Abstract

In the aftermath of World War II, Canada entered a period of tremendous transformation. The years between 1947 and 1955 were marked by changes to the political, economic, and social landscape of Canada. Reconstruction meant not only moving away from a wartime industrial base and from debt to surplus but a remaking of a national identity. Slowly emerging as an independent nation during the postwar period, Canada struggled to define its national identity. From a Dominion imperceptibly tied to the United Kingdom through citizenship, trade, politics and culture, the increasing independence meant redefining that relationship, its national identity and Canadianizing existing structures.

Of these constructions, long-held notions about assimilation were in dispute. The increased ethnic diversity resulting from reformed immigration policies intensified the pressure to quickly assimilate new Canadians into what was seen as the new world order. Older ideologies such as Anglo-conformity vied with emerging assimilation concepts such as pluralism for dominance, both destabilized by the ongoing dualistic nature of the French and English-speaking populations. Immigrants entering Canada during these years were caught in this flux. The turbulence, however, created an environment conducive to negotiating citizenship on an individual level. As such, these assimilation theories significantly impacted Canadian immigration policies and integration strategies.

Education played a significant role in assimilating immigrants into Ontario’s dominant culture. Schooling provided an opportunity to indoctrinate immigrants in both the state and process of citizenship, which were considered integral elements of assimilation. This thesis, in particular, examines the assimilation of Dutch immigrants in Ontario’s rural schools during the years 1947-1955. However, schools proved a contradictory space for assimilation—demanding unquestioned conformity and yet allowing opportunities to negotiate citizenship.
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And above all, a heartfelt thank you goes to the incredible individuals who volunteered for this project. It is with deep gratitude that I wish to thank the narrators for sharing not only their memories but a part of their lives, opening their homes, sharing their time, hospitality and personal stories. This thesis is dedicated in loving memory to my parents, Anna Kay Bosch (nee de Boer) and Harry Bosch, whose stories remain untold. As a child of Dutch immigrant parents, I am consoled by knowing the stories of the narrators are also their stories—the stories of a generation growing up in a nation that was as young as themselves. No two stories are alike but collectively, they weave a rich, detailed tapestry of shared social experiences in the postwar era.
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List of Abbreviations

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CCC – Canadian Citizenship Council

CCF – Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

ESL – English-as-Second Language

Et al. – *et alia*, and others

GNP - Gross National Product

Ibid. – *ibidem*, in the same place

LAC – Library and Archives Canada

OA – Ontario Archives

OHEC – Ontario Historical Education Collection
Chapter 1

Introduction and Historiography

Introduction

World War II transformed the economic, political and social landscape of Canada. During the immediate years postwar, Canada’s reconstruction phase involved transitioning from a wartime economy and industrial manufacturing base to a peacetime one. Beyond economics, however, the federal government faced issues of national unity, international security, housing, employment and retaining independence as an internationally recognized nation. In response to many diverse factors, including bolstering domestic markets, amendments to immigration policy swelled Canada’s population. In the postwar period of 1946 to 1955, Canada received more than one million immigrants. By the close of 1951, immigrants compromised 14.7 percent of the total population. With the large influx of culturally diverse groups, the overwhelming issue became the need to assimilate “new” Canadians. The experiences of Dutch immigrants who entered Ontario’s educational system during this period offer a new perspective on postwar assimilation practices. Rather than a seamless transition into Canadian mainstream society, their assimilation was complicated and fractured. Education was viewed as essential to indoctrinating immigrants in both the state and process of citizenship and an integral element of assimilation. However,

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4. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book 1957-58* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1958), 138. Based on countries of birth, the total Canadian population was approximately 14,009,420 with the following breakdowns: (1) Canadian – 11,949,518, (2) United Kingdom and British Commonwealth – 933,049, (3) Europe – 801,618, (4) Asia – 317,145, (5) United States – 282,010, and (6) Other – 6,080. Those identifying with the Netherlands as their country of birth consisted of 5.17 percent of the European statistic. Note that the European statistic also included Central and Eastern Europe.
schools proved a contradictory space for assimilation—demanding conformity and yet creating opportunities to negotiate citizenship.

Assimilation, in this historical context, was a process that aimed for homogeneity, eradicating all characteristics of foreign origin with the goal of effortlessly easing immigrants into a new culture. Ideally, the government wished to absorb postwar immigrants into the dominant culture as quickly as possible, an environment that was undergoing significant political, social and economic change. Canadian rhetoric typically described the population, with the increasing changes to its cultural makeup, as simply Canadian, not defined by who but rather by what: a shared unity, “a common principle, or ideal, or dream, a vision of a land where all people, of every race, creed, color, class, can truly and fully enjoy equal opportunity.” However, this idea of what was contentious; no single definition described the national Canadian identity. With ties to the United Kingdom transforming, an independent, albeit nebulous, Canadian identity was emerging. Post-World War II immigrants were caught in the flux, assimilating into a dominant culture with a national identity that fluctuated between the older ideals of Anglo-conformity, dualism and the early stages of pluralism.

5 Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed., Dictionary of Sociology (Patterson, N.J.: Littlefield Adams, 1944), 103.
6 Dominion, Canada Year Book 1957-58, 115.
In studying assimilation during the post-World War II era, the close relationship between history and sociology has meant an intertwining of the disciplines. History, as a discipline, focuses on reconstructing human experiences by locating, analyzing and interpreting primary sources and often offering causal explanations. In contrast, sociology “studies human societies, their interactions, and the processes that preserve and change them. It does this by examining the dynamics of constituent parts of societies such as institutions, communities, populations, and gender, racial, or age groups.”

G. E. Howard aptly describes this relationship between history and sociology: "History is the past Sociology and Sociology is the present History." Combined, the two disciplines provide a deeper, broader understanding of assimilation and the subsequent experiences of Dutch immigrant children in Ontario’s educational system.

**Historiography**

Based on archival materials and the oral histories of fourteen immigrants, this thesis examines the assimilation experiences of immigrants in Ontario’s education system during the transformative postwar period. The thesis focuses on Dutch immigrants who settled as children in the predominantly Anglo culture of postwar rural Ontario during the years of 1947 to 1955. This paper pursues an historical method in its analysis. However, due to the need for a rich description of the historical context, it draws on literature and ideas from sociology, economics, politics and education. In addition, the use of oral life stories captures the memories and lived experiences of assimilation by postwar Dutch immigrants. Acting not only as a source of empirical data to support broader arguments, the retrospective interviews provide an opportunity to explore memory and the meaning of becoming Canadian by looking back over a lifetime of experiences.

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The archival materials were located by searching archive databases, both remotely and with the on-site assistance of archive staff. The topic of assimilation was approached from two differing perspectives. The first examined assimilation from a national perspective using federal government documents including immigration files, legislation and parliamentary statements. The second approach was from a provincial perspective, examining Ontario’s education system using curriculum, textbooks, teacher education documents and Department of Education files. Using historical methodology, these primary sources were evaluated for their reliability which included determining consistency, bias, and logic. Reliable historical evidence was then critically analyzed and interpreted to reconstruct the process of assimilation in place during the postwar period.

This thesis adds to the body of research on the history of assimilation and education in Ontario with a focus on the immigrant experience. The Dutch, specifically, despite being the third-largest ethnic group to enter Canada, have had very little scholarly attention. It is historically significant that the first wave of postwar Dutch immigrants were one of the few ethnic groups intentionally selected to immigrate via a labour scheme that bypassed typical immigration channels. This thesis gives insight into this ethnic group, the early development of today’s civics, Canadian history and social studies courses, the early beginnings of English-as-Second Language (ESL) programming, and nation-building through educational institutions. And above all, it allows the immigrant voice to be heard above the rhetoric—their personal narratives weaving rich detail into and providing a better understanding of the assimilation experience in schools.

Narrators were recruited using social media, personal contacts, bulletin notices in Christian Reformed churches, Dutch social associations and Dutch-Canadian online and printed newspapers. Fourteen individuals were interviewed—six women and eight men. The narrators immigrated to Canada in the years ranging from 1948 to 1955 and varied in age from seven to

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thirteen years old upon their arrival. Nine narrators had a Protestant upbringing and five were from Catholic backgrounds, closely reflecting the statistics documenting the religious backgrounds of the first wave of Dutch nationals entering through the Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan which reported the largest single denomination as being Dutch Reformed (Protestant). Six narrators were from northern provinces, particularly Friesland, and eight from the middle or southern provinces.  

The oral testimonies were initially recorded and subsequently transcribed. The transcriptions were then analyzed and interpreted using a combination of models. The testimonies were interpreted using both a theoretical model which included interpretive insights (i.e. cultural constructs) and an evidential model that searched for evidence and empirical data. It is important to note, however, that unlike qualitative interviews, oral testimonies are dialogic and discursive. The relationship developed between the narrator and interviewer affects not only the memory choices made by the narrator and but creates a unique narrative. As such, both the interview and transcription are not found but created original primary sources.

While this thesis uses oral histories gather empirical data and to explore meaning, it is crucial to understand that memory is an active process. Memories are constantly recreated and reinterpreted. Memories are not passively maintained. As oral historian Alessandro Portelli wrote, “These changes reveal the narrator’s efforts to make sense of the past and to give a form to their lives, and [to] set the interview and the narrative in their historical context.” As such, the thesis goes to great length to describe and interpret the historical context of the postwar era. Moreover,
the process of reconstructing memories is multi-layered, drawing on individual and collective memories of the past, and influenced by ever widening circles of influence: family, community and public discourses. As a consequence, oral sources are often criticized for having dubious credibility. But as Portelli argued, “Rather than being a weakness, this is however, their strength; errors, inventions, and myths lead us through and beyond the facts to their meanings.”\textsuperscript{17}

In the complicated reconstruction of the politics, economics and education affecting assimilation, as is often the case, the then-present was predicated by the past. Chapter Two looks at Canada’s first official step to nationhood, the Westminster Statute, and the seed of a Canadian rather than British citizenship, both in character and official status. Despite the diverging paths, a tenacious tie remained to the Crown and an Anglo identity. The chapter also brings to light contentious issues deeply embedded within the British North America Act such as federal-provincial divisions of responsibilities and constitutional ownership that significantly affected citizenship, immigration and education in the postwar era. This chapter provides the broad context for the emergent nation state and its development of a national identity. The periods examined depict a federal government locked in a Liberal hegemony, a move to a centralized government and significant political reforms leading to an increasingly social welfare state. Subsequent changes to the economy and fiscal policies created a situation conducive to increased immigration and subsequently, modifications to immigration policy which then paved the way to Dutch immigration. Overall, this chapter establishes the broad context of postwar Canada and the larger relationship between assimilation and national issues.

Chapter Three examines scholarly works on the history of assimilation from an interdisciplinary perspective. This chapter discusses the process of assimilation and traces the changes to assimilation theories—changes that would ultimately affect federal government immigration strategies and the experiences of newcomers. After World War II, the ensuing new

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 2.
world order challenged previously held beliefs and initiated widespread change; immigrants assimilating into Canada immediately postwar were caught in this period of transformation. This chapter also briefly looks at immigration policy, integration strategies and the role education played in executing these strategies, particularly through citizenship education and training. The latter half of the chapter focuses on the historical role that education played in assimilating immigrants.

Chapter Four examines federal government immigration policies and the increasingly restrictive measures taken to ensure a predominantly Anglo immigrant population. It traces the development of immigration policy from the open-door stance following Confederation to the increasingly selective and, ultimately, restrictive policies in place immediately after World War II. This thesis briefly looks at deportation and emigration used as a protectionist strategy to remove persons deemed incapable of assimilating. The policies in place during the postwar period gave preferential treatment to specific ethnic groups based largely on their perceived ability to assimilate. Of the many postwar immigration schemes, the Netherlands-Canada Settlement Scheme or Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan was specifically designed to recruit a highly desirable ethnic group. Lastly, the thesis discusses the concurrent power of the federal and provincial governments over immigration. Although the two share jurisdiction, provinces (including Ontario) showed neither interest in contributing to policy development nor in taking on responsibilities for immigration. Overall, this chapter expands on the broader context of the postwar society as depicted in Chapter Two by specifically examining immigration policy and exploring the possible implications for assimilation.

Chapter Five examines Ontario’s educational system and the use of education as a tool for assimilation. Education in the postwar period was complicated by the unfulfilled dreams of ‘progressive’ education, crumbling infrastructures and an increasingly unskilled pool of educators. The exploding population and rekindled interest in education led to massive
construction programmes, hasty reforms to teacher education and a renewed commitment to reforming pedagogy. Within this context, several notable programmes were specifically designed to assimilate immigrants, both adult and school-aged. It is at this crux that federal and provincial interests intersected—one responsible for immigrant assimilation and the other responsible for executing the process. Although programmes and assimilation strategies were tailored to the generic immigration population, the oral testimonies of the Dutch immigrants give a unique perspective to the process of assimilation. This chapter explores the contradictory nature of schools being a space for assimilation, an environment that demanded conformity and yet in complete opposition, provided inadvertent opportunities to negotiate citizenship.

It is within these contexts that this thesis looks at Dutch immigrants’ experiences with assimilation in Ontario’s educational settings during this transformative era. Lastly, Chapter Six, the conclusion, does not address the question of whether or not assimilation was achieved but rather explores the possibilities of negotiating citizenship, memory, and the narrators’ perceptions of becoming Canadian.
Chapter 2

Building a Nation

This chapter reconstructs the broader context of postwar Canada and explores the relationship of assimilation to national issues. The changing relationship between the United Kingdom and the Dominion of Canada had far reaching effects, even challenging long-held notions of assimilation, including that of Anglo-conformity. Canada’s emerging independence heralded significant changes to the political and economic landscape and to its fledgling national identity. The ensuing political and economic reforms created an environment conducive to increased immigration which in turn stimulated the need for assimilation. The historical discourse reveals a nation undergoing transformation which subsequently created an environment rich with potential for change. It is within this context that the first postwar immigrants entered Canada, including significant numbers of Dutch nationals.

Breaking the Ties: From Colony to Country

In the era described as the ‘forked road’ by historian Donald Creighton, Canada slowly moved from the vestiges of colonialism, through the pangs of adolescence, to emerge as an international state. These years of stumbling growth found their beginning with the Statute of Westminster, 1931. The Imperial Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain removed the colonial status of colonies; it created the newly independent Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, as well as the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State. Parliaments of the Dominions were given the right to self-govern, to create law and the provision of law (indisputably repealing the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865). Section 7 of the Act had particular implications for Canada’s future growth
which, in essence, prevented Canadian control over its own Constitutional Act.\textsuperscript{18} Historian Claude Belanger wrote, “As in most advances in British constitutional practices, the *Statute of Westminster* did not constitute a clear break with the past. It merely only consecrated practices that were already firmly established.”\textsuperscript{19} The wording of the Act implied the expectation of a continued and close tie to the United Kingdom with its previous colonies. As such, the common allegiance to the Crown by the Dominions and Canada’s inability to amend her own Constitution proved instrumental to Canada’s development as an independent nation, identity, and of her own citizenship.\textsuperscript{20}

The *British North America Act* placed restrictive measures on the activities of both federal and provincial governments. Their inability to negotiate on such matters created immense tension between the governments during the economic pressures of the 1930s.\textsuperscript{21} The ensuing *Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* in 1937, released in 1940, did, however, recognize the financial burden placed on provinces to provide for unemployment—a contentious issue between the federal and provincial governments. By the end of the Depression, Western provinces and the Maritimes teetered on bankruptcy.\textsuperscript{22} The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio news special (1957) neatly capsulated the dilemma: provinces had the legal power but not the money; the federal government had money but not the legal power.\textsuperscript{23} The constitutional divisions of responsibilities, without adequate access to funding, created this unusual conundrum. The exclusive powers given to provincial legislatures only provided for

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\textsuperscript{20}Canada, Department of Justice, *Statute of Westminster*.


\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
“direct taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes.”

Only future ownership of and the ability to change the Constitution would resolve this predicament.

Commissioned in 1937, the Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, better known as the Rowell-Sirois Report, was charged with investigating federal-provincial relations and the state of the economy. The Commission’s mandate, in essence, was to explore secure revenues while ensuring provincial autonomy and retaining national unity. Recommendations included transferring provincial debt to the federal government, alleviating the aforementioned debt through adjustment grants and giving federal control over certain taxes.

The creation of an equitable public finance structure, however, required an increasingly centralized federal government. By 1957, only two of the recommendations were implemented: old age pensions and unemployment insurance. But more importantly, however, the report signified Canadians’ willingness to move towards a social welfare state supported by a centralized government.

In 1935, Mackenzie King’s Liberal government replaced Conservative R. B. Bennett’s, initiating a Liberal hegemony in federal politics. For the next thirteen years, King’s policy of appeasement, loyalty to populism and ferocious commitment to national unity would directly influence the creation of this fledgling nation state. An astute politician, King feared too deep an involvement in British affairs would undermine Canada’s fragile grasp on autonomy, divide the

25 Conflict with the Canadian Constitution is still with us today. Canadian comedians, Ferguson and Ferguson, write, “There is nothing Canadians enjoy more than to get together and have a heated debate about their Constitution. This, in turn, leads to the second-most-popular political activity in Canada: holding referendum. Canada! United we stand. Divided, we somehow manage to muddle through.” Ian Ferguson and Will Ferguson, How to be a Canadian (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), 197.
27 Bumsted, Peoples, 200.
nation and ultimately destroy the Liberal party.\textsuperscript{28} Canada’s unwillingness to engage in international affairs limited her input into reconstructing the new global order. Creighton wrote, “Canada was a colony which had hesitated on the edge of nationhood, a young country which had failed to complete the tasks and to accept the responsibilities of maturity, and had stopped growing just before it came of age.”\textsuperscript{29} It was a defining moment—the conscious decision to loosen ties to the United Kingdom and to cautiously move forward in creating a separate identity.

**Political Radicalism and Reform**

Discontent in the 1930s found expression in the form of political radicalism, particularly evident at the provincial level. Bearing the brunt of hardship, the Prairie provinces urgently appealed for reforms to alleviate dismal conditions. The new parties created during the economic collapse, namely the Social Credit and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), petitioned for massive reforms.\textsuperscript{30} The Social Credit party based its platform on the economic and political writings of C. H. Douglas. In essence, social credit was an engineered mechanism used to control the economy—government controls would return purchasing power to the people (via national dividends) and increase economic revenues by supporting industry.\textsuperscript{31} The CCF, a left-wing political group, was a mix of labour, socialist and farm groups advocating for the transformation of “the capitalist economic system into a ‘cooperative commonwealth’ by democratic means.”\textsuperscript{32} Whether considered as movements or as political parties, the shift away from the traditional two-party system was unprecedented.

\textsuperscript{28} Douglas Francis, Richard Jones, and Donald B. Smith, “From Isolationism to Internationalism, 1920-1945,” in Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1992), 300.
\textsuperscript{29} Donald Creighton, Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 17.
\textsuperscript{30} Francis et al., Destinies, 285.
A wave of reform, as opposed to radicalism, swept the provinces of the Dominion (except Ontario). Quebec’s Union Nationale government under Maurice Duplessis brought in credit with low interest rates and other aid programs for rural Quebec; in British Columbia, Liberal T. Dufferin Pattullo instituted a progressive system of social services. The reforms illustrate the continued movement towards a social welfare state. Creighton argued,

Canadian history and political theory implied a belief in the health and tranquillity of society as a whole; and the harsh necessities faced by a small people in building a nation… compelled a repeated reliance on collective action directed by the state.

The oppressive state of a stagnant economy, mass unemployment and general deprivation ended with the eruption of World War II in 1939. The federal government’s increased centralization and control of the national economy for wartime efforts had lasting effects. Unable to accomplish fiscal recovery during the Great Depression, the Canadian federal government was now able to mobilize its economy. The national unemployment rate plummeted from 19.3 percent in 1933 to 3 percent or less during and after the Second World War with low rates continuing through the early 1950s.

Although wartime mobilization created an artificial stimulus during the 1940s and early 1950s (Korean War), modern economists have concluded that changes in the labour market and public policy stabilized the dramatic swings of unemployment rates. In the years following Confederation, Canada’s economy made a rapid shift from an agrarian to an industrial and service economy. In 1941 non-agricultural employment accounted for 76 percent of the labour force; by

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33 Francis et al., Destinies, 285.
34 Creighton, Forked, 20.
35 Bumsted, Peoples, 201.
1961 that number had risen to 90.1 percent. Less than 10 percent of Canadians were employed in agriculture, a number that would steadily continue to decline. These statistics become increasingly significant when considering the Canadian government’s decision to recruit large numbers of Dutch agriculturalists into a steadily declining labour market during the postwar period.

In response to the Depression, national unemployment insurance was proposed. The 1940 unemployment insurance plan required both provincial agreement and an amendment to the *British North America Act*. Introduced in 1942, the national unemployment insurance alleviated the financial burdens of provinces and addressed regional disparity. King’s uncharacteristic move to the left was seen as an attempt to undermine the increasing popularity of the CCF socialist platform. In 1944, Saskatchewan’s CCF party had overwhelmingly won the provincial election, gaining forty-seven of fifty-two seats in the legislature and 53.1 percent of the popular vote. This provincial gain was thought to preclude a firmer foothold in the federal arena.

With an astute reading of the Canadian pulse, King devised his programme of “Build a New Social Order,” superficially mimicking much of CCF’s socialist ideology. Solidly based on social reform, the initiatives promised social welfare programs and stable government including increased employment though job creation, credit for developing private business, low interest loans to farmers, guaranteed markets, family allowances, veteran benefits, lower taxes and increased collaboration with labour organization (collective bargaining) with the goal of giving “Canadians every opportunity for prosperity, employment and freedom.”

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39 Francis et al., *Destinies*, 320.
ten votes in the General Election, King’s Liberal government returned for its third consecutive term in 1945.⁴²

**Shifts in Fiscal and Monetary Policy**

Public policy during King’s period in office would include a radical shift in fiscal and monetary policies. Following Keynesian economic theory, King deviated from traditional Liberal spending to the proactive use of deficit spending in an attempt to stimulate economic growth. His willingness to blaze trail in spending policy was largely attributable to an attempt to avoid a postwar economic downturn.⁴³ The relinquishment of personal and corporate taxes by the provinces funded wartime expansion, an agreement now permanently requested by the federal government to fund social welfare programming and stabilize Canada’s economy.⁴⁴ The largest economic bases, Ontario and Quebec, both firm supporters of provincial autonomy, withheld their agreement, leaving King’s plans for the *Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction* unresolved. The last of the provinces to cede, Ontario, finally relinquished control over personal taxes to the federal government in 1952, agreeing to a five-year tax rental program.⁴⁵ Despite the inability of the federal and provincial governments to come to an early agreement, Canada experienced an unprecedented boom. Secondary manufacturing, nuclear energy, new sources of petroleum and natural gas, technological advances, increased consumer spending, full employment and a population explosion spurred Canada’s economy to new heights. The Gross National Product (GNP) jumped from $5.6 billion in 1939 to $11.9 billion in 1945, and then to

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⁴² Francis et al., *Destinies*, 320.
$18.4 billion in 1950, an overall increase of 200 percent.\textsuperscript{46} These increases legitimized
government intervention and the use of the new Keynesian economics.

This was an era of reform and the remaking of political identities. The Progressives under
John Bracken changed its name to the Progressive Conservative party and adopted a platform of
social reform. The Liberals, too, revamped their political platform to better reflect current public
sentiment. Historian J. M. Bumsted wrote, “That the Liberals saw reform within capitalism as an
alternative to socialism was perfectly plain, however, and the results of the 1945 election
suggested that most Canadians agreed.”\textsuperscript{47} The results of the 1945 federal elections were certainly
an indication of the Canadian public’s increasing acceptance of, and willingness for, a social
welfare state and government controlled economy.\textsuperscript{48} From 1948 to 1957, the previous Secretary
of State for External Affairs, Louis St. Laurent, would continue to realize Mackenzie King’s
visions of nationhood.

**Changing Demographics**

Between 1931 and 1961, Canada experienced a major shift in demographics, moving
from a balanced agrarian and urban society to one overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas.
More than one factor explained this movement to urbanization. The increased industrialization of
Canada’s manufacturing base during and after World War II had far-reaching effects. Advanced
automation, innovative technology and increased manufacturing opportunities created factories
and employment and generally acted as an impetus for urban growth. The 1931 census showed
the percentage ratio between non-agricultural and agricultural pursuits as 71.3 to 28.7. By 1961,
those numbers had shifted significantly to a ratio of 90.1 to 9.9.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{46} Statistics Canada, *Section F: Gross National Product, the Capital Stock, and Productivity*, last modified
\textsuperscript{47} Bumsted, *Peoples*, 207.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 206; Francis et al., *Destinies*, 321.
Explaining the 19 percent growth in non-agricultural pursuits solely by the increased industrialization does not give a complete picture of Canadian demographics. Historically experiencing steady growth, the gross population of working-aged individuals also significantly increased between 1931 and 1961.\(^{50}\) Within that period, the base of working aged persons expanded by 4.7 million persons (net) with the largest increase (two million) occurring between 1951 and 1961.\(^{51}\) Not only was Canada’s urbanization attributed to the growing manufacturing and service sectors but also to the sheer number of working aged individuals (aged fifteen and over).\(^{52}\)

The numbers imply a massive flux in Canada’s overall population. Declining infant mortality rates, health care advances, increased births, improved standards of living, immigration, and better control of sanitation and contagious disease also contributed to the upsurge in population.\(^{53}\) Since the 1930s, Canada had experienced a slow but steady increase in gross population—the steady pace interrupted by unprecedented growth in 1948 which peaked in 1957 with the average increase more than doubling in comparison to previous years.\(^{54}\) Immigrant arrivals to Canada during the same period accounted for 1,533,494 of those persons.\(^{55}\) On the darker side, from 1931-1941, Canada’s net migration was a dismal negative 91,918, largely attributable to deportation and emigration. However, net migration in the following decade reached positive 168,964.\(^{56}\) The burgeoning population had unforeseen consequences for the education system—overcrowding and teacher shortages, which subsequently resulted in a largely unskilled teaching force. This situation would prove detrimental to assimilation attempts and yet opened possibilities for immigrants to negotiate citizenship on their own terms.

\(^{50}\) Ibid.
\(^{51}\) Ibid.
\(^{52}\) Working age population included age 15 and over during census years 1961 and 1971 and age 14 and over during census years of 1931, 1941, and 1951.
\(^{53}\) Bumsted, Peoples, 10.
\(^{54}\) Statistics Canada, Section A: Population and Migration, by K.G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram. After 1949 statistics include Newfoundland.
\(^{55}\) Ibid.
\(^{56}\) Ibid. Newfoundland is included for 1951 and onwards.
Concurrent Power

As concurrent powers, both federal and provincial governments shared jurisdiction over immigration. The federal government had exclusive control of naturalization and aliens, controlling the requirements to enter and the number of immigrants permitted to emigrate. In each province, the legislature was permitted to make laws regarding immigration into the province. The Parliament of Canada, however, still had the right “from Time to Time make Laws in relation to Agriculture in all or any of the Provinces, and to Immigration into all or any of the Provinces.” Provincial immigration laws could stand as long as there were no conflicts with federal Acts. In essence, the federal government had overriding authority over provincial legislation. There is little evidence that provinces were involved in policy-making or interested in shouldering responsibilities regarding immigration until the 1970s, and then mainly it was the province of Quebec.

However, federal-provincial agreements were arranged to provide services to immigrants, such as evening language classes, and to give provinces access to limited funding. During the postwar period, Hawkins wrote, the responsibility of “immigrant management and immigrant services, particularly in relation to language training, occupational training and upgrading, the special educational problems of immigrant children, citizenship training and development, and the whole adjustment to Canadian life” fell heavily and often unwillingly on the shoulders of the provincial governments. In recent years, federal and provincial governments have collaborated

58 Ibid., s. 95, Agriculture and Immigration, Chapter VI Distribution of Legislative Powers.
59 Ibid.
60 Hawkins, Critical Years, 36.
61 Ibid., 37.
62 Hawkins, Canada, 80. See also “Ask Ottawa Share Cost of Teaching New Immigrants,” The Globe and Mail, May 19, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail, 5; “Trustees Seek Federal
to create immigration goals and policies. Collaborative agreements such as the Provincial Nominee Program in the late 1990s, allow provincial governments to nominate and determine the number of immigrants destined for their provinces. Potential immigrants are nominated for “skills, education or work experience… to contribute to the economy of that province or territory.” However, during the postwar years, the federal and provincial governments were unable to develop and execute comprehensive and encompassing assimilation strategies, neither individually nor collectively. As a consequence, immigrants were inconsistently exposed to the various assimilation strategies in place. Despite the conformity and sacrifice demanded by assimilation, this fragmented approach created opportunities for immigrants to develop their own sense of citizenship.


Chapter 3

The History of Assimilation in Review

This chapter examines the process of assimilation, its purpose and its impact on immigrants. It does so by exploring the relationship of assimilation to both immigration and education. As the relationships overlap both the disciplines of history and sociology, the review is necessarily interdisciplinary. The chapter draws on a broad range of academic disciplines—economics, history, sociology, and ethnic and cultural studies—all of whom have approached assimilation from their various academic stances. The chapter reveals a complex relationship between the process of assimilation, immigration and educational institutions. Influential factors affecting those relationships include assimilation theories and practices, immigration policy, national identity, perceived school roles, and citizenship curriculum.

Assimilation Theory

There are numerous meanings associated with the term assimilation. With respect to the historical context considered here, American sociologist Henry Pratt Fairchild described assimilation as,

The process by which different cultures, or individuals or groups representing different cultures, are merged into a homogenous unit… Likewise, social assimilation does not require the complete identification of all the units, but such modifications as eliminate the characteristics of foreign origin, and enable them all to fit smoothly into the typical structure and functioning of the new cultural unit… In essence, assimilation is the substitution of one nationality pattern for another. Ordinarily, the modifications must be made by the weaker or numerically inferior group.64

Contemporary definitions of assimilation, however, allow for pluralism in which newcomers retain their cultural practices. As such, only a degree of conformity is required in order to integrate into mainstream Canadian culture:

64 Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, 284. Note: The entry for ‘assimilation’ redirects readers to ‘social assimilation.’ There is no differentiation made between levels of assimilation. See also Anderson and Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada, 271.
The process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. The process of assimilating involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such a degree that the assimilating group becomes socially indistinguishable from other members of the society. As such, assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation. Although assimilation may be compelled through force or undertaken voluntarily, it is rare for a minority group to replace its previous cultural practices completely; religion, food preferences, proxemics (e.g. the physical distance between people in a given social situation), and aesthetics are among the characteristics that tend to be most resistant to change.\(^65\)

The review of literature demonstrates this evolution of assimilation theory, tracing the progression from homogeneity to pluralism. This change is reflected in the way governments, policy makers and interested parties managed immigrants’ assimilation into Canadian society. The review explores three predominant assimilation theories: Anglo-conformity, straight-line assimilation and Gordon’s framework. As the oldest theory examined, \textit{Anglo-conformity} involved the complete subordination of immigrant cultural patterns to British cultural norms, language, values and Protestant religious beliefs.\(^66\) In contrast, \textit{straight-line assimilation} was defined as a societal process in which immigrants acquired the host society’s characteristics with each generation progressively reflecting the host society, again moving towards homogeneity.\(^67\) Emerging in the 1960s, \textit{Gordon’s framework} proposed that assimilation was a gradual process in which immigrants as both individuals and groups absorbed the host society’s cultural patterns but in varying degrees.\(^68\)

prejudice, discrimination and civic. Of these categories, cultural or behavioural assimilation involved changing cultural patterns to reflect the dominant society. This particular indicator best reflected the main goal of the prevailing assimilation strategy of the early twentieth century: Anglo-conformity. Gordon defined this goal as having “the desirability of maintaining English institutions…, the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard…” More polemically, Canadian historian Claude Belanger argued that, “The purpose of this concept is to strip the immigrant of his native language, culture and sentiments of attachment and make him into a Canadian along Anglo (French) lines. This is to be done rapidly, particularly through schools, religious, political and economical institutions.” Written in 1964, Gordon’s framework quickly became the authority for sociological research on assimilation with current research continuing to bear nuances of his work.

Contemporary American sociologists Richard Alba and Victor Nee view Gordon’s *Assimilation in American Life* as a canonical work in that it clarified earlier sociological concepts of assimilation through the creation of a systematic framework, complete with empirical indicators to analyze assimilation. Gordon is also attributed with creating a clear distinction between acculturation and what he called “structural” assimilation. The former viewed the minority’s adoption of the dominant society’s cultural patterns as inevitable, independent of other forms of assimilation; whereas the latter was the “entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary group level.” As formal organizations in postwar Canadian society, educational institutions including elementary and secondary schools provided a means toward structural assimilation for immigrant children. Educational institutions played an important role not only in maintaining and promoting the

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71 Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation,” 829.
English language but also in the purposeful shifting of immigrants’ cultural patterns. Moreover, compulsory school attendance for children under the age of sixteen positioned schools as the principal medium of assimilation for most school-aged immigrants in Ontario.\textsuperscript{73}

In present times, the value of studying assimilation is fraught with contention: the concept is often rejected as out-dated and considered only applicable to certain waves of mass immigration.\textsuperscript{74} Richard Alba and Victor Nee argue that studying assimilation theory still holds value: it helps to understand the meaning of ethnicity and intergroup relations in contemporary immigration, particularly in what they term as the ‘new era of immigration’.\textsuperscript{75} In their research, Alba and Nee dissected the sociological works from the early twentieth century, including those of Milton Gordon, Robert E. Park, W. I. Thomas, and Herbert G. Gans. In particular, the two scholars focused on classic assimilation theories based on the sociological perspective originating from the Chicago School (Ecological School) of the 1920s. Alba and Nee’s analyses shed light not only on current immigration but also on the practices and theories of postwar sociologists.

The final analyses by Alba and Nee showed evidence that assimilation occurred, albeit unevenly, amongst immigrant groups. Their supporting evidence included the discovery of a bimodal pattern in the ability of new immigrants to move between social classes or economic levels.\textsuperscript{76} Further, they found that casual or unskilled migrant labourers and immigrants with specific skill sets including knowledge and experience (human capital) experienced distinct and


\textsuperscript{74} The five waves of Canadian immigration are: “New France’s \textit{canadiens} in the seventeenth century; the Loyalist decampment following the American Revolution in the eighteenth century; an early modern, largely British, flood into Upper Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century; the mix of Britons, Americans, and continental European prairie pioneers at the turn of the twentieth century; and that motley polyphonic wave from around the globe settling in Metro Canada in the past half-century.” Nelson Wiseman, “Five Immigrant Waves: Their Ideological Orientations and Partisan Reverberations,” \textit{Canadian Ethnic Studies} 39, no 12 (2007): 5-30, accessed November 28, 2012, doi: 10.1353/ces.0.0000.

\textsuperscript{75} Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation,” 865.

\textsuperscript{76} A bimodal pattern has two contrasting modes. Unlike a “bell” or normal distribution curve with its smooth equally distributed curve, a bimodal pattern has two humps or double peaks. “Typical Histogram Shapes and What They Mean,” American Society for Quality, accessed August 20, 2015, http://asq.org/learn-about-quality/data-collection-analysis-tools/overview/histogram2.html.
varying degrees of economic and residential mobility. The analysis of residential or spatial assimilation showed a distinction between labour migrants and human capital immigrants—the former group settling in ethnic communities and the latter opting for suburbia. Alba and Nee further concluded that assimilation, which occurred unevenly, was a social process that progressed along a variety of indicators. This finding then becomes crucial to understanding the difficulties experienced in assimilating newcomers under the older ideologies that assumed a static linear progression.

Research by John Biles, Meyer Burnstein and James Frideres also contributes to an increased understanding of assimilation by examining social integration, economics, and language attainment. James Frideres proposed that integration and assimilation were not necessarily codependent, nor was assimilation inevitable. He argued that social integration was segmented, meaning that gaining social integration in one aspect did not mean other aspects of social life needed to be integrated. He gave the example of linguistic integration—immigrants who acquired the host language did not by default become integrated into the dominant religion. The author also proposed that immigrant groups integrated into a host society through social systems as individuals and furthermore, integrated structurally through social institutions; concepts that find root in Milton Gordon’s original framework of assimilation.

Frideres summarized several assimilation theories, including that of the classic assimilation theory, straight-line assimilation, which proposed all immigrants become more like

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the host society over time.\textsuperscript{80} His review found that not all researchers agreed on the timing: opinions ranged from ‘never’ for a small portion of immigrants to ‘all’ integrating but within varying time frames.\textsuperscript{81} Alba and Nee, as well, examined straight-line assimilation, contrasting it to Milton Gordon’s framework—finding the former envisioned a generational process and the latter, a static, albeit multi-dimensional framework. Gordon’s framework depended on a structured static sequence with the initial acceptance into the dominant society acting as an impetus for other forms of assimilation. Moreover, although more flexible than Gordon’s model, straight-line assimilation did not necessarily account for incomplete assimilation. The difficulties experienced by Adda’s parents with language acquisition illustrate this discrepancy. Forty years post-immigration, the preferred and primary language of Adda’s parents, who immigrated in 1952, continued to be Dutch. In contrast, after four years of residency, at age fifteen, Adda’s English language proficiency had far surpassed her parents.\textsuperscript{82} According to straight-line assimilation, the parents should have become more like the host society or in this case, converted to using English as their primary tongue. With their broken English and decidedly Dutch accents, Adda’s parents certainly were not socially indistinguishable from the host society even after decades of residency.

With regard to language acquisition, Alan Green’s research on postwar immigrants and particularly non-English speaking immigrants found that language fluency and education levels significantly impacted both their short and long-term economic welfare. Several contemporary Canadian studies have taken a more longitudinal approach to this issue, examining the educational attainment of both immigrants and their children.\textsuperscript{83} These studies looked at settlement
experiences, public perceptions of the immigrant culture, cultural aspirations and resettlement assistance as factors related to educational attainment. Age, too, played a significant role in determining socioeconomic status. Joseph Schaafsma and Arthur Sweetman’s research demonstrated that younger immigrant children who obtained a Canadian education had better outcomes both educationally and economically than immigrant teens. In terms of socioeconomic outcomes, age, language fluency and education levels had a significant impact on the progression of immigrants’ integration.

Although age impacted economic and educational outcomes, few publications looked at the issue of age with respect to successful assimilation. Alba and Nee’s discussions raised the interesting point that although the first generations of immigrants changed in the process of assimilation, adults who immigrated and were socialized in another society experienced less change than those immigrating as young children who had largely grown up in the host society. This is certainly seen in the situation of Adda and her parents regarding language fluency. This finding provides a useful framework for better understanding the oral testimonies used in this thesis, as all narrators arrived as children or teenagers with their adult parents.

Written predominantly from sociological perspectives, the analyses identify Anglo-conformity, straight-line assimilation, and Gordon’s framework as significant models that impacted North American immigration policies and sociological research during the mid-twentieth century. Peaking during World War I, Anglo-conformity faced a slow decline, dogged by dualism and overshadowed by the new ideology of pluralism. The review, however, reveals a consensus amongst researchers that Anglo-conformity was still the most dominant assimilation


85 Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation,” 849.

model in place during World War II and immediately postwar. What emerges in the postwar period, however, is a transitional phase in which Canada fluctuates between ideologies, often exercising them concurrently, creating immigration policies and strategies that reflected this imbalance. The sociological discussions on assimilation, both historical and contemporary, increase our understanding of the postwar context; the theories significantly colouring the historiography of Canadian immigration.

**Immigration Policy**

The relationship between immigration and assimilation is complicated and continues to significantly impact Canadian society. Derrick Thomas captures the complexity of the intertwined relationship between immigration and culture:

Immigration affects social structures, institutions and the rules which govern interpersonal and inter-group relations in Canada. Our national languages, values, morals, beliefs, knowledge, art, symbols and ideals are all affected in some degree by immigration. Our culture is the mechanism through which we communicate our values and transmit our patterns of social behaviour to each other and to succeeding generations. Immigration is not unique among social forces or policy areas in its capacity to affect these things but it does have undeniable consequences for how we relate to each other and even for who we are as a people.

Thomas’ commentary echoes the contemporary view of assimilation as a two-way process, unlike the model proposed by Milton Gordon in the 1960s that argued only the incoming group changed with the dominant culture remaining largely untouched. Interestingly, Gordon’s framework ignored the possibility that interactions between both parties could evoke changes to both the receiving and incoming populations over the course of time. As seen in Thomas’ commentary, immigration affects not only a country’s economic state and population size; it significantly alters the culture of the receiving nation. The crucial question is to what degree? Seen in this light,
assimilation becomes a possible means to control the impact of immigration. To some extent, the degree of impact depends on a nation’s perceived identity, whether homogenous, pluralistic or multicultural. Likewise, selective measures when applied to immigration also become mechanisms to control the impact of the incoming groups on the host society. For Canada, selective immigration measures ensured immigrant populations were highly compatible to the mainstream Anglo culture while assimilation strategies ensured complete acquiescence to those values, behaviours and social norms.

Thomas noted that Canada had seemed committed to this idea of pluralism for “some time.”90 His vague timeline gives no indication of when or how Canada transitioned from the model of Anglo-conformity to that of pluralism. Canadian sociologists Alan Anderson and James Frideres, too, commented on Canada’s volatile immigration and assimilation policies, which wavered between Anglo-conformity and cultural pluralism for “decades.”91 Their inability to pinpoint a specific timing reflects the complexity of the assimilation policies that were in place during the postwar period in which multiple ideologies worked simultaneously and competed for dominance. In his analysis of the postwar situation, Anthony Richmond wrote, “Given the ideological emphasis in Canada upon cultural pluralism it would have been surprising to find postwar immigrants becoming quickly assimilated into either one of the dominant ethnic groups.”92 It is an intriguing thought that perhaps pluralism had always existed in Canadian integration practices, but only as a side-effect of Anglo-conformity’s failings.

The concept of complete absorption into a dominant ethnic group entailed not only taking on the host society’s cultural patterns but also relinquishing all aspects of one’s own. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole’s 1945 description of assimilation depicted ethnic groups having inferior cultural traits that needed to be “unlearned” to best “successfully learn the new way of life

92 Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants*, 156.
necessary for full acceptance in the host society.”

In parallel to early Canadian immigration policy, Warner and Srole measured the potential for assimilation against a scale of racial and cultural traits, all with varying degrees of acceptability. Support for selective measures was bolstered by statements such as that by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King: “There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population.”

King’s sentiment revealed the intentionality of the federal government’s selective immigration strategies. Moreover, immigration statistics substantiated this statement, for besides the United Kingdom, the overwhelming majority of immigrants came from northern Europe. One such group included Dutch farmers who were viewed as highly assimilable, largely in part to the federal government’s perception that Canadians shared a similar culture to that of northern Europeans. American sociologist William Petersen commented,

> Canada’s policy of favouring the Dutch because of their “racial origin”—which, if indeed it is based on more than blind prejudice, must be founded on the supposition that Nordics are more assimilable—has facilitated the immigration of a group whose strict piety makes it relatively impervious to alien cultural influences.

In addition, some evidence points to Dutch immigrants self-realizing this idea of Nordic compatibility to Canadian culture. In his survey on Dutch assimilation in Brockville during June 29-July 4, 1951, the Liaison Officer wrote,

> They all wanted to be Canadian, not “American”, and when asked why, they stated that here they could remain more European, because Canada was more European, more like “home.” Here nobody bothered them and they were free to develop as they liked, and

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95 Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 3rd sess., 20th Parliament, vol. 3, 2646, May 1, 1947 (Right Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister). Earlier in the same speech, MacKenzie King defends Canada’s immigration policy: “With regard to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a ‘fundamental human right’ of any alien to enter Canada.”
97 Petersen, *Planned Migration*, 189.
they were afraid that in the United States there would be more pressure to Americanize them. 98

Federal intentionality, the belief of Nordic compatibility, and self-identification by immigrants concreted the continued use of a selective and discriminatory immigration policy in Canada.

Valerie Knowles’ survey history of Canadian immigration and immigration policy helps place many of these issues within the larger Canadian context. Valued as a standard reference tool, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*, presents a broad perspective on immigration from its early beginnings to present time. The treatise includes brief descriptions of immigrant types, immigration policies, key policy-makers and opinion shapers, racism and the effectiveness of policies in achieving immigration goals. 99

A natural segue to *Strangers at Our Gates*, Franca Iacovetta’s monograph *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945* examined the interactions among gatekeepers, including those of key policy-makers and European immigrants in the shadows of Cold War anxieties. Based on this research, Iacovetta argued that integration strategies of containment and conformity predominated, reaching deep into immigrants’ lives.

In the midst of World War II, Canadian public and political figures hotly debated the means of managing the ensuing cultural diversity resulting from mass immigration and their desire to maintain the fundamental character of Canadian society. Against this backdrop, Ivana Caccia’s research charts the progressive tightening of control over minority groups, exploring how state authorities managed cultural diversity by subtly incorporating containment strategies.

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98 Survey on Assimilation of Dutch in Brockville by Mr. G. A. Mendel, Liaison Officer Report on Visit to Brockville Area, June 29-July 4, 1951, volume 129, file 3-33-24, part 2, folder Deputy Minister’s Office: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, RG 26, LAC, Ottawa. “I’m proud to as a Canadian but I’m not one of those people whose Canadianism is expressed by saying, ‘I’m not an American.’ I don’t have time for that.” Gus (pseudonym), interview with author, Quebec, December 17, 2014.

with the goal of national cohesion.\textsuperscript{100} Focused on the impact debates had on the creation and operation of these government control mechanisms, she uncovered the power the ruling elite, such as European Advisor Tracy Philipps of the federal Nationalities Branch, had in establishing a determined government involvement in promoting citizenship, integrating immigrants and building national identity.\textsuperscript{101} Caccia’s work makes an important contribution to understanding the significant roles that political discourse and individual elites played in shaping Canadian national identity.

Both Iacovetta’s and Caccia’s works show that European immigrants were subjected to integration strategies that demanded accommodation, conformity and sacrifice, all in the name of national unity. A pivotal work, Franca Iacovetta’s research explored the interactions between “gatekeepers” and newcomers in early Cold War Canada with a focus on European immigrants. Set in the context of what Iacovetta described as Canada’s postwar capitalist democracy, her work examined the impact of the encounters on immigrants’ lives.\textsuperscript{102} She defined “gatekeepers” as political or institutional authority figures who wielded power within the immigration process, specifically those working in reception and citizenship. Her research illustrates the far-reaching extent of gatekeepers’ influence, encroaching into the political, social, gender, and sexual aspects of immigrant lives. Iacovetta draws heavily on her previous and extensive research on gender, labour, migration and marginalized populations to explore the politics of citizenship from both gatekeeper and newcomer perspectives. She argues the encounters shaped not only individual lives but also contributed to a decidedly more multi-ethnic nation and an increasingly nationalistic security state.

Building on the theme of gatekeepers, Freda Hawkins’ comparative analysis of Canada and Australia explored how political gatekeepers (governments, parliaments, politicians and

\textsuperscript{100} Ivana Caccia, \textit{Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945} (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

\textsuperscript{101} Caccia, \textit{Managing the Canadian Mosaic}, 3.

\textsuperscript{102} Iacovetta, \textit{Gatekeepers}, 1.
interested parties) executed and interacted with the content of policies, laws and related immigration policies. The study examined issues such as the liberalization and modernization of immigration policy, immigration management, and multiculturalism over a significant time span, from the early 1900s to 1986. Hawkins attempted to show how both Canada and Australia successfully dealt with sensitive public policy, creating practical guiding principles for immigration. In the final analysis, Hawkins concluded that, “The small, insecure, inward-looking, and narrow-minded societies we saw in the inter-war years steadily retreated after the war, to be replaced over the next 30 years by two far more responsible, humane, better governed, socially conscious, and internationally concerned nations.”

Hawkins’ earlier research includes a full-length work incorporating both accounts and analyses of Canadian immigration policies, laws and immigration management during the years of 1945 to 1970. Interviews with over three hundred and fifty immigration staff and her personal immigrant background give invaluable insight to the process of immigration. Her record attempted to expand the body of works on Canadian immigration and invigorate public discussion on the development of immigration policy in Canada. In her final analysis, Hawkins urged politicians to look beyond labour market demands to develop a policy that concerned “future political, social and environmental needs.”

Focused on the relationship between immigration and economics, economic historian Alan G. Green’s research examined the economic determinants of international migration. A phenomenon that Freda Hawkins argued is frequently overlooked as economic determinants are often uncalculated for in multicultural and ethnic discussions. She made the argument that

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103 Hawkins, Critical Years, xxxvi.
104 Ibid.
105 Hawkins, Critical Years, 30.
106 Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, xi.
107 Alan G. Green, Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), xiv.
108 Hawkins, Critical Years, 217.
immigrants do not come to Canada to replicate the sending country’s culture but rather to better their lives through increased economic and educational opportunities:

We never expected that—but some went to Canada with the idea there was—that the streets were covered in gold. You only had to shovel it. One of my uncles, he went to Alberta and that’s what he thought. But we knew, our parents knew that if we were going to Canada, you had to work to get your wages. And if you worked hard, at that time, it was good.⁶⁹

Alan Green’s research on this subject delved into three areas of which the first was an account of postwar Canadian immigration policy. In his analysis, he concluded that the liberal immigration policy adopted by Canada was besieged by concerns regarding the effects of immigration on the domestic labour market, particularly by the numbers and timing of the arrivals.¹⁰ The second section examined the short-term implications of immigration, including that of push-and-pull factors. Lastly, Green studied the long-term implications of postwar immigration in terms of the supply and demand for foreign labour. The postwar period saw increased movement, unseen in earlier immigration patterns, of highly trained manpower, which heavily affected the economic advancement of developed nations. As early as 1976, sociologists such as Richmond began to investigate the phenomenon of “brain-drain” or “brain-gain” in which highly trained/educated manpower moved between countries. Later studies showed migrants being consistently distinguished from one other in terms of ‘labour’ versus ‘human capital’, now established terms used to describe the “brain” wealth of migrants.¹¹ Similarly, a clear and adamant distinction was made between ‘farm labourer’ and ‘agriculturalist’ with regard to Dutch immigrants in the postwar era. Dutch nationals entering in the early years under the Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan were agriculturalists, small business owners who were bringing

¹⁰ Green, Immigration, 10.
¹¹ Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation,” 826-874.
advanced knowledge of agricultural practices to Canada, *not* farm labourers or unskilled general labourers.\(^{112}\)

Green’s findings showed the movement of primary workers to Canada steeply declined in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly and surprisingly, from the developed western European nations of England, Germany and the Netherlands.\(^{113}\) He attributed the declining movement to changes in Canadian immigration policy, the significant increased demand for highly skilled workers and economic changes within the sending countries.\(^{114}\) It is important to note that during the postwar period, Canada still followed an ethnic-based immigration policy as opposed to the less discriminatory skills-based policy in effect during the 1960s. However, immediately postwar, in the case of the Netherlands, several “push” factors encouraged the migration of farm workers to Canada. Surplus farm labour, historically high rural births and decreased opportunities within Holland initiated the exodus to Canada.

Anthony Richmond’s discussion on immigration trends adds an interesting twist to Green’s statistical analysis of this migration from the Netherlands. Richmond wrote, “These immigrants were not farm labourers but bona fide farm owners who, although they had sufficient capital to purchase farms in Canada, were unable to do so because of exchange restrictions.”\(^{115}\) Research showed that Dutch farmers were supposed to have been assured treatment as farm owners “temporarily without capital” rather than farm labourers.\(^{116}\) Technically entering as farm workers or unskilled labour, more than 17,000 small agricultural business owners entered Canada.

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\(^{113}\) Green, *Immigration*, 218.

\(^{114}\) Ibid., 104, 218.

\(^{115}\) Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants*, 10.

during the years between 1947 and 1949. Surprisingly, Green did not explore the anomaly in Canada’s immigration policy which allowed Dutch nationals to enter under the three-year long Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan.

Richmond’s research focused on the academics of, and policy issues surrounding, Canadian immigration, including the absorption of postwar immigrants into Canadian society. He based his comprehensive report on two surveys: a 1961 cross-sectional survey of Canadian immigrants from all nationalities and secondly, a British survey conducted in 1962-63 that looked at British immigrants returning home from Canada. The study examined an extensive number of indicators used to assess the economic and social aspects of absorption, many of which were also used to measure the status of assimilation: income, citizenship, marriage, acculturation and social integration, social stratification and social mobility, and economic absorption. Richmond’s conclusions regarding net migration revealed conflicting immigration policies. He pointed to the pressure placed by farm lobbies on provincial governments to provide short-term labour, particularly in the years immediately postwar. The logic of increasing the number of agricultural workers, however, defied labour trends. Richmond referred to the statement made by the Honourable W. J. Pickersgill, Minister of Immigration, in 1957 with regards to the efforts being made to help agriculture in Canada:

Yes, for the number we get we probably spend four or five times as much effort in trying to bring agricultural immigrants as we do to bring any others, because they are unfortunately very hard to get. We have had some success this year in attracting some farmers and farmers’ sons and even some farm labourers from the United Kingdom. I do not think we shall ever get very large numbers, because British agriculture still seems very prosperous.

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118 Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants*, vii.
119 Ibid., 254.
As seen in Alan Green’s economic analysis, however, the focus on agricultural labour was contrary to labour trends in which the demand had escalated for highly skilled manpower and there was an abundance of less-than-skilled workers.

William Peterson, too, questioned the federal government’s strategy: “The strange Canadian insistence that immigrants should be agriculturalists—in a country where improved agricultural technology has long been displacing farm manpower—raises the question of the relation between population distribution and industrialization.”

Citizen’s Forum documents illustrated this conflict between labour interests and the federal government over agricultural immigration—their compromise being a selective immigration policy. Conflict between short-term labour demands, agricultural business owners and the increasing need for highly skilled manpower reflects a transitional period in Canada’s economic state.

Overall, one can ascertain an economic purpose to the immigration policy in the postwar Canadian context. Immigration could increase depleted rural populations, address labour shortages and expand the Gross National Product (GNP). Between 1947 and 1950, over 358,000 immigrants entered Canada; the GNP increased from 13.5 million in 1947 to 15.5 million in 1948, a 14.8 percent increase. There was, however, as seen, a degree of incongruity in the immigration policies. For instance, Canada’s active recruitment of Dutch agricultural

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121 Petersen, Planned Migration, vi.
workers was counterintuitive in a labour market that was becoming highly mechanized and less dependent on farm workers. Economists point to Canada’s desire to replenish depleted rural populations yet struggle with the above dichotomy, particularly in the light of the bilateral agreements (such as the Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan) created to bring in mass labour into a declining job market. Canada’s implementation of the labour movement scheme suggests this particular ethnic group was specifically selected for immigration. In short, the economic determinants for migration were played out on a much larger scale than imagined; Dutch immigration was not only by individual choice but imperceptibly manipulated by national governments.

In summary, sociologically orientated historians and academics from across a broad range of disciplines provide a unique perspective on Canadian immigration policy. Their work shows that postwar immigration policies reflected the dominant assimilation theories held by sociologists, particularly that of Anglo-conformity. Canada’s selective measures, such as its ranking of nations with regards to preference, blanket authority to accept or reject ethnicities based on degrees of perceived assimilability, and the murky concept of ‘absorptive capacity’ are suggested by researchers as support for the determining Anglo-conformity as the predominant assimilation strategy. Research also points to the tremendous power individuals held over immigration, such as the Governor in Council’s unrestrained power to limit or restrict immigrants on the grounds of ‘unsuitability’. Relevant literature reveals the complexity of immigration policy: the intertwining of international interests, domestic needs, personal prejudices and public opinion. Research suggests policies favoured immigration from the Netherlands to increase rural

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125 Petersen, Planned Migration, vi, 147-48; Green, Immigration, 156; Richmond, Post-War Immigrants, 48.
126 Hawkins, Critical Years, 37-38; George Bonavia, Focus on Canadian Immigration (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1977), 103.
127 Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, 89-95; Caccia, Managing the Canadian Mosaic, x-239; Green, Immigration, 16-17.
populations, for their economic contribution as agriculturalists, and most importantly for their perceived assimilability to the predominantly Anglo culture of postwar Canada.128

**Education for Assimilation**

This section of the literature review examines the relationship between education and assimilation, particularly the role of citizenship education. The review covers a diverse range of topics, including settlement workers, acculturation, and the role of education as both a mediator for pluralism and a transmitter of Anglo-conformity.

Beginning with the school environment, John Bile’s research briefly examined the program *Settlement Workers in Schools*. He described the role of contemporary settlement workers as “…cultural brokers and facilitators between students, parents, and administrators. They may orient newcomers to school rules, refer children to appropriate agencies in cases of domestic violence, act as intermediaries, and provide general information about Canadian society, culture and climate.”129 In contrast, postwar Canadian settlement workers (often social workers) employed at city settlement houses worked directly to integrate newcomers, reshaping family beliefs to “better emulate Canadian bourgeois ideals.”130 “Although they [settlement workers] viewed themselves as quite willing to accept certain cultural differences, they nonetheless promoted conservative and contradictory family values that privileged a white (which in English Canada meant Anglo-Celtic), middle-class, and heterosexual nuclear household.”131 Iacovetta’s claim exposes the tension between pluralism and Anglo-conformity during the postwar era. While locations and time periods differed, the intent remained the same—the ongoing integration and acculturation of urban immigrant children into mainstream Canadian culture. It is important to

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129 Biles, Burstein, and Frideres, *Immigration and Integration*, 145. The Settlement Workers in Schools programme is a regional initiative, limited to Ontario.
130 Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 171.
131 Ibid.
realize, however, these services were not available to immigrants settling in rural areas, thereby lessening their exposure to this integration strategy.

Returning to the idea of educational institutions brokering assimilation, many of the aforementioned sociologists and historians overtly or covertly expressed the possibility that schools, as social institutions, played significant roles in assimilating immigrants. The 1940s definition of education by sociologist Harold Fairchild makes this connection clear:

The acculturation of the new and/or younger members of society by the older. The institution-process whereby the accumulated ideas, standards, knowledge, and techniques of society are transferred to, or imposed upon, the rising generation. Ordinarily, education is conscious, purposeful and deliberate. There is, however, such a thing as unconscious or incidental education, just as there is such a thing as the education of the old by the young. The essence of education is the inculcation of one individual with the mental accumulations of another.\(^{132}\)

From this sociological viewpoint, schools were distinctly capable of and responsible for the transfer of societal norms.

Papers from the “Culture, Education and Ethnic Canadians,” University-Community Conference in 1976 further explored this concept. The conference’s objective was to examine the culture and linguistics of various ethnicities, the role and impact of education, and how schools operated to shift cultural patterns.\(^{133}\) John R. Mallea’s research focused on contemporary issues such as the rejection of traditional assimilation and the ensuing difficulties of implementing ethnic pluralism. He explored the problematic relationships among ethnicity, culture, pluralism and national goals—relationships complicated by the need for national cohesion. Education, he argued, acted as a mediator of pluralism, being caught between the realities and aspirations of federal cohesion strategies.\(^{134}\) Mallea limited his interpretation of education, in this context, to the activities that occurred within formal learning institutions, differentiating schools from other

\(^{132}\) Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology*, 103.
\(^{133}\) Martin L. Kovacs, ed., *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1978), 1-495.
institutions responsible for socialization by arguing that society “has consciously chosen it [schools] to formally and systematically socialize its young.” The issue of pluralism, Mallea argued, lay in balancing the desire to maintain ethnic distinctiveness and to still maintain national cohesion, a process complicated by the underlying remnants of a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant focus in the Canadian educational system.

The idea that schools were operationalized instruments in ‘Canadianizing’ immigrants is also explored in Marilyn Barber’s work on the pre-World War I period. Within this early context, assimilation entailed the total absorption of immigrants into the dominant society. Schools and churches were seen as responsible for implementing the Anglo-conformity model of assimilation. As early as 1906, schools were instrumental in this task. A Manitoba school inspector wrote,

> The great work of the public school in Canada is the formation and development of a high type of national life. This is particularly true in Western Canada, with its heterogeneous population. Here are to be found people of all countries, from the keen, clever American, with highly developed national ideals, equal to but perhaps somewhat antagonistic to our own, to the ignorant peasantry of central and eastern Europe and Asia. These incongruous elements have to be assimilated, have to be welded into one harmonious whole if Canada is to attain the position that we, who belong here by right of birth and blood, claim for her. The chief instrument in this process of assimilation is the public school.

Barber concluded schools were brokers of the core Canadian culture with both curricula and educators transmitting the cultural values of Anglo-conformity and instituting loyalty to Canada. However, by post-World War II, some educators balked at this responsibility, believing assimilation was a community problem in which they played a small part; the process required collaboration by churches, employers, social clubs and neighbours.

135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 275.
Alan Anderson and James Frideres, however, argued that, after peaking during World War I, Anglo-conformity was slowly replaced with a new concept of assimilation:

This new ideology extolled the virtues of developing a new Canadian culture rather than a continuation of a slightly modified British culture. There was the underlying assumption that if ethnic groups (as social units) disappeared, prejudice and discrimination would become less and eventually disappear. As a direct result, all members of the next generation would have equal opportunities to participate in all dimensions of Canadian life. This position was not only supported by segments of the dominant group but also by immigrant groups such as the Scandinavians and Dutch, for they wanted nothing more than to be accepted as Canadian without adhering to their prior ethno/national affiliation. Other groups, wanting to assimilate, made deliberate attempts to hide their ethnic backgrounds.139

Realistically, the new ideology did not stray far from early definitions of assimilation; the goal was still to completely absorb and inculcate immigrant populations with the culture of the dominant society. The values of Anglo-conformity were merely replaced by “Canadian” cultural patterns.

Schools, too, were viewed as responsible for acculturation, which was defined in the 1940s context as, “The assumption of culture through contact, especially with a people of a higher civilization.”140 The core culture in the postwar context promoted middle-class, white, Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns.141 Acculturation in the educational setting, however, involved the acquisition of citizenship or the characteristics of a society through curriculum and teaching practices. As of 1935, formalized citizenship education emerged as a means to infuse the Canadian national identity into all members of society.142

A number of Canadian studies have looked at this connection between citizenship and curriculum.143 Alan Sears’ landmark study examined the research on citizenship education

139 Anderson and Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada, 279.
140 Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, 3.
141 Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation,” 829; Iacovetta, Gatekeepers, 171.
142 Ontario Department of Education, Memorandum for Principals and Inspectors re a Course in Canadian Civics, Circular No. 65, September 16, 1935, box 1, O59 DE/IG, Ontario Historical Education Collection (hereafter cited as OHEC), Toronto.
conducted in the years 1988-1994. In his summary, Sears admitted to having difficulty in coming to conclusions when so little Canadian research existed, and, of that, the topics and nature of the studies were incredibly diverse. Sears did find, however, that citizenship education was a dominant theme in social studies curriculum but neglected to assess other curricula for similar themes. Interestingly, only five years after the study, Ontario released a course dedicated to civics.

Canadian citizenship education has historically had a complicated relationship with public school education. Sears concluded that curriculum had slowly progressed from promoting British ideals to pluralism and then to multiculturalism with a new “focus on the skills and attitudes necessary to develop active, participating citizens.” However, Sears’ review showed a disparity between curriculum and actual teacher practices. Furthermore, Sears found that classrooms and schools did not support active participation by all students—students were still

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145 Ibid.
146 Ibid.; Ken Osborne, “Public Schooling,” 10. Osborne supports this statement by writing, “In practice, however, citizenship education is now largely seen as the special territory of social studies and history teachers and tends to be equated with civic education.”; Ken Osborne, “Our History Syllabus has us Gasping: History in Canadian Schools—Past, Present and Future,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (2000): 404, accessed April 4, 2013, http://search.proquest.com/docview/224276247?accountid=6180. Osborne poses these probing questions: “Should the teaching of history be related to the practice of citizenship?” and “Should history be, at least in schools, a vehicle for the formation of national identity?”
divided by gender, race and class. His conclusions highlight the uneasy relationships between curriculum, teacher practices and student learning.\textsuperscript{150} Moreover, Sears could not find a direct connection between teaching methods and student attitudes towards citizenship.\textsuperscript{151} Similarly, Llewellyn’s study concluded, “there is a strong tendency to ‘teach about formal political institutions and people’s rights within the polity as opposed to teaching about the practice of citizenship’.”\textsuperscript{152} Sears’ review showed that students moderately supported human rights and tended to identify with a more regional than national identity.\textsuperscript{153} His recommendations for future research included further reviews on citizenship in adult education, political socialization and education conducted in English-as-Second Language programmes for immigrants. In light of Sears’ research, seemingly not much has changed. Recent literature still views decreased political knowledge, decreased voter turnout and reduced civic engagement by youth as major concerns and as motivation for the increased interest in citizenship education.\textsuperscript{154} From the late 1990s and onwards, however, the wide variety of research available indicates an increased interest in citizenship education, with education’s purpose progressing

\textsuperscript{150} Byung-Geuk Kim, “A Narrative Inquiry into Children’s Experiences of Composing their Identities as Citizens” (PhD diss. University of Alberta, 2011), 230. Kim aptly describes this situation as the “tension between the lived and planned curriculum contexts.”
\textsuperscript{151} Sears, “Social Studies,” 33.
\textsuperscript{153} Sears, “Social Studies,” 33; Ellen Claes et al., “Political Socialization,” 613. Claes et al. take the stance of an “alleged decline of political knowledge” amongst Canadian youth.
beyond Anglo-conformity and identity building to complex issues of social justice, political socialization and civic engagement.  

Silvina Ciccarelli’s 1997 study examined the connections between the beginnings of federally funded English-as-Second Language (ESL) programmes, citizenship and nation-building. The study, using racial discourse analysis, concluded the introduction of language classes had the primary goal of nation-building to preserve Canada’s dominant language and culture rather than to encourage fluency amongst immigrants. Ciccarelli argued the emphasis on nation-building merely masked the perpetuation of Anglo-conformity and the exclusion and marginalization of minorities.  

A significant contributor to research in citizenship education, Ken Osborne, delves deeply into the constructs of citizenship education. He examined the evolution of citizenship, including the decline of, and resistance to, citizenship education. Of particular interest are the seven elements he considered universal to citizenship education programmes. The elements included,  

A sense of identity; an awareness of one’s rights and respect for the rights of others; the fulfillment of duties; a critical acceptance of social values; political literacy; a broad general knowledge and command of basic academic skills; and the capacity to reflect on the implications of all these components and to act appropriately.  

These are elements, he argued, that have disappeared from the educational agenda. His main argument was that citizenship education had become an economic tool, solely to create trained workers. Rather, Osborne called for reform, to embrace “a participative, critical, and democratic involvement in public life.”  

From the late 1990s and onwards, the wide variety of research available indicates an increased interest in citizenship education, with education’s purpose progressing beyond Anglo-
conformity and identity building to complex issues of social justice, political socialization and civic engagement.\textsuperscript{159} The majority of current literature pinpoints decreased voting, reduced political knowledge and diminished civic engagement by youth as major concerns and the motivation for the increased interest in civic education.\textsuperscript{160}

Osborne’s work alludes to the ongoing issue surrounding Canadian citizenship, largely the inability of stakeholders to hold a common definition of citizenship. This begs the question of “What is citizenship and what is its purpose in a democratic society?” Susan Hardwick, Rebecca Marcus and Marissa Isaak’s study takes a closer look at this issue, examining the effects of civic education on building national identities in both the United States and Canada. Using discourse analysis, the researchers analyzed primary data taken from secondary school textbooks and curriculum documents.\textsuperscript{161} Hardwick et al. found a common thread in the literature, quoting the 2009 study by Hardwick and Mansfield that “national identity in English Canada… is best expressed not by defining exactly what Canadians are, but by asserting what they are not.”\textsuperscript{162} Ryan McVeigh and Jennifer Barnett’s work, too, expressed concern, stating that “the inherent flaw in the current Ontario civics curriculum is that it is too heavily influenced by the functional aspects of ‘what is’ Canada, rather than giving the opportunity to experience the emotional

\textsuperscript{159} Osborne, “Public Schooling,” 8-37.
qualities of what it means to be Canadian.\textsuperscript{163} The ongoing struggle to form a common definition of Canadian identity increased the complexity of assimilation.

Hardwick et al. identified several issues that compounded the difficulty of creating a cohesive national identity. These issues included Canada’s struggle to remain differentiated from the United States, the historical dualism between English and French Canada and the subsequent pluralism, including First Nations peoples.\textsuperscript{164} In addition, Canada’s expanding immigration policies and the predominance of regional identities further compounded the difficulties of creating a national identity.\textsuperscript{165} Hardwick’s study inferred regionalism negatively affected national identity. Quite possibly, the lack of the latter encourages or even forces the direction of identity towards the former. The study discovered that “national identity is assumed to relate to becoming an active citizen of both Canada and the world that is shaped by ‘ethical behaviour, open-mindedness, respect for diversity, and collaboration’.”\textsuperscript{166} This finding, particularly the inclusion of ‘respect for diversity’, qualified Sears’ earlier conclusion that Canada had moved farther away from earlier models of assimilation including Anglo-conformity.

A study of history textbooks by the Canadian Education Association in 1945 illustrated the difficulties Canada faced in developing a national identity.\textsuperscript{167} The study claimed Canada’s national culture since 1760—dualism— balanced two distinct communities, separated not only by linguistics but by religion, French-speakers being predominantly Roman Catholic and English-speakers largely Protestant. The study of both English and French language textbooks found texts

\textsuperscript{164} Hardwick et al., “Education,” 257.
\textsuperscript{166} Hardwick et al., “Education,” 263.
\textsuperscript{167} Memorandum for use of the Committee on Cultural Relations, n.d., volume 55, Projects, MG 28-I85, LAC, Ottawa.
in either language tended to neglect the history of the other linguistic group. As for Canada’s relations to the United Kingdom, the study concluded, “A foreigner would have an altogether different view of Canadian history according to whether he read a school textbook in the French language or in the English language.” The disparity found in the texts reviewed by the study indicated the lack of a cohesive national history and the leeway regional areas had in portraying Canada’s history. The study, from a broader perspective, illustrated the obstacles faced by Canada in creating a national identity—conflict between French and English-speaking communities, underlying pressures to retain cultural ties to the United Kingdom and the need to remain distinct from the United States.

In the division of responsibilities, provincial governments have typically provided citizenship education to children and youth. Historians Reva Joshee and Tracey Derwing examined the disparity between citizenship education for children and what they feel is a “glaring lack of interest” in educating adult immigrants in citizenship. They attributed a great deal of this disinterest to the historical responsibility of public schools to prepare children as future citizens. However, studies such as Byung-Geuk Kim’s and Brian Howe’s showed that citizenship education for youth was inadequate and rarely treated children as active participants or valid citizens of the state.

In summary, governments, both federal and provincial, played a significant role in the immigrant experience. Research reveals tension between federal and provincial governments

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168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
172 Ibid., 73.
created by their shared jurisdiction over immigration. Although a primary responsibility of provincial governments, education was contentious when it came to controlling and implementing ‘expensive’ elements of integrating immigrants into Canadian society, such as language acquisition/fluency and citizenship education, both of which were mandatory for legal citizenship under the Citizenship Act of 1946. Schools, including educators and curricula, beyond their visible contribution to building basic knowledge and language acquisition, played a significant role in shifting cultural patterns, specifically to that of Anglo-conformity.

A dominant theme running through the literature is the concept of building national identity. In creating that identity, Canada continued to grapple with its diversity while still balancing its historical dualism and the newer ideologies of pluralism and multiculturalism. Canada’s increasing adherence to regional identities further compounded the difficulty in merging these diverse ideas of identity. Tied inevitably to the dominant culture, Canada’s national identity during the postwar era remained elusive, without a commonly held definition.

The above contexts reveal an era of tumultuous change and the growing pains of an emerging nation. Under assault were previous notions of nationhood, identity and the purpose of education. Immigrants coming to Canada immediately post-World War II encountered the challenges created by this transformation—assimilating into a nation that had neither a common definition of national identity nor a common understanding of what constituted the dominant culture.


175 Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology*, 103; Barber, “Canadianization,” 283.
Chapter 4

Canadian Immigration and Integration Policies

This chapter explores the development of Canadian immigration and integration policies and their interaction with assimilation. The history of Canadian immigration policy is loosely arranged into several thematic areas including: (a) post-Confederation ‘open-door’ policy, (b) the selective policies of the 1900s, (c) protectionist strategies, (d) post-World War II identity building and the *Canadian Citizenship Act 1946*, (e) liberalizing immigration, (f) Canadian attitudes, and (g) specialized immigration agreements. Retracing the path of immigration policy leads to a better understanding of the measures taken to select immigrant groups that best suited Canadian ideals and notions of national identity.

**Post-Confederation**

Historical statistics show a trend of peaks and valleys in immigration patterns. Closely linked to those fluctuations were changes in Canadian immigration policy. As such, post-Confederation policies focused mainly on land settlement, building a larger consumer base and providing a labour force for the burgeoning primary resource and fledgling manufacturing sectors. The *Immigration Act* passed in 1869 by the fledgling federal government created a

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177 The principles of immigration in 1867 included: (1) “To afford to the emigrating classes in Great Britain and several other European countries correct information respecting the position and resources of the
framework for ensuing Canadian immigration policy. Primarily concerned with potential economic burden, the Act focused on the health of incoming immigrants and increased accuracy of record keeping. There were few restrictions to entry; the vessel master was merely required to report particulars, such as,

The name and age of all passengers embarked on board of such vessel on such voyage who are lunatic, idiotic, deaf and dumb, blind or infirm, stating also whether they are accompanied by relatives able to support them or not.

The clearest restriction was placed on the entry of Chinese immigrants—limiting not only the numbers but charging duty fees and requiring documentation to discourage entry. The ethnic diversity of these early immigration waves is not clear; however, the majority of vessels transporting immigrants arrived from either the United Kingdom or other European ports.

Selective Policy: The Chosen Ones

Canada’s open-door policy, extended to the United Kingdom and Europe, transformed under Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior. The Immigration Acts of 1906 and 1910 increasingly restricted entry to Canada, formalized deportation and inaugurated a mandatory head tax to be paid by each immigrant. Immigrants prohibited from entering included prostitutes, criminals,
paupers, idiots, and those who were diseased, epileptic or feeble-minded.\textsuperscript{183} Broadly, immigrants were denied entry depending on their risk of public charge or inability to sustain themselves. The earliest definition of “immigrant” now appears in Canadian legislature, defined as,

A person who enters Canada with the intention of acquiring Canadian domicile, and for the purposes of this Act every person entering Canada shall be presumed to be an immigrant unless belonging to one of the following classes of persons, hereinafter called ‘non-immigrant classes’.\textsuperscript{184}

With more lasting effect, the Act endowed the Governor in Council with the ability to prohibit “immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of a specified class, occupation or character.”\textsuperscript{185} The \textit{War Measures Act of 1914} furthered the Governor in Council’s discretionary power over deportation. Under the auspices of national security, special powers included arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation.\textsuperscript{186} As such, “enemy aliens” were deported or interned during the period between 1914 and 1920.

In the following years, \textit{An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, 1919}, increasingly delineated those who were prohibited entry, broadening categories to include those who were likely to become public charges, including chronic alcoholics, the mentally or physically defective, advocates of violence or force, and enemy aliens. By inference, immigration policy was biased towards healthy workers who were not a drain on public funds.\textsuperscript{187} Domicile now required five years of residency in Canada after having landed, an increase from the three years previously required in 1910. The Act made clear that citizenship was a privilege, not a right; if a citizen of Canada was “a British subject by naturalization, or any British subject not born in

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
Canada having Canadian domicile, if outside of Canada for a year would cease ‘to be a Canadian citizen’. The “continuous journey clause” restated from the 1910 Act effectively eliminated immigration from the Pacific, as most trips originating in India or Japan involved a stop in Hawaii. The blatant prohibition of Chinese nationals further reinforced the notion of a selective immigration policy.

Paragraph (c) of section 38, which gave restrained power to the Governor in Council, was repealed and replaced, allowing the Governor in Council unfettered ability to now prohibit or limit the number of,

Immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of an specified class or occupation by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.

The origins of the Canadian population recorded in the 1921 census reflect this continued stance. Those of British origin accounted for 55.4 percent of the population and those with European descent came close behind at 42 percent. Conversely, Asiatic peoples only accounted for 0.8 percent of the population and other origins reached 1.7 percent. Asiatic immigration was greatly reduced by the Chinese head tax, the continuous journey requirements and the voluntary emigration quota for Japanese. This amendment gave unprecedented discretionary power to the Governor in Council. The amendment not only reflected war-time conditions but illustrated Canada’s continued commitment to assimilation rather than acculturation, and a more homogenous rather than pluralistic population.

188 Ibid., c. 25, s. 2.
189 Hawkins, Critical Years, 17. Chapter 27, Section 38, clause (a) “prohibit the landing in Canada or at any specified port of entry in Canada of any immigrant who has come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which he is a native or naturalized citizen…”
190 Canada, An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, 1919, c. 25, s. 13.
With regard to overall population, the period between 1931 and 1941 had an average annual population growth of 1.04 percent. In contrast, the decade following World War II experienced one of the highest rates of growth (2.68 percent), only exceeded by the period of heavy immigration during 1901 to 1911. Immigration, although an independent factor, closely followed this pattern of growth and decline in population. Immigration during the 1930s sank to a record low, averaging just over 15,000 immigrants entering annually while a similar time span immediately following World War II recorded averages of 113,000 immigrants per year.

**Protectionism: Emigration and Deportation**

The economic devastation of the Depression created a scarcity of employment. Immigrants were increasingly viewed as competition for the few jobs in the depleted and exhausted marketplace. By June 1933, the unemployment rate reached 19.3 percent, a harsh contrast to the low unemployment rates of 3 percent or less experienced from 1927 to 1929. During the 1930s, there was an estimated loss of 91,000 immigrants and native-born Canadians to migration; this is the only point in Canadian history when emigration surpassed immigration. In the years 1932 to 1933, over 12,500 unemployed individuals were deported under the extended grounds of belonging to the “prohibited or undesirable classes” continuing the tradition of expelling public charges. Deportation became a solution to relieve the financial burden on municipalities responsible for unemployment relief. Public opinion demanded that “the ‘foreigners’ be sent back home so that the ‘white men’ could find jobs.” Immigration was

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194 Ibid.
198 Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 160.
limited to British subjects, American citizens, agriculturalists with capital and dependants of Canadian citizens.\footnote{Hawkins, \textit{Critical Years}, 20.} Immigration policy shifted from “one aimed at \textit{attracting} potential settlers to one directed at \textit{selecting} the most desirable future members of the country.”\footnote{Kelley et al., \textit{Making Mosaic}, 248.}

In consideration of the unemployment situation, the \textit{Order in Council P.C. 695} effectively reduced immigration. As of March 18\textsuperscript{th}, 1931, “the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupation” was prohibited with the exception of British subjects with sufficient means from Great Britain, Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and the Union of South Africa.\footnote{Canada, \textit{Order-in-Council, P.C. 695}, March 21, 1931, accessed December 4, 2013, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-119.01-e.php?&document_code=021017-101&page=1&referer=021017-2510.01-e.html&section_code=dp-radical.} Other admissible categories included agriculturalists with sufficient means and wives and dependent children of Canadian residents via sponsorship. The provisions did not apply to immigrants of “any Asiatic race.”\footnote{Ibid.} As admission restrictions increased so too did the ability of immigrants to attain and in some cases, retain, citizenship. Immigrants gained domicile by residing in Canada for five years and then applied to court for naturalization. British subjects were automatically naturalized after five years of residency. Once naturalized, a Canadian citizen had the right to vote in federal elections, participate in federal politics, and re-enter Canada without restriction unless the certificate of naturalization was revoked.\footnote{Kelley et al., \textit{Making Mosaic}, 225.} Immigration slowed to a near stop with the beginning of World War II. In 1942, only 7,576 newcomers entered Canada, which was the lowest recorded immigration in decades.\footnote{Statistics Canada, “Table A350: Immigrant arrivals in Canada, 1852 to 1977,” \textit{Section A: Population and Migration}, 2008.} From 1939 to 1945, 89,250 immigrants arrived in Canada, with 25 percent arriving in the final year of the war. Immigration jumped 37 percent from 8,504 to 22,722...
in the two-year period between 1943 and 1945.\textsuperscript{205} The significant increase was attributed to the loosening of restrictive policies regarding foreign aliens.

\textbf{The Postwar Years: Identity Building}

The years immediately post-World War II saw a leap in immigration (1949-1950). In the first five years, over 453,000 immigrants gained entry. Canada’s overall population continued to grow at a rapid pace, the birth rate offset by decreasing death rates for an average annual natural increase of 18.26 percent.\textsuperscript{206} By 1951, census numbers showed a shift in major cultural divisions indicating increased ethnic diversity—only 47.8 percent claimed British origin, whereas 49.1 percent stated European.\textsuperscript{207} The top five European nationalities represented were French, German, Dutch, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian. The increasing ethnic diversity would change the Canadian social landscape.

Commonly viewed as an expression of nationalism and as a symbol of Canada’s emergence as a sovereign nation, the \textit{Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946} was a watershed moment in nation building. Prior to 1947, Canadian nationals were legally British subjects (as were all citizens of all colonies), a vestige remaining from colonial rule. Citizenship, at this point, was based on the \textit{Immigration Act of 1910, Naturalization Act of 1914} and the \textit{Canadian Nationals Act of 1921}.\textsuperscript{208} However, the new Act did not fully divest Canada of its allegiance to the Crown. As foreshadowed by the \textit{Westminster Statute}, a tie to the United Kingdom remained, as “a Canadian citizen is a British citizen.” Nationals were firstly Canadian but only by a citizenship category and were still, by default, British subjects.\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{208} Knowles, \textit{Forging Legacy}, 65.
\textsuperscript{209} Creighton, \textit{Forked}, 129.
In an expression of public opinion, Blair Fraser, the Ottawa editor of *MacLean Magazine* broadcasted the following excerpt on the CBC on New Year’s Eve in 1946:

> When we got a passport it didn’t call us Canadian, it read British subject by birth. The census taker wouldn’t let you put yourself down as plain Canadian. You had to hyphenate it - English-Canadian, Ukrainian-Canadian, and so on. The term Canadian citizen had only one meaning for the now purposes of the Immigration Act, it meant a person entitled to free entry into the country. ….Today the new *Canadian Citizenship Act* came into effect. We’re still British subjects, of course, but our passports won’t any longer lump us in with all the other British subjects on whom the sun never sets. Those coming into the Canadian nation will do it in the future with some dignity and ceremony… The people born are already naturalized here so nothing actually happens. We all become Canadian citizens automatically without doing anything. The man who framed the new Act did hope that even for us it would mean something. That, in thus defining and clarifying the status of a Canadian, it would give us perhaps a new pride in our country, perhaps a new awareness of the rights we enjoy and the duties we undertake.  

The passing of the bill was unprecedented; Canada became the first Commonwealth nation to enact legislation that defined its own citizenry separate from that of the United Kingdom. The credit for initiating the *Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946* goes to the Liberal Cabinet Minister, Paul Martin. He passionately rationalized the Bill to Members of Parliament in his speech to the House of Commons on October 22, 1945:

> Our “new Canadians” bring to this country much that is rich and good, and in Canada they find a new way of life and new hope for the future. They should all be made to feel that they, like the rest of us, are Canadians, citizens of a great country, guardians of proud traditions and trustees of all that is best in life for generations of Canadians to yet be. For the national unity of Canada and for the future and greatness of this country it is felt to be of utmost importance that all of us, new Canadians or old, have a consciousness of a common purpose and common interests as Canadians; that all of us are able to say with pride and say with meaning: “I am a Canadian citizen.”

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The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946 repealed the Canadian Naturalization Act of 1914 and the Canadian National Act of 1921. The former Naturalization Act had outlined the requirements for becoming a British subject while residing in Canada for immigrants of non-British origin. More comprehensively, the National Act had created a distinct category of “Canadian national” to describe persons already designated as British subjects residing in Canada, including their wives and children who may or may not have yet resided in Canada. A single prior reference to Canadian identity is found in the Immigration Act of 1910, which legally defined a “Canadian citizen” as “a person born in Canada who has not become an alien; a British subject who has Canadian domicile; or a person naturalized under the laws of Canada who has not subsequently become an alien or lost Canadian domicile.” At this point, immigrant women married to Canadian men and immigrant children born to Canadian parents did not automatically acquire Canadian citizenship.

Henceforth Canadian citizenship could be acquired by immigrants who had been naturalized in Canada, non-Canadian British subjects who had lived in Canada for five or more years, and non-Canadian women who had married Canadian citizens and who had come to live in Canada.

The Citizenship Act eradicated the many discrepancies between naturalization and citizenship status in Canada. The new Act essentially conferred Canadian citizenship on all Canadians, whether native born or not.

Liberalizing Immigration? The New World Order

Under Mackenzie King, postwar reforms in 1947 saw the abolishment of the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, the unprecedented entry of displaced persons, and expanded admissions categories extending to dependants of Canadian citizens. Reconstruction was in full

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213 CBC, News in Review, 4.
214 Canada, Immigration Act, 1910, c. 27, s. 2. An “alien” was defined as a person who was not a British subject.
215 Ibid.
216 Ibid., 66.
217 Knowles, Forging Legacy, 65.
swing; Canada’s gross national product increased from $13.5 million in 1947 to $15.5 million in 1948, a 14.8 percent increase.\textsuperscript{218} Government net revenues were in surplus, skyrocketing from negative $137 million in 1946 to a positive $722 million in 1948.\textsuperscript{219} Despite the encouraging economic recovery, a typical catalyst for increasing immigration, Canada’s fear of postwar recession and tolerance of status quo delayed reforms to immigration policy.\textsuperscript{220}

Changing public perceptions, international influence and economic pressures played important roles in the slow process of transforming Canadian immigration policy.\textsuperscript{221} Mackenzie King’s address to the House of Commons in May 1947, though oblique and ambiguous, was still seen as an opening of Canada’s gates to a greater breadth of racial diversity amongst immigrant admissions. Mackenzie King declared,

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy.\textsuperscript{222}

In the following years, the term “advantageously be absorbed” became both debatable and contentious. Hawkins argued that, “the Prime Minister’s statement on immigration was a cautious

\textsuperscript{220} Despite purporting a “flexible immigration policy,” status quo was basically maintained: “Suitability and desirability are established in part by social, economic and labour conditions in this country. Prospective immigrants should be of a type that will become readily integrated into the community and that will be able to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after admission.” Dominion, \textit{Canada Year Book 1955}, 166; Hawkins wrote that, “While Canada was ready to help solve the problem of Europe’s nine million displaced persons, and prepared to believe that immigration might be an important factor in national economic development and population growth, immigration was certainly not given high priority, nor was it ever given ample funds.” Hawkins, \textit{Critical Years}, 35; Kelley et al., \textit{Making Mosaic}, 253.
\textsuperscript{221} Over one million skilled immigrants entered Canada to fill vacancies “for which Canadians could not be found.” Furthermore, immigrants were seen as tangible commodity, contributing to domestic trade and industry through imported capital and consumer spending. Dominion, \textit{Canada Year Book 1955}, 165-166; Dominion, \textit{Canada Year Book 1951}, 142; Dominion, \textit{Canada Year Book 1957-58}, 164, Kelley et al., \textit{Making Mosaic}, 17.
\textsuperscript{222} Canada, \textit{House of Commons Debates}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} sess., 20\textsuperscript{th} Parliament, vol. 3, 2644, May 1, 1947 (Right Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister).
and unenthusiastic one which effectively preserved the White Canada immigration policy for the next 15 years.”

By 1950, official rhetoric argued absorptive capacity was an economic issue, still skirting the issue of ethnic preference. However, the Governor in Council, exercising the position’s indiscriminate power, passed Orders in Council, independent of the Immigration Act, regarding immigration between 1946 and 1948. The Orders in Council, bypassing parliamentary and judicial scrutiny, allowed for the entry of non-sponsored displaced persons, refugees and Polish war veterans. Furthermore, Orders in Council P.C. 2701 (1946) and P.C. 371 (1947) allowed Canadian residents to sponsor family members, agriculturalists with “sufficient means,” and farm and primary resource labourers with “assured” employment.

In 1950, an overriding Order in Council (P.C. 2856) broadened the diversity of European immigrants entering Canada, allowing any immigrant,

Who satisfies the Minister that he is a suitable immigrant having regard to the climatic, the social, the education, industrial, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada; and that he is not undesirable owing to his probable inability to become readily adapted and integrated into the life of the Canadian community and to assume the duties of Canadian citizenship with a reasonable time after his entry.

Between 1947 and 1950, over 358,000 immigrants entered Canada. Interestingly, as pointed out by George Bonavia, the federal government opted to use regulations rather than statutes to modify immigrant policies; giving the government immense leeway, as “regulations can be changed relatively easily and quickly, and thus the new policy can be implemented with minimum of delay.”

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224 Dominion of Canada, Canada Year Book 1950 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1950), 103; Dominion, Canada Year Book 1957-58, 164.
225 Knowles, Forging Legacy, 67-69.
226 Canada, Order-in-Council, P.C. 2071, May 1946, Immigration and Emigration, 130. Note that P.C. 2071 was an amendment to P.C. 695 (1931) which allowed refugees to enter Canada.
227 Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, 99.
229 Bonavia, Focus on Canadian, 103.
Canadian Attitudes to Immigration

The response of Canadians to the influx of immigrants during the immediate postwar period was very much in conjunction with existing immigration policies. Surveys in the early 1940s indicated approximately 50 percent of interviewees felt Canada should have a selective immigration policy; by August 1947, the Gallop Poll showed a small majority (51 percent) of Canadians polled believed Canada even needed immigrants. The surveys did not show any preference for a particular ethnic group to enter Canada but certainly showed who Canadians did not want. Polls taken in October 1946 indicated that 60 percent of Canadians did not want Japanese nationals entering Canada, a reflection of the political alignments of the time.

In her analysis of postwar data, statistician Nancy Tienhaara revealed that immigration was not viewed as an important issue by Canadians in the postwar period. When the 1951 Gallup Poll asked respondents what pressing issues the coming session of parliament faced, only one percent responded “with immigration.” Tienhaara wrote, “It is likely that this lack of importance as an issue had engendered a feeling of apathy by Canadians towards immigration, and that this apathy accounts for Canadian ambivalence towards federal immigration policies – in the years of certain surveys at least.” Immigration policy may have not interested Canadians but perceived preferential treatment did. Cases such as William Downey’s complaint of a Dutch family being given a farm by the Canadian government gained federal attention, soliciting a

231 Ibid., 42.
232 The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, The Gallup Poll of Canada, August 1951, accessed April 18, 2015, http://www.library.carleton.ca/sites/default/files/find/data/surveys/pdf_files/gllp-51-aug212-que.pdf; Carleton University, Documentation-Gallup Poll of Canada, August 1951, May 28, 1993, accessed April 18, 2015, http://www.library.carleton.ca/sites/default/files/find/data/surveys/ascii_files/gllp-51-aug212-doc. The data were collected by Gallup Canada, Inc. Dictionary and preparation and data cleaning were done by Carleton University Library Data Centre, under the auspices of the National Archives of Canada. These organizations provided the data but cannot be held responsible for the analyses or interpretations presented, nor for any problems with the data.
233 Tienhaara, Canadian Views, 42.
response by the Prime Minister’s office and documentation in Privy Council files.\textsuperscript{234} Although based on an erroneous newspaper article published by the \textit{St. Catharines Standard} and singularly documented, the Downey case resounds of the treatment some immigrants experienced, particularly in cases of property ownership. In other instances, including Paul’s, immigrants were accused of stealing employment opportunities from native-born Canadians:

\textit{Paul.} Now I’m Canadian, no longer a DP [displaced person] because that was the other thing when we first come over, we weren’t Dutch persons, we were DPs.

\textit{Interviewer.} Did you come as DPs?

\textit{Paul.} No, we immigrated and we tried to explain this to the kids we went to school with and finally when we could speak enough English, “We are not DPs.” “Yes, you are. You come over from another country. You’re a DP. You come over here to take our jobs.” That was their attitude.\textsuperscript{235}

Dutch families, such as Adda’s, rationalized this ill treatment by Canadian nationals:

That’s why a lot of Canadian farmers were angry at the Dutch because they said, “Look, we work like the dickens and the Dutch why they—they are one or two years here and they got one.” Most of the Dutchmen, they very quickly got a farm and we never expected anything as a handout. We had known we had to work.\textsuperscript{236}

However, negative Canadian attitudes were offset by many documented incidents favouring Dutch immigrants, and in some cases, expressing public sentiment that Dutch peoples were a preferred nationality.\textsuperscript{237} A brief survey of \textit{Toronto Daily Star} articles published during the years 1947-1955 gives a positive overall impression of immigration, including a pro-immigration stance by the federal and provincial governments. In articles such as “No Ceiling on Immigration Can Take Good Many More,” the Minister of Reconstruction, C. D. Howe, was quoted as saying, “the economic future of Canada lies in a growing population.”\textsuperscript{238} During this first wave of

\textsuperscript{234} W. Downey to L. St. Laurent, 1949, volume 129, file 3-33-24, part 1, RG 26-A-1-c, Deputy Minister’s registry files: immigration (block 3), LAC, Ottawa.
\textsuperscript{235} Paul (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, December 5, 2014.
\textsuperscript{236} Adda, (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 28, 2014.
\textsuperscript{237} C. M. Dixon to C. E. S. Smith, 16 March 1949, volume 129, file 3-33-24, part 1, RG 26-A-1-c, Deputy Minister’s registry files: immigration (block 3), LAC, Ottawa.
immigration, the *Globe and Mail* also reported positive official rhetoric. For example, in the *Globe and Mail* article published on August 4, 1947, the Agricultural Minister Kennedy described Canadian attitudes to the incoming Netherlanders as, “Everywhere I went I found that Canada stands high in the opinion of the people” and commented on their contribution to the economy as, “They are 100 per cent farmers.” The articles depict Canada as a ‘Land of Promise’, appreciative of ethnic contributions, a nation of morally superior peoples, heroes and warriors. However, beneath this rhetoric, public opinions voiced concerns: concentrated settlements, extreme religiosity, labour conflicts, public charge and lack of assimilation.

By 1955, the *Toronto Daily Star*’s language choices reflect the changing semantics of ‘assimilation’. Seen also in texts other than the commercialized and mainstream views of newspapers, the semantic changes to the word ‘assimilation’ were a response to changing societal values and sociological ideologies. Over time, the term ‘assimilation’ has become a negative concept, erroneously associated with complete absorption and forced homogeneity. Despite being used interchangeably with or in replacement of ‘assimilation’, the alternative term ‘integration’ has its own distinct definition from a sociological viewpoint. Increasingly, however, non-sociological texts are shunning ‘assimilation’, choosing instead ‘integration,’ which carries a positive cultural script, inferring the seemingly more acceptable idea of pluralism and a bidirectional relationship between immigrants and the host society.

**Settlement Schemes: Canada-Netherlands Bilateral Agreement**

Of the 358,000 immigrants who entered Canada during the years 1947-1950, nearly 16,000 Dutch nationals came under the auspices of an unofficial bilateral agreement (1947 to 1950).

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1949) negotiated with the Netherlands. A shortage of farm owners and operators (agriculturists) and farm labourers, and generally, decreasing rural populations, motivated Canada to recruit immigrant farm families and single agriculturalists. To contrast, postwar Netherlands faced overcrowding, unemployment and inflation. Overpopulation, in part, was due to high birth and low mortality rates. The physical destruction of arable agricultural land in the Netherlands created a surplus of farmers and subsequent high unemployment in the agricultural sector. The bilateral agreement, “Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan,” (also known as the Netherlands-Canada Settlement Scheme) mitigated the population issues facing both nations.

Actively promoting emigration, the Dutch government negotiated agreements with several receiving countries. Nationals interested in emigration received assistance from the Dutch government to relocate to their country of choice. The Dutch government provided subsidies of on average 220 dollars per person for transportation, board allowance and landing money. English language courses, the predominant language of the receiving countries (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States and South Africa), were offered to all emigrants. Of the over 564,000 nationals who emigrated between 1946 and 1954, 21 percent came to Canada.

Palmer and Palmer wrote,

For its part, Canada was favourably disposed toward the new Dutch immigrants. Immigration officials felt that they were competent farmers and would remain on the

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241 Dominion, *Canada Year Book 1948-1949*, 174. 3,000 Dutch immigrants arrived in 1947 with 10,000 more planned for 1948; Dominion, *Canada Year Book 1951*, 141.
243 Petersen, *Planned Migration*, 17, 40.
244 The relationship between the Netherlands and Canada in regard to negotiating labour resources was not a new concept. In 1922, the Netherlands experienced a surplus of agriculturalists and a settlement scheme was arranged with Canada to accommodate the surplus agricultural population. “Dutch Farmer Will Be Urged to Locate Here,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 14, 1922, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail (1844-2010), 13.
land. Also, some of the turn-of-the-century racist views continued to be reflected in the notion that the Dutch were desirable because they were of “Nordic stock.” More reasonably, Canadian proponents of Dutch immigration argued that the Dutch would assimilate rapidly because of similarities between Canadian and Dutch society.\textsuperscript{248}

The Canadian-Netherlands agreement included a negotiated number of immigrants to be allowed entrance to Canada per year. Upon arrival, the Settlement Service of the Immigration Branch placed them according to the availability of pre-selected housing and employment opportunities.\textsuperscript{249} In many cases, the Dutch-language churches established in Canada performed important roles in placing immigrants, seeking sponsors to provide employment, housing and guarantees against public charge for incoming Dutch nationals.\textsuperscript{250} Immigrants under the Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan required sponsorship by a Canadian farmer, guaranteeing employment and adequate housing for a mandatory one-year period. More than 60 percent of these postwar immigrants settled in Ontario.\textsuperscript{251}

Unlike farm labourers, Dutch agriculturists came with sufficient capital to purchase farm operations but often were unable to do so because of exchange restrictions. Nationals’ remaining funds were kept in trust by the Dutch government, to be released at an undetermined date. Dutch regulations restricted the currency leaving the Netherlands; emigrants only were allowed to bring one hundred Canadian dollars per adult and fifty dollars per child.\textsuperscript{252} With a minimum salary of seventy-five dollars per month for a married couple and forty-five dollars for a single adult son,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[248] Palmer and Palmer, “Religious Ethic,” 335.
\item[249] H. L. Keenleyside to A. D. P. Heeney, 22 June 1949, volume 129, file 3-33-24, part 1, Deputy Minister’s registry files: immigration (block 3), RG 26-A-1-c, LAC, Ottawa.
\item[251] Richmond, \textit{Post-War Immigrants}, 257.
\end{footnotes}
the idea of farm ownership seemed far removed. However, Netherlands authorities were adamant that the movement was not to be considered a farm labourer movement; these were farm operators who, due to monetary restrictions, spent the first year in transition, working in sponsored positions to accumulate capital towards farm purchases. The Immigration Branch acquiesced to Dutch demands for fear of losing a valuable immigrant source. The agreement, however, required personal involvement by the Immigration Branch, avoiding the typical channelling of farm labourers through the Department of Labour. Indeed, in a confidential memo to the Minister of Mines and Resources, H. L. Keenleyside cautioned,

The representatives of the Dutch government have stated emphatically that if the Department of Labour should take it over, and should begin to handle the Dutch settlers as though they were simply farm labourers, the whole movement to Canada would be stopped.

In an unprecedented move, the Immigration Branch of the Ministry of Mines and Resources agreed to the proposal made by Dutch authorities in late 1946. The Netherlands Farm Families Immigration Plan was the only labour scheme in which the Immigration Branch rather than the Department of Labour controlled the placement of newcomers. This anomaly was a point of contention, creating immense friction between the departments that lasted several years. Correspondence from the Department of Labour’s Minister, Humphrey Mitchell, and Deputy Minister Arthur MacNamara to immigration officials, such as James A. Glenn, Minister of Mines and Resources, and Deputy Minister H. L. Keenleyside, revealed a deep animosity towards the perceived encroachment on the Labour portfolio. Despite the duplication of services, from an immigration standpoint, the agreement was a coup and looked upon as “one of the most

promising immigration movements that has been developed in many years,” as Keenleyside wrote.256

In summary, the history of Canadian immigration policy between the years 1867 and 1955 followed a reactive, erratic pattern influenced by national interests, economics, international pressure and public perceptions. From open-door to invitation-only, Canadian policy reflected the recurring theme of privilege rather than right. Even though official rhetoric decried unity of the people through common purpose and common interest, their actions portrayed selective ethnic measures to ensure the ‘commonality’. The symbolic use of a door mirrors the realities of immigration practices; entry to Canada was just as easily closed on those who were deemed unwelcome or not desired as it was opened for those who were preferred. The uninhibited power of the Governor in Council ensured the door swung erratically and, in the case of continental Europeans, all that much more open.

Chapter 5

Education: Negotiable and Contradictory

Chapter Five explores assimilation within Ontario’s educational system during the postwar period, specifically examining curriculum, textbooks, teacher education and formalized citizenship training. It examines archival resources and oral testimonies, drawing on the discipline of history. This era was complicated by unfulfilled dreams of ‘progressive’ education, crumbling infrastructures and an increasingly unskilled pool of educators. The exploding population and rekindled interest in education led to massive construction programmes, hasty reforms to teacher education and a renewed commitment to reforming pedagogy. In this context, several notable programmes were aimed specifically at assimilating immigrants, both adult and school-aged.

Assimilation strategies were generic, neither tailored to specific ethnic groups nor, in some cases, differentiated between native-born and immigrant students. Strategies were applied equally across all immigrant populations. The oral testimonies of the Dutch immigrant students, however, provide a unique perspective on these assimilation strategies, offering documented evidence of students’ experiences with and emotional responses to their subjection.

Education in Flux

Controlled by provincial powers, education prior to World War II was geared to traditional, liberal values rather than vocational training and practical participatory citizenship.257 This analysis by historian Donald Creighton sharply contrasts the significant shifts to education that were seen in the postwar era. Ontario’s Minister of Education, Honourable Dana Porter (1948-51), introduced the “Porter Plan,” a movement to more ‘progressive’ education and equity for all in which “each child, regardless of place of residence, wealth or social position of parents, was entitled to an education adapted to his abilities, his interests, his social and vocational

257 Creighton, Forked, 29.
Reforms included revamping curriculum to better prepare students entering the workforce. The transformation changed the face of secondary education, which was typically reserved only for those moving onward to the professions or universities.

Access to education was generous—all residents between the ages of five and twenty-one qualified for free public elementary schooling if parents were public school supporters. Secondary schools, as well, were free except for non-residents—those not living within the school district boundary. During this era, attendance was compulsory until age sixteen, a ruling based on the Adolescent School Attendance Act of 1919. To gain an idea of school populations, in 1950, over 700,000 pupils ranging in age from five to sixteen attended school, and of these, over 10,000 were immigrant school-aged children. The Department of Education estimated a continuing growth of 25,000 students (including immigrants) annually over the next decade. Between the years of 1949 to 1955, approximately 131,950 immigrant children under the age of eighteen settled in Ontario. Although education was accessible, affordable, and mandatory, not all immigrant children took advantage of it, thus reducing their exposure to possible assimilation strategies in place within Ontario’s educational system.

Despite the influx of newcomers, the majority of narrators remember being part of the only immigrant family within a school, particularly in the early years. No evidence suggests the isolation experienced by the narrators was of intentional design by the education system. The combination of school administrative units and selected farm sponsorship resulted in placing agricultural immigrants in distant proximity from one another. In 1948 to 1949 alone, Ontario

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operated 5,893 public elementary schools, and of these, 5,034 were rurally located. Of this latter number, 83 percent consisted of a single classroom. The physical distances in rural communities and the prevalence of one-room schools with their small enrollment made immigrant students vulnerable to isolation. To contrast, evidence suggests the federal government considered concentrated settlements of ethnic groups not in the best interest of Canada nor of immigrants. More intentionally, this strategy of isolation forcefully encouraged submersion into the dominant culture for Dutch immigrants. This assimilation tactic was, for Dutch agriculturalists, ensured by the governments’ sponsor farm application process. Upon the realization that there were no other Dutch families nearby, Otto recalled his mother’s emotional response, “Now God and man have left me.”

The average student entered Grade One at age six or seven and typically continued schooling until the age of sixteen; however, a significant number of students dropped out at the age of fourteen. Another factor in the attrition rate was the exemption that parents could apply for, based on a demonstrated financial or urgent need. The “exemption,” either a home permit or employment certificate, allowed school-aged children leave from school for a set period of time. In the late 1940s, 5,000 to 6,000 employment certificates were granted annually. Employment exemptions dropped in the early 1950s, rising again by 1955 to 4,000, an increase attributed by the Department of Education to increased enrollment and employment opportunities. Aside from exemptions, few students continued beyond Grade Nine or Ten, unlike modern practices that dictate high school and some, would even argue, post-secondary school, a necessity for

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entering the workforce and part of a basic education. Postwar statistics reported by the Department of Education indicated a continual and significant decline in enrollment in public schools beginning after Grade Eight. Enrollment by grade percentage in the 1955 to 1956 school year dropped from 7.1 percent in Grade Eight to 4.8 percent in Grade Ten, and then sank to 2.3 percent in Grade Twelve, dropping despite the massive influx of immigrants to Ontario.\(^{269}\) Previously in 1953, and even as far back as 1947, comparisons of grade enrollments between Grade Eight and Grade Nine showed a dramatic drop of over 95 percent. In and of themselves, fluctuations in classroom sizes were not solely affected by dropouts but also by birthrates, emigration and immigration. Despite these additional factors that affected cohort size, the significant driving force behind the dramatic decline continued to be the value placed on education by both parents and society.

Narrators’ accounts are consistent with these statistics, such as Helen’s experience:

Grade Ten. Till the end of Grade Ten because then, in those days, you could get a decent job yet. I was working in the textile plant in the lab. That was a good job. It was. I was making more money than any of my friends were because they were just doing housework and babysitting and that type of thing. It wasn’t too long after that then you had to have Grade Twelve to get into the lab. That went up fast and I started with twenty-three dollars a week. And that was quite a bit more than any of my friends were making.\(^{270}\)

These statistics become increasingly significant when considering that, although children were inculcated with Canadian democratic ideals from their earliest school years and onwards, educators felt students were not developmentally mature enough until at least Grade Ten to expose them to a systematic study of citizenship and democracy.\(^{271}\) As a result, a large number of both immigrant and native-born children missed their formal induction into Canadian citizenship.


\(^{270}\) Helen (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 12, 2014.

However, beyond the empirical evidence, the narrators’ personal stories, when mined for deeper meaning, reveal the underlying value that Canadians attached to education. When examined closely, the oral testimonies were seen to contain cultural constructs or paradigms that drew on specific beliefs about certain aspects of society held by Canadian culture.\textsuperscript{272} When the narrators’ testimonies were scrutinized, the embedded constructs reflected the value placed on education and the roles young men and women were expected to hold in postwar Canada. In this case, education was believed to be a means to employment and subsequently, youths were expected to gain employment and contribute to family incomes. For a significant proportion of Canadian parents, a Grade Eight education was acceptable and even sufficient for their children—ample enough to enter the workforce, their leaving determined either by choice or family finances.\textsuperscript{273} Despite conforming to these cultural constructs, the frustration regarding their inability to pursue further education in Canada is marked in some of the male narrators’ stories. When asked about schooling, Frans, who left school at age thirteen, retorted, “No school here. Work. Work. Work.”\textsuperscript{274} Similarly, Frederic responded, “Went to work. Never went to school here. Twelve. I started work when I was twelve.”\textsuperscript{275} In other cases, for many male immigrant children, including Fanny’s brothers, the interruptions to their education by migration and often multiple moves accelerated what was perceived as the ‘end’ of their education. Furthermore, for some, there is regret:

No—well, we were one of the first ones there, they didn’t know what to do with ya. You know, you didn’t speak English and you’re far ahead in math from what the regular kids were and so, you know, I know they had me try a spelling test, well, I put half of it in capital letters and so half of them were wrong from the few that I did have right. So, yeah, my education basically stopped when we left Holland.\textsuperscript{276}

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\textsuperscript{273} Robert D. Gidney, From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario’s Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 15.
\textsuperscript{274} Frans (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 10, 2014.
\textsuperscript{275} Frederic (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 14, 2014.
\textsuperscript{276} Jack (pseudonym), interview with author, Northeastern Ontario, December 5, 2014.
\end{flushright}
Although many children, both immigrant and Canadian-born, never went on to secondary school, the testimonies of the male narrators who did not have the option or had limited schooling in Canada express a sense of loss or missed opportunity.

Despite conforming to acceptable practices, there was still backlash from outside parties. In his report on the assimilation of Dutch immigrants, G. A. Mendel wrote the following observation: “Obstacle to rapid integration—relative low educational standards of Dutch immigrants.” In this case, the Dutch community’s perceived lack of commitment to education, including early removal from school, was seen as detrimental to their overall integration. Others, like Wilfred Bishop, felt decreased schooling gave immigrants a competitive edge: “Dutch immigrants in too many cases by refusing to send their children to school and the father collecting their earnings tend to acquire land holdings and [at] the same time produce inferior products to compete with the product of our farms without any relation to cost factors.” The contradictory viewpoints reflect the changing attitudes towards the value and purpose of education for immigrants in postwar Ontario.

Oral historian Daniel James emphasizes the need to delve further into the logic and symbols of these constructs in order to do justice to narrative stories. The symbols found within cultural constructs are typically expressed verbally, with narrators often using cultural scripts (underlying meanings and cultural context associated with a particular word or phrase) and narrative devices to make sense of their experiences. Many male narrators made sense of their perceived losses by using available cultural scripts such as ‘hard work pays off’, ‘hard work

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280 Ibid., 137.
builds character’, “‘big boy’ equals adult responsibilities’ and ‘men as providers’. The following recollection by Jack regarding his father’s reason for pulling him out of school provides a clear example of this rationalization:

Jack. Dad says, “You’re a big boy, you can come home from school,” got a permit so I could quit but I could still get the baby bonus whatever that was, a few bucks.

Interviewer. So how old were you then?

Jack. I had turned fourteen at that time when I could, ah, when Dad says, “You’re a big boy, I want your help on the farm.” Yeah, I was in Grade Seven when I was fourteen. They put you back, and oh yeah, and not only that, we had four, five different schools and we moved a lot and if there was work on the farm, Dad kept me home. I always wanted to be a veterinarian. Never happened.281

Whether or not the narrators’ perceptions reflected the actuality of their parents’ decisions and circumstances, oral historian Daniel James argued historians ought to emphasize the truth of the telling versus telling the truth.282 The ‘truth’ according to the narrator becomes equally important as to any empirical evidence presented. In using these cultural scripts, the narrators’ subsequent rationale reflects a process described by Lynn Abrams in which “sense is made of them [events] using our knowledge of what such an event or experience should look like, whilst at the same time being influenced by the context in which one is retrieving the memory.”283

Fanny’s narrative recounting of her schooling, as well, heavily relies on cultural scripts; the underlying meanings associated with the words ‘lucky’ and ‘normal’ give insight to what she believed were typical roles in Canadian society:

I finished Grade Ten. I thought I was lucky because of all the kids, I was the first one to go to high school. Because all my brothers—well, after public school they just stayed home on the farm and started working for farmers. That was normal.284

The use of ‘lucky’ functions on several levels; firstly, it consistently mirrors the role many girls expected to play in their previous European culture. Several female narrators felt that, if they had

281 Jack (pseudonym), interview with author, Northeastern Ontario, December 5, 2014.
282 James, Doña María’s Story, 137.
283 Abrams, Oral History Theory, 84.
stayed in the Netherlands, they would only have achieved elementary education and faced a future in domestic service. Although typical of Canadian statistics, further education was a significant shift in cultural patterns for many Dutch female immigrants.\textsuperscript{285} Moreover, reforms to education removed barriers to further schooling, no longer reserving higher education for those who valued liberal education or were heading to professional careers, making access to secondary education easier. Yet, ‘lucky’ also conveys the sense of gratitude often associated with the complicated relationship between the Dutch and Canadian nations.\textsuperscript{286} ‘Normal’ in this context was conformity to both Canadian societal and Dutch immigrant expectations that rural children, particularly males, would enter the work force early to ease financial burdens, if necessary.

Students leaving elementary school had several choices for further education, largely dependent on the services offered by their municipality: continuation school, high school, collegiate institutes and vocational school. Most students entering secondary school enrolled in the ‘general course.’ Courses of study at this level included art, English, physical education, home economics, social studies (history, geography), mathematics (algebra, geometry, trigonometry, statistics), music, modern languages, chemistry, physics, shop, commerce, Latin, Greek, general science and agricultural science.\textsuperscript{287} The typical student-teacher ratio in a classroom was twenty-three to one.\textsuperscript{288} A throwback from the turn of the century, the continuation school existed primarily in rural areas and was, effectively, a small high school. Continuation schools offered classes in Grades Nine through Eleven or Twelve but not Grade Thirteen. These schools on average had one full-time secondary school teacher.\textsuperscript{289} By 1949, 115 continuation schools served the villages and rural townships of Ontario with students transferring to high schools in larger

\textsuperscript{285} Palmer and Palmer, “Religious Ethic,” 336. Average educational attainment for majority of Dutch immigrants limited to Grades Six to Eight.
\textsuperscript{286} See liberation and gratitude newspaper articles listed in Bibliography.
\textsuperscript{288} Ontario Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education 1949, 10.
urban areas to complete their senior years.\textsuperscript{290} Despite the numerous available options, transportation was an issue and often deterred rural students from pursuing further education.\textsuperscript{291}

Decentralization in education gave increasing control, albeit incrementally, to local school boards and schools. In 1949, the High School Entrance examination was abolished, allowing “local authorities” to determine the movement of students from one division to another.\textsuperscript{292} By September 1950, the Departmental certificates of Middle School were discontinued. The principal was given the responsibility of checking and recording students’ standings in Grade XI and Grade XII for eligibility for the Secondary School Graduation Diploma.\textsuperscript{293} The aim of these reforms to administration was to allow for greater flexibility.

Despite decentralization at the local level, certain aspects of education remained highly centralized. Teacher certification, curriculum and textbook choice continued to be tightly controlled by the provincial Department of Education. The continued unification of core areas left local school boards unable to respond effectively to their districts’ unique needs, such as the increasing numbers of immigrant pupils. In contrast, the provincial grip on education provided an ideal platform for integration strategies and wide-spread civic education.

\textbf{Curriculum}

The Ontario Department of Education controlled the curriculum delivered at both elementary and secondary levels. Elementary teachers received a \textit{Programme of Studies for Grade I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools}, affectionately known as ‘The Grey Book,’ outlining the topics and subjects covered in Grade One through Grade Six. Released in 1937 and in effect until the 1960s, this ‘progressive’ curriculum covered English, social studies, arithmetic,
natural science, health education, music and art. Similarly, high school teachers received subject outlines or circulars indicating required topics, order and content in all areas of curriculum, as prescribed by the Ministry. At both elementary and secondary levels, students worked through grades sequentially in lock-step. Despite attempts at reform, including curriculum content, Ontario’s education remained bound to rigid, prescribed courses of study and grade progression.

Interestingly, narrators revealed that prior to being constrained to a particular grade level there was an opportunity for immigrant children to bypass the lock-step process. Although rarely placed above their previously completed grade level, this modicum of flexibility in Ontario’s rigid educational system pointed to the possibility of negotiating social standing:

*Josie.* Basically put us all in Grade 1 and started us out that way, kind of. And then, once we learned the language they decided well, we should be in this grade or we should be in that grade.

*Clare.* It was just—I got in there and ah, okay, she started me in grade, I was supposed to be in grade four, she started me in Grade 1, *Dick and Jane* and you know, blah blah blah. I spent one week in Grade 1 (laughs), two weeks in Grade 2 (laughter) and then when I got to Grade 3 and there was nobody in Grade 4 so they kept me in Grade 3 for the year.

In 1950, the Ministry announced the plan to combine Grades 7-10, for curriculum purposes, into a unit called the Intermediate Division. This marked the beginning of a reorganization of grades into four divisions. “The substitution of primary, junior and intermediate divisions for the older classification is a deliberate attempt to free the school system from the shackles of the one-grade, one-book, one-year organization.” Local school boards were given more freedom in organization and increased control over curriculum and textbook use. At both

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295 This was possibly an intended oversight. “The speaker also pointed out some of the differences in background and training among national groups. Whereas the Italians average about 3.5 years of schooling, the Slavic peoples average 8 years, and the Nordic about 8.5 years of schooling before their arrival. It can be seen that not all our immigrants can or should start at the same academic level. Those with superior backgrounds usually learn more quickly, also, and we should provide whenever possible for their advancement.” Donald Maddocks to O. R. Stalter, report, December 15, 1954, file London office: general, Department of Education, number 1, RG-74-5, Ontario Archives (hereafter cited as OA), Toronto.
297 Clare (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 13, 2014.
the elementary and secondary level reforms continued: revisions to curriculum and development of courses with special attention to local needs and interests, and a focus on developing a comprehensive programme for the majority of students, those leaving school at or before the compulsory age.\textsuperscript{299} The ongoing reforms marked a transitional period, with the attempts at modernizing Ontario’s educational system moderated by the largely unrevised curriculum of core subjects originating from the prewar era.

The suggested reforms to curriculum in the 1950s reflect the increasingly child-centred approach to education in which, “A free organization should permit progress in each subject at a rate suitable to the capacity of the individual, and the provision of subject matter related to his interests and needs,” reflecting John Dewey’s educational philosophies.\textsuperscript{300} Rather than memorization of a core number of academic subjects and lock-in-step grade progression, Dewey promoted an educational approach that concerned the “whole child.”\textsuperscript{301} A further indication of change was the growth of guidance services in both elementary and secondary schools, which fostered the development of the child’s “abilities to the fullest possible extent.”\textsuperscript{302} However, there is no evidence suggesting the development of programming for students new to Canada and their unique needs.\textsuperscript{303}

The 1950s reforms were crystallized in what was sarcastically referred to as the “Hopeless Report” or better known by its moniker, the Hope Report.\textsuperscript{304} Formally titled \textit{The Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario} (1950), the massive volume consolidated five years of study on the state of publically supported education in Ontario.\textsuperscript{305}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[299] Ibid., 7, 12.
\item[300] Ibid., 7.
\item[301] Bumsted, \textit{Peoples}, 219; Hope, \textit{Royal Commission on Education}, 36-40.
\item[305] Hope, \textit{Royal Commission on Education}, ix.
\end{footnotes}
Based on briefs and memoranda from, and public sessions with, private individuals and public organizations, the commission reported on numerous aspects of education, ranging from finances, administration, curriculum, teacher education, teaching staff, system organization and central authority, to French language instruction and separate schools. The reforms suggested were visionary and encompassing, requiring a complete overhaul of the educational system. However, looking specifically at citizenship, little of the report’s recommendations were found in the 1955 or 1960 curriculum releases, which were admittedly reprints of the 1941 edition with minor revisions. Only the outlines for experimental courses released in 1950 truly reflected the report’s ideals. However, the course outlines were neither mandatory nor prescriptive; the outlines were only meant to help Teacher’s Committees tailor courses to their local communities and to the individual needs of their students. As mere suggestions for revisions, the optional outlines lacked the leverage needed to affect subsequent curriculum releases.

The introduction of the 1941 and 1942 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 clearly delineated the purpose of Ontario schools—schools existed for the education of democratic citizens, an aim fully supported by Canadian rural populations. In a 1950 survey of rural education, respondents felt citizenship was both the most important and yet also the most neglected aim of education. In contrast to the hazy political definitions of a “good citizen,” educators were crystal clear in their criteria. The ideal citizen was responsible, hard working, cooperative, willing to sacrifice, self-controlled, adaptable and socially conforming.

307 Ontario Department of Education, Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools 1941 ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1941), 5, OHEC 372.1909713 O59 DE/C, OHEC, Toronto; Ontario Department of Education, Programme of Studies for Grades VI and VIII of the Public and Separate Schools 1942, ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1942), 8, OHEC 372.1909713 O59 DE/C, OHEC, Toronto. Preface remained the same for both releases.
309 Ontario, Programme of Studies 1942, 5.
lucent was the plan to accomplish this feat—inculcating these democratic ideals relied on teachers’ personalities, administration of the classroom, subject matter and teaching methodologies.\textsuperscript{310} Moreover,

The habit of effective behaviour in accord with the principles of democratic living must be developed over a considerable period of time, by experience and practice, beginning early in life. It cannot be developed by coercion, but must be accepted willingly as a desirable form of conduct. Nor can it be acquired from the verbal teaching of precepts. No reliance can be placed on the study of a single text book, or the setting up of a course in “democracy” to teach the habits of democratic living. They can only be learned through meaningful social experience at the child’s own age level.\textsuperscript{311}

Taking direct responsibility for acculturating and enculturating pupils, schools created environments in which students could “learn the social techniques, derive the attitudes and beliefs, and develop the abilities and skills that social life in a democratic society requires.”\textsuperscript{312} The assumption was, however, that all students contained an innate willingness to conform. Despite the rhetoric of not using coercion, immigrant children were given no visible options to do otherwise. Within this process of becoming a democratic citizen, students were expected to progress from blind reception to a conscious acceptance and mastery of those ideals.\textsuperscript{313}

Citizenship education, at either elementary or secondary levels, played a two-fold role—as a means to acquire citizenship or the characteristics of a society, and to encourage national cohesion. As such, curriculum was taught to all students whether native-born or immigrant, subjecting them both to the same ideologies and literature. This was a concept beginning to be questioned by educators, in that, “Present school programs were failing to do all they could for New Canadians because they were designed specifically for children born and raised in

\textsuperscript{311} Ontario, \textit{Programme of Studies 1941}, 6. This wording continues and is seen in the 1960 curriculum release.
\textsuperscript{312} Ontario, \textit{Programme of Studies 1941}, 6.
\textsuperscript{313} Ontario, \textit{Programme of Studies 1942}, 7.
As a result of the Department’s belief that democracy was indoctrinated, civics at the elementary level remained an integrated subject with teachers modelling the characteristics of a good citizen. However, a singular distinct difference was found in the secondary curriculum. The Department released an obligatory course in Canadian civics, newly introduced in 1935, designed for Fourth and Fifth Form classes in the public school system and Lower School classes (Grades IX and X) in high, vocational and continuation schools.

The corresponding reader, *A Canadian Reader in Civics* by W. Stewart Wallace (1935), was divided into parts to meet each grade’s requirements. The textbook remained the sole civics text on the authorized textbook list until phased out from public and separate schools in 1950 and finally disappearing from the continuation, high schools and collegiate institutes’ authorized textbook schedule in 1951-1952. A second civics text, *We Are Canadian Citizens*,

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316 Ontario Department of Education, *Courses of Study Grades IX to X Social Studies History 1938* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1938), OHEC 373.1909713 O59DE/C-H9-12, OHEC, Toronto.
by C.C. Goldring (1937), created for Grades VII, VIII and IX remained on Schedule B or the recommended book list for public and separate schools from 1937 until 1946. By 1955, neither of the discontinued textbooks had been replaced by explicit civics texts. Moreover, the Grade X Canadian History and Citizenship course introduced in 1935 continued with the same set curriculum outline from 1938 to at least 1952. By implication, whether school boards used either text to offset the unrevised longstanding curriculum, students were inculcated with ideologies of citizenship stemming from the early to mid-1930s.

The 1930s texts, *A Canadian Reader in Civics* and *We Are Canadian Citizens*, reflect many of the values and concerns of post-World War I. The after-effects of the war left a general sense that apathy, intolerance, a lack of cooperation and an inability to think for oneself were at

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319 See citation 304.

320 Ontario Department of Education, *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1938* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1938); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1939* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1939); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1942* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1942); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1945* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1945); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1946* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1946); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1950* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1950); *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1952* ([Toronto]: The Dept., 1952), OHEC 373.1909713 O59DE/C-H9-12, OHEC, Toronto.
the root of the Great War. The ensuing curriculum and texts reflect the ideology that these faults could be remedied by focusing on creating “good” democratic citizens, not only of Canada but of the world. The release of the new Grade X civics curriculum in 1935 was an active product of this belief. Writing in reference to the creation of the League of Nations in *We Are Canadian Citizens,* and looking closer at the idea of intolerance, Goldring commented that,

> Most of our apathy and dislike of others have their roots in suspicious fear and lack of understanding and anything that can be done to increase our knowledge of the conditions and viewpoint of other people is very much worthwhile.\(^{321}\)

While acknowledging the issue, the focus was on encouraging international tolerance and not necessarily on the internal issues of prejudice and discrimination.\(^{322}\) By the same token, the sentiments found in educational documents from post-World War II mark a renewed commitment to creating “good” citizens with an increased emphasis on human understanding.\(^{323}\) Premier George Drew best described the new efforts: “The best way to avoid racial and religious strife is not by imposing a method of thinking but by teaching our children that we are all members of a great human family, that each member has a part to contribute and that we are only one part.”\(^{324}\)

However, no materials in Ontario’s public school curriculum specifically addressed racial or religious prejudice although overt attempts were made to acknowledge the situation. For example, the experimental course outlines released in 1950 list a social studies aim as understanding “the differences between peoples; customs which are different are not necessarily inferior” with an attitude of “respect for peoples and individuals unprejudiced by qualities of race,


colour, class, creed or national origin.”

That being said, the guiding principle stressed that “accurate and balanced information about typical life in other lands is more important than the strange, bizarre and unusual.”

The wording implies that the more common approach emphasized the obscure, a method that often promoted skewed perspectives of ethnic groups. As these were optional course outlines, there is very little evidence to indicate school boards chose to incorporate the more liberal views on intergroup relations.

At higher grade levels, the Grade X Canadian History and Citizenship course also attempted to address the issue. One of the course’s seven aims was “to promote tolerance, respect and goodwill towards other races and classes.” A suggested field of study was “some special group or settlement in the community—racial, religious, etc.” However, as one of seven suggested topics that rotated every year, the likelihood of all students having these discussions is minimal. In yet another opportunity, minority rights were discussed under the heading of Equality, which explored the meaning and purpose of democratic government, both of which, however, are not covered as subject matter in the required textbook, *A Reader in Canadian Civics* or in the alternate text, *We Are Canadian Citizens*. Overall, Ontario’s curriculum did not effectively address racial prejudice and discrimination, issues that significantly impacted the integration of newcomers.

With regard to prejudice, narrators’ memories of their overall school experiences were positive and yet single recollections recount incidents of bullying and discrimination, loneliness, and subjection to demeaning integration strategies:

The teacher didn’t like our Dutch names so she changed it ‘cause my name was Josyntje or Josyntie—really Josyntje was my name and they had trouble pronouncing all that, so she changed it to Josie. And we were, “Oh fine with us, we’re easy goin’”—but we got teased, of course, because we didn’t know any English and stuff. I think if it came down

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325 For The Use of the Committee on Cultural Relations, memorandum, volume 55, Projects, MG 28 I 85, LAC, Ottawa. The document suggests Saskatchewan had included material specifically on racial and religious prejudice in its curriculum; Ontario, *Outline of Course for Experimental Use 1950*, 38, 39.
327 Ontario, *Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies History 1939*, 21-23.
to today’s thing, we were bullied, you know. But I was a tough kid. I wouldn’t take any of that so I fought back all the time and I mean, that’s not always the best thing to do but I did it anyhow. “You’re not getting away with this, [harrumph] you know,” so—and being as I had two older brothers, well, then that helped.328

My name used to be Jurian. We came here in 1950 and of course, we didn’t speak English. Went right into school. “What’s your name?” “Jurian.” Well, can’t say Jurian, so I got “Urine” and all kinds of stuff.329

The narrators’ overall experiences reflect the collective memory or group consciousness of the Dutch immigrant school experience. Although the individual memories, such as Josie’s, are situated within the collective memory, they are never aggregate memories of this larger group consciousness.330 As oral historian Lynn Abrams wrote, the collective memory is a shared memory with the purpose to “unite us socially, the common agreed memories tend to predominate and alternatives fade away.”331 Reflections by Helen and Otto give insight to this phenomenon:

I think we were just sort of quiet and stuck together more or less, you know, because we must have been made welcome and felt welcome because I can’t remember thinking, oh, I don’t want to go to school. I cannot remember ever thinking that. No. No.332

In the above narrative, Helen’s inability to remember or her lack of desire or ability to express what it felt like being a member of the only immigrant family in the school leads her to revert unconsciously to the positive collective memory of schooling to respond to the question. In like manner, Otto’s general memories about school, too, are positive but subtly infer feelings of isolation and loneliness:

I think they treated us okay. Yeah, I think they treated us okay. We have memories of the school and there was a lot of good people there. But there again, you see it was a good thing I was, my sister went there and my brother went there, I wasn’t by myself. If I’d been by myself it would have been—might have been more lonelier. But at least we had each other.333

328 Josie (pseudonym), interview with author, Southern Ontario, November 19, 2014.
331 Ibid.
332 Helen (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 12, 2014.
The desire to create shared memories was strong, despite often being the only immigrant family in a school. Collectively as an ethnic group, through the retelling of stories, they have over time created memories that reflect this shared social experience. In this particular instance, the shared memory became the socially acceptable memory of a ‘positive’ schooling experience in Ontario.

The majority of narrators, as in Josie’s experience, entered Ontario schools without prior knowledge of the English language. Their lack of knowledge proved a significant obstacle to both integration and their initial educational progress—a situation complicated by Ontario’s prescribed curriculum and authorized textbook listings. Reviews of the Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI, Grades VII and VIII, and Circular 14 – Text-Books Authorized and Recommended from 1947 to 1955 show nothing officially existed to address this issue. Learning English was left to student effort, submersion in the predominantly Anglo culture and individual teachers’ attempts to help their struggling students. Despite official government rhetoric stating the importance of integrating newcomers, efforts to help school-aged children master the English language were minimal:

I don’t remember. Now I know that they all started us out in a lower grade and it was in no time that you knew the language. You know we were told that in six months we’d be speaking English and we said, “No way.” But we did. And we were out in the country, it’s not like you had all kinds of interaction after school or, you know, but yeah.

Narrators’ recollections support this evidence and furthermore, they did not remember having materials available to them to learn English. Archival documents, however, show a number of available resources existed, such as Streamlined English: The New Easier Way to Learn and More Books for New Canadians. Moreover, by 1954, the Canadian Citizenship Council (CCC)

335 Josie (pseudonym), interview with author, Southern Ontario, November 19, 2014.
had developed a package for teachers of immigrant adults or children that included educational aids, dates of special occasions, and lists of available resources. Independent of the Department of Education’s Text-Books Authorized and Recommended circular, the CCC’s materials were available on request, a procedure approved by the Department. The allowed deviation from the authorized textbook listing suggests a lack of commitment and an unwillingness to allocate resources to the problem, outside resources instead providing a band-aid solution to the immigrant issue. The Community Programmes Branch of the Department of Education also offered access to adult-oriented materials such as English Through Pictures. Archival evidence shows, however, an insignificant number of public teachers directly accessed the materials which were specifically designed for adult use. The lack of access suggests a communication breakdown between the agencies and local school boards, effectively limiting teachers to texts from the authorized and approved listing published by the Ontario Department of Education.

Despite the dearth of easily available resources and funding, some teachers were creative in aiding their students, often sourcing materials from unexpected sources:

Oh, I’m sure she did. I’m sure she did but I don’t remember that. I do [remember]—whenever the school closed and we were being shipped to the new school by bus, then the library books that weren’t very good—the covers were broken and the first pages were ripped up, she sent us home with a whole lot of these books—story books.

The lack of curriculum to aid language acquisition was certainly an obstacle for teachers. Some dealt with the ensuing difficulties by adhering to the unwritten ideology that submersion in the host language was beneficial and successful while others recognized the hardships and stress

339 Helen (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 12, 2014.
immigrant children faced when entering classrooms with little or no knowledge of the English language. For some narrators, their teachers’ efforts were well recognized, often becoming episodic memories, standing out vividly against other memories of their school experiences. Both Fanny and Adda relate these types of experiences,

_Fanny_. And we had a teacher that—I would still like to catch up to her. Her name was Janice and she was single. Anyway, she would keep me and my brothers in at recess time and she’d take little circles off the different colours down a page, so there’s red, green, and so on. And then she wrote beside it, “red” and “green.” Of course we recognized the colours so that [way] she taught us the colours and different things. And just before lunch time every day, from quarter to twelve until noon, she would have, say one of the students open the window. So, she’d go over and open the window and then she’d say “Fanny, you go open the window” or “close the window.” Then she’d have somebody write something on the blackboard and she did this with us—my brothers and I from April until June.  

_Adda_. No, at this school it was amazing, they helped—pitched in. Everybody thought it was fantastic because I had to go with Spot, _Spot Runs_ and all that. Those old books. Oh, but when I left—five, six months I was there, and when I left there I was pretty good in English. But that teacher was amazing.

_Interviewer_. Did she do anything in particular to help you?

_Adda_. No, she just made arrangements that when she was teaching one class, the kids from another class would help me do it. So everybody—all the grades, even the Grade Ones thought it was cute that I had to learn the reading the same as they did.

Although submersion was typical, that did not necessarily mean that language acquisition was met with complete acquiescence. Narrators’ recollections show a degree of rejection of what typically was seen as a fundamental aspect of assimilation. Indeed, their lack of compliance points to a bi-directional form of assimilation, as seen in the instance below. When asked about speaking her first language in school, Josie replied:

_Josie_. Yeah, we were allowed but we didn’t want to stick out either, so of course, you know, we tried that much harder [to learn English]. Although they used to have in the class, like it was all one classroom and every other Friday or something they had a meeting and I think it was called the Red Cross and you could do little skits or poems or whatever. So the one year I said that I would sing and they said,

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‘Oh,’’ and I said, “I’ll sing you a Dutch song,’’ cause it was close to Christmas. So I sang that Sinterklaas Kapoentje [song] and there was another one, Sinterklaas Is Jarig, “set up the pot.”

Interviewer. I don’t know that one.

Josie. Oh, “It’s his birthday and put him on the pot [toilet]... they shut the door,” or something. You know I sat there and started laughing and then I started singing it again and then I’d laugh some more and finally the teacher says, “Okay do it again and quit your laughing.” I said, “Okay.” So I did. But of course my brothers and sisters are killing themselves, you know. “How dare you sing that in school.” I didn’t care because I thought they don’t know, you know.343

Moving beyond the individual acquisition of language, the role of intra-group relations regarding language acquisition and conformity is intriguing—a concept that deserves a much closer examination in future research. As discussed earlier, assimilation operates bi-directionally with both the incoming and receiving societies experiencing change. Moreover, assimilation occurs across a variety of indicators over varying amounts of time. Theoretically, then, it is highly likely that newer immigrants were typically less assimilated than those that came earlier. What is not so clear, however, is the impact these ‘older’ immigrants had on ‘new’ immigrants and how conformity was encouraged or even impacted by the intra-group relations. In the following instance, although roughly the same immigrant ‘age,’ the second family’s limited fluency and public retention of their first language was seen as insular and isolating by some members of their own ethnic community. To a certain degree, the discrimination experienced by that family served as an accelerant for Josie’s own assimilation:

Josie. There weren’t any other immigrants anyhow. There was just the two Dutch families when we were there and that’s it. Now when we were in ---- and we were going to school, then this Dutch other family moved in. They knew a little more English than we did but they went through a kind of rough time too but it’s also in how your attitude is, you know. If you want to be teased and stuff like that and if you—so if you keep talking Dutch or whatever , well, you’re going to be teased but if you try to really fit in hard, I think you’ll—you know, you’ll be more successful. That’s my feelings anyhow.

343 Josie (pseudonym), interview with author, Southern Ontario, November 19, 2014. Dutch song titles translated as “St. Nicholas Little Rascal” and “It’s Sinterklaas’s Birthday.” Narrator sang song with wording changed for humour.
Interviewer. And that family, just...?

Josie. Yeah, you would—stick out like a sore thumb and then of course, you’re gonna get teased and everything else. We tried to tell them but—sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn’t. But then, life isn’t always easy. 344

Looking further at intra-group relations, the relationships among immediate family members also had a significant impact on language acquisition. In many cases, the narrators attributed their parents’ increased, or some in cases, limited language acquisition to their own language skills which were initially learned in the school setting.

Clare. And the other thing was, from the time I started school I’d come home and I’d, as much as I knew—I would try to, you know at first it was just a word here and there, but I’d say to my parents in English. But after that we always spoke English at home. Not Dutch. Because—and later on I realized how many people spoke Dutch at home and didn’t really ever get to learn English properly—the older people. Well, I always said, “When in Rome do as the Romans do.” 345

Fanny. Now my Mum, she didn’t have the confidence to speak English. She always had us, you know, answer for her. Yes, it’s really true. 346

In the final analysis, the reforms to the education system had little impact on curriculum. And despite increased choice in textbooks, the content of the civics texts remained rooted in ideologies prevalent during the Depression era. What was proclaimed as a ‘progressive’ model of education was contrary to the reality that students experienced in the classroom. Although democratic ideals were explicitly meant to be internalized without coercion, the lack of options proved otherwise. Yet, in the case of older students, many missed the formal inculcation of civic ideals offered in Grade Ten. Immigrants entering Ontario’s public school system, however, were able to manipulate the minute gaps in the system that allowed them a small degree of flexibility when negotiating citizenship. For example, flexible grade level entry, continued use of their mother tongue and interchangeable use of cultural constructs point to several possibilities that

345 Clare (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 13, 2014.
include, not only the ability to negotiate citizenship, but a degree of resistance to assimilation strategies and the growing acceptance of pluralism in Ontario.

**Teaching Staff: Calling or Occupation?**

Ontario’s education system upon entering the postwar era was one of bleak, crowded, decaying schools, acute teacher shortages, a largely unskilled teaching force and grade progression based on turn-of-the-century practices. Wartime enlistment, alternate employment, marriage and delayed access to post-secondary education contributed to teacher shortages and the inability to accommodate the significant increases in school populations. Addressing the acute shortfall of teachers, emergency First Year Normal School summer sessions were held in North Bay and Toronto in 1947. The condensed programme produced 295 teachers granted with modified certifications.\(^347\) By 1949 to 1950, approximately 20,000 teachers served 6,846 schools and 737,492 students.\(^348\) The push to quickly increase numbers swelled Normal School enrollments; approximately 2,200 new teachers were in training as of 1950 to 1951. However, in order to meet immediate needs, the Department of Education issued over a four-year period 2,297 letters of permission to teach without professional training and 1,865 letters of permission to those with some teacher training.\(^349\) The immense disparity in teachers’ educational backgrounds and the significant numbers of untrained teachers caused concern, in particular regards to the quality of teaching.\(^350\)

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\(^{347}\) Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education 1947*, 13. Teachers in Normal School Summer Sessions received Deferred Interim Second Class certificates. After completing and graduating from the second summer session, students were granted Interim Second Class certificates.


Rural schools were especially affected by staffing issues, including teacher shortages. In 1950, 852 one-room schools were staffed by teachers not fully qualified. Concerns regarding the quality of rural education were validated by the results of a 1950s study which showed that higher teaching credentials positively correlated to higher education achievement. Rural school positions were often staffed by inexperienced or newly appointed teachers as they were difficult to fill for a variety of reasons. For instance, the average teacher salary in rural schools was typically 57 percent less than for those employed in urban centres. Furthermore, crowded classrooms and unreasonable expectations, such as providing instruction up to Grade Ten, impeded recruitment and created difficult work conditions. One narrator recalls attending “a one-room [school]. Eight grades in that one room and there was as many as forty-two of us at one time.” Even the recruitment propaganda published by the Department of Education made special note of the difficult working conditions: “Should your first position be in a one-roomed school you will have a challenging opportunity for the exercise of initiative and for the acceptance of responsibility.” Challenges that were overwhelming for some young, inexperienced teachers included scenarios such as this one:

She was seventeen or eighteen when she came to teach and the Grade Seven and Eight boys, I thought they were huge, you know. Anyway, this one fella, Johnny, used to take her into the teacher’s room. The teacher had her own private little room in this little school house and he’d lock her in there and then cut her fingernails and all that stuff and she’d come out of there just a cryin’ and what not. I really felt sorry for her.

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353 Hope, *Royal Commission on Education*, 556.
354 Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education* 1955, 57. Average teachers’ salaries from rural and urban centres were averaged for years 1945-1954.
355 Renney, *Some Aspects of Rural Education*, 64.
358 Frederic (pseudonym), interview with author, November 14, 2014.
The unique needs of rural schools were acknowledged in the recommendations found in the 1950s report on rural education, which suggested that rural teachers should be specially recruited and trained.\(^{359}\) Although addressing both teacher training and administrative unit organization, the *Royal Commission*, released the same year, did not differentiate between teaching in either rural or urban communities. Aside from the expected cultural and linguistic challenges, immigrant students’ difficulties often were further compounded by the overcrowding and poor staffing.

Underpaid, often under-qualified, and teaching in questionable working conditions, rural teachers were still expected to meet educational goals. Of these goals, they had the primary responsibility of creating democratic citizens, as seen in the following excerpt from the 1940s curriculum document:

> Nor has any attempt been made to outline the teaching of citizenship in a democracy as a subject. The schools in Ontario exist for the education of democratic citizens. To this end, reliance must be placed upon the principals and teachers to train their students for democratic living.\(^{360}\)

Note the use of the phrase ‘to train’ rather than ‘to teach’ in the above selection from the 1942 *Programme of Studies*. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines train as ‘to form by instruction, discipline, or drill’, ‘to teach so as to make fit, qualified, or proficient’, or ‘to make prepared (as by exercise) for a test of skill.’\(^{361}\) Conversely, the word ‘teach’ is defined as ‘to cause to know how’, ‘to accustom to some action or attitude’, or ‘to cause to know the disagreeable consequences of some action’.\(^{362}\) Although the difference is subtle, the distinctive word choice infers building habits rather than imparting knowledge. The former choice of words implies a one-way relationship with the teacher ingraining habits in students, while the latter infers a more

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\(^{359}\) Renney, *Some Aspects of Rural Education*, 79.

\(^{360}\) Ontario, *Programme of Studies 1942*, 8


bi-directional process of sharing information and encouraging critical thinking. Not only found in
curriculum, this concept resurfaces in teacher education documents. The 1955 marketing
document, *Teaching in the Elementary Schools*, purports that “In a democratic land the future not
only of individuals but of the country depends on the training of the nation’s children.” It is
important to recognize the specific choice of words; teachers and students were expected to
follow a very set pattern with little or no room to negotiate citizenship.

Not only charged with instilling habits that would create good citizens, teachers were
expected to model good citizenship through their personal behaviours as detailed in the

*Programme of Studies*:

Canada will always need citizens who have a thorough knowledge of the ideals of good
citizenship. The inculcation of these ideals—through the personality of the teacher,
through the administration of the classroom, through the subject-matter of the Programme
of Studies, and through the methods of teaching employed—is accepted by teachers to-
day as their responsibility to a far greater extent than ever before.

A survey of curriculum documents shows little evidence teachers were given direction as to
which personality traits or behaviours might best be a role model for good citizenship. However,
the qualities required of a teacher were more clearly defined. Admission requisites for Normal
School required individuals who were moderately intelligent, British subjects, physically and
mentally fit, and of good moral character as confirmed by a letter from a clergyman or other
competent authority. Similarly, marketing brochures for the teaching profession specified
qualities such as a liking for children, an interest in learning, self-control, a sense of humour, a
sense of fairness, and good mental and physical health. The incredible subjectivity of what

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1955), 1, OHEC 371.109713 O59DE/T, OHEC, Toronto.
365 Ontario Department of Education, *Calendar of the Normal Schools of Ontario for First Class
Certificates* (Toronto: Baptist Johnston, 1947), 6-8, OHEC, Toronto.
1946), 3-5, OHEC 371.109713 O59 DE/T, OHEC, Toronto.
might constitute an exemplar teacher left ample room for teachers to negotiate citizenship, both the process and state, within their classrooms on their own terms.

There was, however, an acknowledged need to train Canadians in intergroup relations according to outside agencies such as the Canadian Citizenship Council. In the school setting, teachers’ attitudes towards immigrants varied from hostile to welcoming—with some schools even experimenting with approaches similar to the American “Springfield Plan” to deal with intergroup tensions. In the case below, keeping in mind both individuals were dealing with an unfamiliar language and culture, the tension between the teacher and student is clearly illustrated.

I hated her with a passion. Oh, I hated her. She called me, “You damned Dutchman,” once. For some reason, or another, I could not—and I remember the word, “Volkswagen.” But I said, “Folkswagen,” and I could not figure out what I was saying wrong. There was no way I could figure out what I was saying wrong. And it never—it never dawned on me ‘til I was, I betcha I was married for ten years or more before it clicked in my mind. It was “vee” instead of “fee”. But it was “Folkswagen” that’s how we all said it, “Folkswagen.” It’s the Dutch way of saying it. So, there was a blockage there and I just couldn’t tell the difference. She got upset because of that word. That was the word. And she called me, “You damn Dutchman.” I’ll never forget it. And I hated that teacher right from there on. I just couldn’t stand her.

In other cases, despite the lack of intercultural education, peers were empathetic to immigrant children’s situations. A particular memory from a school friend reunion stands out for Fanny as she recalled,

When the girls [public school friends], met now for the first time, one of the girls, she was—she had gone to my school from March until June, well, she was there Grade One and Two but then her family moved, anyway she remembered me—as the little Dutch girl. And she says, “I used to feel so sorry for you because you couldn’t understand.”

Teaching may be considered an occupation or even a profession, but with little pay, poor training and challenging work conditions, for rural teachers in the postwar era, it was certainly more of a calling. By definition, a calling or summoning denotes something that requires great

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368 Helen (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 12, 2014.
dedication and is particularly worthy.\textsuperscript{370} What was better or more worthy than the prime directive of educators to create future democratic citizens?

**Formal Citizenship Training**

Education historian Silvina Ciccarelli argued that “federally-funded English instruction programmes for immigrants were not for language fluency but to preserve Canadian ‘values,’ ‘norms,’ and ‘our way of life’ as a nation-building strategy.”\textsuperscript{371} Seemingly dichotomous, citizenship education and English language training are often, however, both viewed as necessary to participatory democracy.\textsuperscript{372} In his analysis of the evolution of citizenship, Ken Osborne concluded that, prior to the First World War, “citizenship meant assimilation into the dominant culture which was defined largely in Anglo-Canadian terms, centering upon command of the English language, loyalty to Canada as a nation of British heritage, commitment to Canada's British traditions, and pride in Canada's membership in the British Empire.”\textsuperscript{373} By postwar times, the shift from Anglo-centric goals to creating “good” citizens in part reflects Canada’s efforts to create her own nationhood and identity. Assimilation, however, continued to remain an unquestioned requisite for Canadian citizenship.

In April 1948, the Community Programmes Branch emerged, combining the services of the Ontario Adult Education Board with the Recreation and Adult Education services offered by the Physical and Health Education Branch of the Department of Education.\textsuperscript{374} This new branch,

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\textsuperscript{373} Osborne, “Public Schooling,” 6.

under control of the Department of Education, offered both services in community recreation and adult education. The branch’s goal was to provide services “designed to encourage the development of programmes of cultural, social, physical and education activities which may be sponsored by public and private agencies in the communities throughout the Province.”

Interestingly, adult education was seen to function best within a community-based education model rather than within the formal education system. Services included annual grants to municipalities to run recreational programming, technical advisory services, leadership training courses, provision of training materials and, of particular interest, the “provision of Provincial services for the training of immigrants in Citizenship and basic English.”

Consultant services offered by the Programme, operating later under Technical Advisory, included the organization and administration of the citizenship training programmes for newcomers to Canada and for existing ethnic groups. Field representatives’ duties included organizing the citizenship training classes and “encourag[ing] communities to assist in solving the problems of these newcomers.” Field representatives operated out of district offices located in Fort William, North Bay, Ottawa, Toronto, London and Hamilton. Teaching materials were developed to teach citizenship and English to newcomers by both the Branch and federal government. A Canadian version of Learning the English Language was published by Toronto’s Thomas Nelson and Sons to teach basic English. In addition, by 1949, the Branch had published and distributed 4,000 copies of a mimeographed citizenship manual, Canada, Our Country. Other supplementary materials included Our Land, Our History and Our Government

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377 Ibid., 29.
378 Ibid., 33.
379 Ibid.
381 Ontario, Report of the Minister of Education 1949, 36. The Citizenship Branch was a federal government branch under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Secretary of State.
pamphlets produced by Canada’s Citizenship Branch. Although originally geared to adult learners, by 1951 the Programme opened access to its resources to elementary educators, responding to their increased requests.382 However, no revisions were made to the adult-oriented curriculum or programming to accommodate young learners. The Citizenship Training programme continued only to address the needs of immigrant adults, maintaining the assumption that children received adequate instruction within the social studies curriculum.383

The Citizenship Training programme offered by the Community Programmes Branch provided free Basic English and Citizenship courses for adult immigrants and Canadian-born adults, claiming that, “Our job at the Branch is to do what we can to prepare newcomers for Canadian Citizenship. Our second job is to help fit them into the Canadian pattern of life. We try to instill in them correct attitudes, but this is a much bigger job which must be done by the community in the long run.”384 In most cases, classes were offered through local school boards. In less populated areas, teachers organized and ran classes independently and were paid directly through the Branch.385 Students wrote examinations and, if they passed, were awarded a certificate of proficiency.386 The certificates were, in essence, a form of legal currency—accepted by judges for the process of applying for Canadian Citizenship certificates.387 The Citizenship Act of 1946 required applicants to have an “adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges

382 E. A. MacKenzie, Representative for T. A. Leishman, District Representative to Mr. H. B. Galpin, letter, November 15, 1951, file London Office, Citizenship, RG-2, series S-2, box 10, Department of Education, number 1, RG 2-74-5, OA, Toronto. Program representative Miss E. A. MacKenzie writes to a client, “For your information, the texts—supplied by this Branch which were formerly only for adult students, can now be provided for teachers having immigrant pupils in their schools requiring instruction in the English language. In some areas, the teachers in elementary schools are finding this quite a problem this year.”
384 Ontario Department of Education, Community Programmes, Education of the Newcomer, file 1947-1952 Citizenship—S. Davidovich, RG-2 series S-2, box 1, Department of Education, number 1, RG 2-74-1, OA, Toronto; Dominion, Canada Year Book 1951, 139.
386 Ontario, Report of the Minister of Education 1949, 36. “Attendance certificates were issued to those newcomers who had attended classes in Basic English and Citizenship. A simple ceremony of presentation was arranged wherever it was possible.” A simple ceremony perhaps, but celebrates a very important step taken by an immigrant to attain citizenship.
of Canadian citizenship” and subsequent proof thereof. Courses, however, were not mandatory and were only offered in select areas. Newcomers were reached by letters to their employers, newspaper advertisements, and through private and public agencies. Although seemingly accessible, in May 1950 the Canadian Citizenship Council reported that only 40 percent of immigrants arriving in Canada since 1946 had been reached by organized instruction.

The 1950 Report of the Minister of Education showed 14,006 students were enrolled in 550 citizenship training classes and of these eighty-two classes were operated in outlying districts. The trend over the next five years showed increasing numbers of classes held within schools as opposed to those held in outlying districts; in 1948 to 1949, for every one class held in outlying districts, two were offered in school classes. By 1950 to 1951, the ratio changed dramatically to one to six. The shift infers several possibilities—an increasing movement of immigrants to urban centres, decreasing rural populations or teacher shortages in rural areas. The programme peaked in 1949 to 1950 with 591 classes offered and 15,080 students regularly attending. Of these classes, 163 were organized and directly paid for by the Community Programme Branch. As a result of the decreased number of classes available in the outlying areas, fewer rural immigrants had access to formal language training and inculcation of Canadian values.

During 1947 to 1948, a number of school boards, predominantly in rural areas, offered evening classes in English. The 1948 Report of the Minister of Education proudly proclaimed that, “The province-wide desire of new Canadians to master our language and the willing co-operation shown by educators is indicated by the number of school boards offering night school classes in

388 Richmond, Post-War Immigrants, 198.
English during 1947 to 1948.” Provincially, 4,280 individuals benefited from night classes offered in elementary, secondary academic and secondary vocational schools. To offset costs, special and general legislative grants were awarded to school boards for night schools. Between 1949 and 1950, the province granted over 368,000 dollars in special legislative grants to academic and vocational secondary schools for providing night school services. By offering night classes, educators aimed to “create good, democratic citizens in the real sense of the terms by promoting a well-organized series of lessons dealing with democracy, the Canadian people, our resources, our heritage of freedom, tolerance.” This approach was distinctly different from the Department of Education’s method of instilling language skills and the qualities of “good” citizenship in children. Again, however, the programming was unavailable to school-aged immigrant children.

The Branch’s reach also extended to radio programming, targeting specific ethnic groups. For example, a thirteen-week programme aimed at Ukrainian and Polish immigrants was “designed to encourage them to participate in the life of the community, to take advantage of the educational facilities offered to them and to give them essential information about Canada and our way of life.” Other radio series included “In Search of Citizens” created in conjunction with the federal government (Secretary of State) and broadcast over Canada’s national network, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). By the late 1940s, radios were standard equipment in classrooms and in most homes. In addition, radio broadcasts were sponsored by the

393 Ibid.
396 Radio broadcasts promoting citizenship were neither limited to the Programme branch nor to immigrants. In the article entitled “Canadiana,” elementary school teacher, Jessie Hagerman, quotes the CBC’s Program News that her aim in teaching is “to strengthen the student’s knowledge of Canada and his pride in her achievements, to make him more conscious of the way of life of Canadian democracy, and prouder of being a Canadian citizen.” Jessie Hagerman, “Canadiana,” The School: Secondary Edition (January 1948): 283.
397 Ontario, Report of the Minister of Education 1949, 35.
398 Ibid.
Department of Education through the CBC and used as teaching aids in classrooms.\textsuperscript{399} To facilitate the school broadcasts, the CBC contributed airtime, broadcast facilities and program production.\textsuperscript{400} Radio programming provided an opportunity for federal and provincial bodies to co-operate in executing national integration strategies.

Of all the programmes and materials developed by the Department of Education, only one stands out as intentionally introduced to integrate school-aged children into Canadian society. In 1946, the Department of Education launched a pilot project in citizenship training in the Welland and Kirkland school boards, later expanding to Fort Erie in 1947.\textsuperscript{401} Initially spearheaded by the Toronto Committee on Intercultural Studies, their version of the American “Springfield Plan” was a cumulative effort of teachers, inspectors, board members, parents and other interested parties. C. F. Cannon, Superintendent of Elementary Education, reported, “The citizenship programme is a ‘conscious, unified effort’ toward producing better citizens—a programme designed to stress the ‘habits and attitudes’ phase of education without neglecting the acquisition of basic skills and knowledge—a programme introduced in kindergarten and extending to adult life.”\textsuperscript{402} Letters from the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, S. A. Watson, inferred the programme was the Department of Education’s unofficial attempt to ease intercultural tensions, with the hopes of influencing educators and administrators on a provincial scale; keeping in mind, however, that no official statement existed regarding the need for intercultural education.\textsuperscript{403}

Originating in the United States in 1939, the Springfield Plan emerged from the cooperative efforts of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, associate professor of

education at Columbia University, Professor Clyde R. Miller and Dr. John Granrud, Springfield’s superintendent of schools. The Springfield Plan was an intercultural education scheme to combat racial prejudice and religious intolerance, inaugurated in the schools and communities of Springfield, Massachusetts. Proponents described the programme as not so much a plan but rather a change in attitude, a stance fully supported by Canadian counterparts a decade later. In addresses to Canadian audiences, Professor G. Tatham, a member of the Toronto Committee for Intercultural Education, is quoted as remarking, “This type of teaching makes great demands on the spiritual and democratic resources of the teacher, but does not require legal, administrative or financial changes.” In a separate address, he stressed “that such an orientation could be made by the individual teacher without altering the curricula in the schools. It is merely a matter of emphasis and gratitude.” This approach reflected a North American response to the Second World War—the urgent need to eradicate intolerance and create a just postwar world.

By 1948, no further references are made to this intercultural education programme in Ontario’s Minister of Education’s annual reports or curriculum documents. Despite the goal of rolling out the programme on a provincial scale, there are no records indicating that the Board did so. Was it a failed experiment? Similarly disappearing from public view in the late 1940s, the American Springfield Plan quietly exited public and educational spheres. Research by American doctoral candidate Daniel Bresnahan concluded the incorporation of the programme’s innovations as foundational elements in school systems and its dependence on John Granrud’s leadership and

subsequent loss thereof contributed to the program’s demise. As for the Canadian pilot project, there are no definitive answers but perhaps its innate difficulties quickened the project’s termination. Anita Freedman, writing for The Globe and Mail, penned,

Involving no addition to present curricula, the plan depends for its effectiveness to a great extent on individual teachers, for its aim of “educating people for democracy” is admittedly difficult to blueprint. Equally difficult to elucidate is the other main aspect of the scheme—to get rid of race, cultural and economic conflict in prospective citizens of the community.

The dependence of the programme’s success on the individual efforts of teachers bears a marked similarity to the Department of Education’s stance on creating democratic citizens at the public school level. Indeed, many goals and activities similar to those of the Springfield Plan were already incorporated in Ontario’s curriculum. For both, the primary directive was to permeate teaching with democratic ideals to create good citizens. Similarly, both encouraged regard for others and sacrifice for the common good, an entitlement to happiness, cooperation and intelligent self-direction. The plan, however, diverged sharply with regards to hiring practices, its community-based model and its pluralistic approach to intercultural relations. Consequently,

411 “School Plan Seen Aid to Democracy,” The Globe and Mail, January 7, 1946, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail, 4. Primary criteria included: “(a) a humanitarian regard for the rights of others and a sensitivity to encroachments made on the civil rights of others; (b) an awareness of the value of civil liberties; (c) a willingness to govern and be governed by reason rather than by force; (d) a recognition of man’s eternal heritage—the privilege to pursue his own happiness.” Ontario, Programme of Studies 1955, 5. “Such a society aims to provide the greatest possible opportunities for the self-realization, security and happiness of every individual in it. It attempts to secure certain basic freedoms, to maintain legal justice, to achieve economic justice, and to afford the individual opportunities to participate in all decisions affecting his welfare. From each individual a democratic society expects the finest service of which he is capable, and a willingness to make sacrifices for the common welfare. It demands that he recognize and accept his responsibility to act not only in the interest of self but in the interest of all.
teaching staffs were diversified to include teachers from non-Anglo ethnicities and religions.\textsuperscript{412} Although similarly committed to the idea that democracy was a “cradle-to-grave” process for individuals, the programme actively pursued community involvement, believing a concerted effort was needed to battle prejudice.\textsuperscript{413} However, the most compelling difference was the plan’s transparent pluralism, encouraging students both to retain their unique cultural identities and to appreciate others’ ethnic contributions. “They [students] are encouraged to see the conditions under which others live and the contributions which other ethnic or religious groups bring to their lives. Teachers take every opportunity to show how all races, religions and nations have contributed to the common stock of knowledge.”\textsuperscript{414}

Additionally, at the national level, the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, established in 1941, became the liaison between the federal government and provincial departments of education. The Council was an amalgamation of national teacher and education associations and representatives from provincial departments of education. The Council published books, pamphlets and materials related to citizenship. Postwar, the Council, now renamed the Canadian Citizenship Council, continued to provide resources on citizenship and materials for English language learners.\textsuperscript{415}

In summary, postwar social, economic and political concerns revitalized interest and commitment to citizenship training. Federal and provincial agencies, such as the Canadian Citizenship Council and the Department of Education’s Community Programmes Branch, cooperated in providing formal citizenship training. However, ineffective communications between the agencies and school boards, and the inability of front-line teachers to access

\textsuperscript{413} “Springfield Plan is Now in Wide Use,” \textit{The Hartford Courant}, February 11, 1946, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Hartford Courant, 3.
\textsuperscript{415} Canadian Citizenship Council, file Pamphlets re: Immigration: Immigration Education and Integration, volume 70, Projects, MG 28 I 85, LAC, Ottawa.
resources proved detrimental. Although archival documents showed government support for the ongoing responsibility of schools to create responsible citizens, the communication breakdown meant students were unevenly exposed to civic education. Creating good citizens through courses of study, methods and teaching and manner of administration is a motif consistently seen in curriculum and other educational documents. Underlying that motif was the continued message that conformity was essential, good and necessarily obligatory. In the final analysis, schools were in essence contradictory, demanding conformity and yet providing inadvertent opportunities for immigrants to mold unique and individualized versions of citizenship. Assimilation, however, in its various forms continued to remain an unquestioned requisite for Canadian citizenship.

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416 Final Report and Recommendations of the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education, *Canadian Education* VI, no 4, September 1951, 10.
Chapter 6

Conclusion: I am a Canadian.

Let us be practical and realistic. Will the bulk of our population ever have an appreciation of this country, its meaning, its customs, its resources, its geography, its history, its government, let alone have an intimate knowledge of these subjects. Will they use their privilege wisely? Will they accept their responsibility to Canada? It is difficult for the average person to comprehend his or her relationship to Canada as a whole. Certainly he will say, “I am a Canadian,” but after saying this I am sure he does not know whether he is truly practicing Canadian citizenship.  

—D. A. Garvie, 1950

Summarized simply, Garvie captured the essence of Canada’s struggle to create her own citizens. From essentially the beginning, the constitution’s ambiguity in defining ‘education’ and the leeway created by shared jurisdiction over immigration cinched federal involvement in cultural education, creating an effective segue to ensuring assimilation and the transmission of national identity. Yet, as seen, it proved an ineffective means to assimilate school-aged children, particularly as the provincially-run national programmes largely targeted adult learners. In like manner, the province’s grip on education provided an ideal platform for launching integration strategies and wide-spread civics education. This, too, became another underutilized opportunity. The difficulties of indoctrinating democratic ideals through modeling and the potential of eluding the systematic study of citizenship meant children were unequally exposed to the civic ideals that were deemed necessary for citizenship. These were missed prospects, perhaps, from a political viewpoint and detrimental both to assimilating newcomers and creating a uniform national identity. Nonetheless, the discrepancies gave a priceless opportunity to newcomers to negotiate their own version of Canadian citizenship and create a unique Canadian identity within the existing framework.

A great deal of this thesis focuses on recreating the historical context of the postwar era. The detailed reconstruction of the past creates not only a mental picture but develops a multi-layered, multi-dimensional framework within which to position the concept of assimilation. The thesis explores theories, official rhetoric, actual practices and the lived experiences of the narrators. Within this broader context, Canada’s efforts in the postwar years are seen to focus not only on rebuilding the economy and its industrial base but much further, aspiring to reshape Canada in its entirety. Canada’s attempt to remake its image from that of a colonial holding to that of an independent democratic nation transformed its economic, political and social landscape. Endeavors to do so, particularly in the area of assimilation, illustrated the immense difficulty in instituting lasting change. Constantly in flux, assimilation theories and practices often overlapped and even operated simultaneously; Anglo-conformity, dualism and pluralism coexisted uneasily during the transformative years following World War II.

Used primarily as a tool for assimilation, education and, in particular, schools had a significant impact on newcomers. Educational institutions theoretically provided immigrants an assured means of structural assimilation. As seen, however, not all school-aged children entered or remained in the system for an extended period of time. Moreover, despite government intentions, the gradual dilution or trickle-down effect left assimilation largely in the hands of individual teachers, especially in the areas of language acquisition and citizenship training (both the state and process). Collectively, Department of Education documents, texts and curriculum indicate a system struggling to change. In the final analysis, the reforms proved ineffective – curriculum and textbooks remained rooted in the ideologies of the 1930s, an era committed to Anglo-conformity. However, the lack of a uniform national identity allowed both immigrants and native-born Canadians to personally negotiate a Canadian identity.
For the narrators, as Lynn Abrams writes, “identity is grounded in our memory of the past.” Who they are today is the result of the constant remaking and reshaping of memories. It is the lifetime culmination of individual and collective memories and experiences woven together in a rich tapestry, creating their current sense of self. Having become acculturated and, in varying degrees, assimilated into Canadian society, when asked to reflect on what that process meant to them—the act of becoming Canadian—they responded,

Belonging. That you’re again in a new home—that you call home. Again, you belonged. This was your home. And the rest you left behind.

Well, what does it mean to me? I’m proud of being a Canadian, let’s put it that way. I’ve got no problem with it what so ever. Dutch-Canadian, sure. Dutch heritage but otherwise, no, I’m Canadian.

So for me, Canada—it’s been good to us and I’ve learned to, um, like this is the way you live, so we become one of them. You read the same paper, you watch the same stuff on TV, so you become—after a while, that identifies you. That doesn’t mean you can’t think of other things, like other countries or whatever but that’s the way you are.

Yeah, I never think that I’m Dutch but—

I’m very proud of Canada and living in a free country like we do. I know that my Dad always said it was the right move to make. He was always very happy in Canada and I think they’re—also very proud of the accomplishments that they had, you know, ‘cause you come with nothing.

We came to Canada to be Canadians.

These individual memories of the narrators are not isolated incidents, but rather memories found in ever expanding circles of memory units: community, collective, national, public and historical. The individual and collective memories, Lynn Abrams argued, “exist in a symbiotic relationship with the public memorialisation of the past, so we must always be aware that memory expressed in an interview exists within a field of memory work that is going on at many

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419 Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 82.
421 Helen (pseudonym), interview with author, Eastern Ontario, November 12, 2014.
levels in our society. In other words, one person’s memory operates within a wider context that includes memory produced and maintained by family, community and public representations."  

To generalize, public memory typically expresses a particular view of past events. It must be remembered that, in all likelihood, narrators’ recollections were unconsciously affected by public representations of Dutch-Canadian relations. For example, the Canadian liberalization of the Netherlands and protection of the exiled Dutch royalty are often memorialized as heroic events. In the public representation, the Canadian archetype is depicted as the strong rescuing the vulnerable and downtrodden. The subsequent Dutch gift of tulips has come to symbolize this Dutch-Canadian relationship—Canada as the valiant warrior and benevolent protector, the Netherlands as the grateful, industrious agricultural nation. The extent to which public memorialisation has become ingrained in the collective and individual memory of Dutch immigrants is uncertain; however, in many instances, including Fanny’s, there is an underlying sense of gratitude in their recollections.

The narrators’ memories are acutely unique and reside in a tenuous sphere, all too close to making the transition from collective memory to historical memory. While living members of the Dutch immigrant community continue to actively remember and reinterpret the memories, the collective memories live on. Once that generation passes, a possibly imminent situation for some, the shared memories move into the next generation’s memory or into what is termed ‘historical memory’. As oral historian Lynn Abrams wrote, these then are memories of the past that are ‘lost.’ For this reason, it is important to record individual and collective memories before they are ‘lost’ to this generation.

427 See newspaper articles on liberation as listed in Bibliography. See also Hawkins, *Critical Years*, 25 for the idea of Canada as “the true north strong and free” and “the north being synonymous with strength, self-reliance, energy, stamina, morality, and liberty.”
428 See newspaper articles on gratitude as listed in Bibliography; Dominion, *Canada Year Book 1951*, 141.
430 Ibid., 100. See also James, *Doña María’s Story*, 143.
In the final analysis, the narrators’ experiences reflect the variable nature of assimilation and of the Canadian national identity. Despite the predominance of Anglo-conformity, underwritten by curriculum and textbook selections, there was evidence of pluralism and a resistance to assimilation. The postwar period of 1947 to 1955 also saw the Canadian national identity undergo a transformation, transitioning to an identity based on the “good citizen.” The changing environment created an opportunity for immigrants both to negotiate citizenship and to resist assimilation attempts, in varying degrees. This is significant in that narrators were still able to create unique Canadian identities in spite of the contradictory nature of assimilation and citizenship training within Ontario’s education system.

The research begs several questions that warrant future research: a) How would have the narrators’ experiences differed if there had not have been a breakdown in communication between citizenship programmes and school boards? b) How much of an effect did the predominance of one-room schools in rural areas have on integration? and c) If assimilation is bi-directional, how did immigrant pupils affect the educational system?
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Newspapers

Dutch Liberation


**Dutch Gratitude**


**Springfield Plan**


“Springfield Plan is Now in Wide Use: Program of Good Will Begun Seven Years Ago has Spread Over the Nation.” *The Hartford Courant*, February 11, 1946. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Hartford Courant, 3.


Oral Testimonies

Secondary Sources


Appendix A: Oral History Questions

1. Tell me the story of your immigration to Canada.

2. What was it like when you first moved here? Was it similar or different from what you expected?

3. What was school like when you were first in Canada?

4. What did you do to adjust to going to a Canadian school? Can you remember a specific example that stands out in your mind?

5. Were there other immigrant children among the students at your school? Were there mostly Canadian students?

6. What was it like learning a new language?

7. What does it mean to be a Canadian to you? What did it mean to your parents?

8. What do you remember about citizenship?

9. Is there anything else that I should have asked you that I didn’t think to ask? Is there anything else you would like to add?
Appendix B: Research Ethics Approval

October 20, 2014

Mrs. Laura-Ann Loughlin
Master’s Student
Faculty of Education
Queen’s University
Duncan McArthur Hall
Queen’s University
511 Union Street West
Kingston, ON, K7M 5R7

GREB Ref #: EDUC-751-14; Romeo # 6013675
Title: "GEDUC-751-14 Education for Assimilation: A Case Study of Postwar Dutch Children"

Dear Mrs. Loughlin:

The General Research Ethics Board (GREB), by means of a delegated board review, has cleared your proposal entitled "GEDUC-751-14 Education for Assimilation: A Case Study of Postwar Dutch Children" for ethical compliance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (TCPS) and Queen’s ethics policies. In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (article D.1.6) and Senate Terms of Reference (article G), your project has been cleared for one year. At the end of each year, the GREB will ask if your project has been completed and if not, what changes have occurred or will occur in the next year.

You are reminded of your obligation to advise the GREB, with a copy to your unit REB, of any adverse event(s) that occur during this one year period (access this form at https://services.queensu.ca/romeo_researcher/ and click Events - GREB Adverse Event Report). An adverse event includes, but is not limited to, a complaint, a change or unexpected event that alters the level of risk for the researcher or participants or situation that requires a substantial change in approach to a participant(s). You are also advised that all adverse events must be reported to the GREB within 48 hours.

You are also reminded that all changes that might affect human participants must be cleared by the GREB. For example you must report changes to the level of risk, applicant characteristics, and implementation of new procedures. To make an amendment, access the application at https://services.queensu.ca/romeo_researcher/ and click Events - GREB Amendment to Approved Study Form. These changes will automatically be sent to the Ethics Coordinator, Gail Irving, at the Office of Research Services or irvingg@queensu.ca for further review and clearance by the GREB or GREB Chair.

On behalf of the General Research Ethic Board, I wish you continued success in your research.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Joan Stevenson, Ph.D.
Chair
General Research Ethics Board

c: Dr. Theodore Christon, Faculty Supervisor
Dr. Chris DeLuca, Chair, Unit REB
Mrs. Angelina Gencarelli, Dept. Admin.