan educational system was neither to undermine the professional judgment of teachers nor to de-skill them. It was to develop them, and through this development increase the legitimacy of the profession as a whole. As such, it is possible to see that the ebb and flow of power through the social matrix does not always produce the intended results when it is first brought into play. The school inspectors were part of a governmental apparatus intended to manage risk and promote conformity. In the era of advanced liberalism, schooling is now a centre of calculation and a site to manage both student and teacher risk. In many ways, conformity has become an expletive in the modern school system. What collisions will this accountable/performative regime cause in the future of the province’s educational system? As Connolly (1993) writes, have we exhausted the range of “admirable possibilities” that this regime forecloses (p. 369)? Perhaps what is
needed is a thin ontology, similar to Butler’s (2006) on gender, which would not bind our choices as professional teacher/researchers to a good/bad dyad. It is clear that caring is still viable social technology. It is reiterated and restated through the evocation of the codes of conduct on which this new era of accountability rests. It is implicit in the creation of teacher anxiety in post-modern era as teachers try to balance purpose with meaning. We need it, if only to counter-balance the excesses associated with this new disciplinary regime. In time, caring may become another subjugate knowledge, a relic of an uncertain past. However, it is through the revelation of such knowledges that we, as teachers, can challenge the grand narrative of educational development in the province. These petite knowledges not only confront the truth of ‘how we got here,’ but do much more than that. They call to us, asking us to question how this truth or that truth became paramount. Will we question the ‘truths’ associated with this new prudentialism in the future? On the nature of truth, Foucault (1980) writes:

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (p.31).

We must always challenge the nature of the truth that we have made. It is the only way in which we can remain open to new possibilities. It is the nature of discourse to foreclose; caring and the subjectivities it generates give us the means to arrest that procedure.
The experimental nature of this thesis runs parallel to the grand narrative of the founding of the provinces educational system, not unlike an annotation. Its purpose is not to lay out a different interpretation, but to provide the reader with a wider experience. It should not be regarded as the truth any more than the current regulatory system of regime accountability should be. It must follow Foucault’s (1991b) contention and be regarded as an “experience” (pp. 30-31). Its purpose in many ways is to reveal how ‘truths’ are generated, and how we as individuals hold these truths deep within the way we imagine ourselves. Truth is multiple. We are bound up by these multiple truths. They shape our reality. But they also reveal how we have made the truths that we need at particular times and under particular circumstances, a social reality in which multiple possibilities interact and collide with each one another.

We will always participate in the generation of discourses that reflect the way in which we engage the world. As an educator, I have learned to accept the way in which I perform and practice the role of teacher, the duties and decorum associated with the discourses that regulate the profession. However, I am keenly aware of the inadequacies of my performance and the performance of my profession in general. Perhaps through an understanding of these historical discourses we can enter into a new conversation with our professional selves. After all that was the focus of the ‘epimeleia heautou:’ to begin a great conversation with oneself as part a drive to become an ethical individual. This conversation can inform our roles as mentors, teachers and researchers. Through it, we can better understand the nature of our roles as reflexive, professional and accountable members of the teaching profession in the province of Saskatchewan.
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