EVOLUTION: THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION'S CODE OF ETHICS 1935-PRESENT

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Abstract

Despite the large body of research on professions in general, professionalism, and the professionalization of the teaching profession in particular, little research has been completed, and fewer studies conducted which specifically target codes of ethics for teachers and how their ethical codes intersect with social ideologies and legislation. Noticeably absent from current Canadian research are *historic* inquiries into the evolution and interpretation of codes of ethics of the teaching profession nationally or provincially. This dissertation uses an ethnographic history of ideas methodology to provide a historical view of how and why the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation's (STF) Code of Ethics evolved from 1935 to the present. A critical analysis of primary and secondary sources is used to explain the development and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, particularly regarding the social and economic ideologies and legislative policies that influenced it over time. This dissertation is constructed as a traditional thesis including a literature review, a background informational chapter, findings chapters, and conclusion.

Findings include the following: Ethical codes are responsive to changing ideologies and code evolution is inherently embedded with changing contexts. Codes spawn predominantly from legislative policies which are themselves influenced by social ideology, economy, and government. Ethical codes are political because the affiliation of government policy and educational matters is interchangeable and inseparable. As both legislation and the relationship between government and the STF changed, so too did STF ethical codes. The connection between changing legislation leading to revised codes is dependent on the ideology of the government in power. Finally, ethical codes of the STF are at times both regulatory and aspirational, making them difficult to enforce.

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CHAPTER ONE

Why a historical study on ethics?

Personal significance

I have several motivations for embarking on this particular research journey. My great-great grandmother, grandmother, and I all chose to become teachers. If my great-great grandmother was alive, and my grandmother able to better remember her time as a teacher, I like to imagine the fascinating conversations we could have. When I was younger and contemplating becoming a teacher myself, I used to enjoy talking to grandma about her time in Normal School, her classroom experiences, and for what professional expectations she was responsible. All of her stories were fascinating, but I particularly liked hearing about her first position in a rural one-room school. She recalled her fear over the first time the school inspector came to visit, her visits and evaluations from the superintendent, and her expectations of keeping the stove stoked and her hemlines at a respectable length.

Recently, my family was cleaning out grandma's home and in her personal things, they located a little blue handbook published by the STF that included information on the organization's history, fees, legislation, contracts, and professional etiquette expected of teachers. At the end of the book was a Code of Ethics. At the beginning of the book, G. Eamer wrote that the booklet was prepared in pocket-size for convenience and that teachers should "form the habit of using it as a ready reference... [and] study it in order... [to] become a more proficient member of [their] chosen profession" (STF, 1945, p. 1). Through multiple sources, it can be proved that teachers' knowledge and application of professional responsibilities were of high importance in the early days of the STF. In fact, the 1937 Bulletin suggested that the Code of Ethics be "painstakingly studied" (STF, 1937, p. 21) by teachers, be thoroughly instructed to all new teachers and that the STF, Normal Schools, locals, and the *Bulletin* all undertake an educational campaign to extend understanding of ethical obligations (STF, 1942, p. 15).

As I think about the professional responsibilities my grandmother would have experienced in comparison to my great-great grandmother and my professional responsibilities in comparison to my grandma, researching the historical evolution of ethics became a fascinating

topic to contemplate as a topic for my dissertation. When I reflect on all of the change I have seen in the time I have been a teacher, a historical look at ethics becomes not just fascinating, but necessary in order to restore teachers' interest in and adherence to the Code of Ethics.

In 2015 when Saskatchewan teachers were told that they would be regulated by the Saskatchewan Professional Teachers' Regulatory Board (SPTRB), many experienced feelings of fear. I questioned why teachers would be afraid of something that should not negatively affect them as long as they were professionally and competently doing their jobs. However, I also realized that fear was caused by lack of knowledge of what exactly is expected. Understanding how legislation has had an impact on ethics became another fascinating piece I believed needed to be articulated in a study about the history of STF ethics.

When I was in university, I remember hearing about and seeing the Code, but never having in-depth discussions about it or being given real-life scenarios that would help me understand and apply its contents. Simply being given a copy of the Code of Ethics in my first year as a teacher did not help me to gain any more understanding of what my ethical responsibilities were either. I took personal steps to more thoroughly understand the Code of Ethics and to feel more professionally knowledgeable. As I gained more classroom experience and took on interns, I became concerned that new teachers were having the same experiences with the Code as I had during teacher preparation. Furthermore, over the years as I began to volunteer in various capacities on a multitude of committees in an effort to broaden my understanding of the profession as a whole, I found myself raising more questions about professionalism. These experiences and the onset of the SPTRB increased my desire to more thoroughly understand the evolution of ethics from my grandmother's time to the present. I felt a need to tell the story of my profession's ethical journey, from past to present.

In this dissertation I would like to draw attention to, interest in, and excitement over professional ethics – not just for teachers, but for professionals of every realm. When we fully understand our responsibilities, we alleviate fear and can even create a sense of enthusiasm and engagement.

Social significance

This research has not just been completed because of a personal interest. This research is of practical significance to both teachers and professions outside of education as well. We are in a period where the nature of professionalism is being constantly debated, reassessed, and reported. Situations involving ethical dilemmas consistently bombard both professionals and the public at large, surfacing in the news and developing in workplaces. A host of media outlets and social media platforms have made news immediately accessible on demand. As such, stories involving breaches of codified ethics, once only whispered about in the professional circles they occurred in, can now become instant public knowledge. As self-governing professions became increasingly challenged by questions regarding transparency and public accountability (Schultze, 2007), self-regulation¹ became more commonplace. With this, the public's curiosity and the professions' fear of violating ethical codes became amplified. As professional, public, and governmental stakes in ethics become entangled, so too do the lines between ethics, morals, and law. Though each of these can be pondered as separate conceptions, their intersections are what make the examination and understanding of ethical codes so engaging.

This dissertation, though focused on the changes that have occurred to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Code of Ethics since 1935, is one that can encourage all professionals who read it, to advance their ethical thinking. It serves as an educational piece capable of promoting the development of "necessary analytical tools to respond to ethical situations as and when they arise" (Iacovino, 2002, p. 57). Professionals of all types should be aware of and concerned with their ethical obligations to their clients, to the profession overall, to their colleagues, and to the public. Part of being ethically aware is to be historically aware of how and why an ethical code reads as it does. The historical evolution of any organization's ethical code develops out of wider political, economic and social ideologies that are dependent on time, place, and context. That is to say, that ethics are established and re-established as the values and behaviours considered to be professional change over time, often as a result of shifting political, economic, and social factors. Understanding the roots and current contexts of ethics allows for professional collectives to create a climate of ethical awareness and consensus through healthy debate and lively discussion. Learning about a profession's code of ethics and professional responsibilities can also help to minimize the possibility of regulatory measures and induce professionals to choose

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[&]quot;Professional self-regulation is a regulatory model which enables government to have some control over the practice of a profession and the services provided by its members. Self-regulation is based on the concept of an occupational group entering into an agreement with government to formally regulate the activities of its members" (Randall, n.d., para. 3). Read the full article at: http://www.oavt.org/self_regulation/docs/about_selfreg_ randall.pdf.

to behave in ways that honor professional, contractual, and societal expectations.

Research Question

My historical research study focuses on the question *How and why has the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) Code of Ethics evolved from 1935-Present?* To answer this question thoroughly, other related inquiries have also been comprehensively investigated:

- What contextual factors (i.e., social ideologies of politics, economics, and religion) impacted Saskatchewan teachers becoming recognized as a profession in 1935? And did, or in what ways did, changing contextual factors influence the evolution of the STF Code of Ethics?
- What is a profession and why are ethical codes a universally agreed upon characteristic of professions? How do both of these ideas relate to the field of education?
- How are ethical codes related to teachers, legislation, and public trust?

Purpose

The purpose of my research is to specifically localize this research in the province of Saskatchewan and deeply examine the development and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics from the time that teaching was declared as a profession in 1935. This research is not intended to supplement the already existing large body of research on what a profession is, professionalization of the teaching profession, professional practice of teachers, teacher regulation, or the moral and ethical base of teacher codes. Rather, the historical chronicling of economy, social ideology, and legislative policies which impacted the development and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics will be the central focus.

Literature Review

This literature review aims to shed light on what existing research reveals about the intrinsic relationship between professions, codes of ethics, and legislation. Although the literature review begins with a discussion concerning what a profession is and what characteristics denote professions, researching the term 'profession' is not the ultimate goal. Rather, the trends and commonalities amongst researchers studying professions are identified to better understand what are considered to be the characteristics of a profession and extrapolate

these understandings to the field of education. In isolating ethics as one commonly agreed upon characteristic of a profession, the literature review then examines research that pertains specifically to codes of ethics and finally, examines the ways in which the teaching profession and ethics relate to legislative policies.

Research on the relationship between professions and ethics, and ethics and legislation, can aid in better understanding of how and why codes of ethics are an integral part of the teaching profession.

History matters when defining the term 'profession'

Sociologist Tracy Adams (2010) argued in her paper exploring professional regulation in five Canadian provinces, that understanding what professions were in the past will help to conceptualize and advance research on professions in the present. Early definitions of professions were largely based on the well-studied vocations such as medicine and situated in specific time periods (Adams, 2010). In order to create a current definition, the study of professions must be expanded beyond only a few professions and eras. Since it is virtually impossible to have just "one set of traits that defines a profession across time and place" (Adams, 2010, p. 66), it is essential to identify strategies for identifying professions and techniques to demarcate professions from occupations.

Drawing from Adams (2010) argument, the term profession has historical roots and exploring the concept of teaching being a profession with a changing ethical code, should best begin with a working definition of profession and progress from there.

What is a profession?

Historically, the term profession goes back to the Middle Ages, when it was connoted with the *learned professions* [emphasis added] of Divinity, Law, and Medicine (Monteiro, 2015, p. 49). Officially, professions were not aggressively studied until the mid 1900s, "as the demand for professional status grew more and more, and the professions became a subject of varied research" (Monteiro, 2015, p. 49). Typically, the research conducted on professions occurred in the field of sociology and was "prominent from the 1950s through the 1970s, before being generally abandoned in the 1980s and 1990s because no single definition could fully capture the complexity of professional employment and its variations across time and space" (Adams, 2010,

p. 50). In short, a whole body of research on what a profession is exists and spans many decades. This body of research unsurprisingly represents, roughly, as many different ways of thinking about what makes a profession as the number of researchers who have studied it. Expected then, is that not all researchers studying the topic of profession are in agreement on their definition of profession nor are they unanimous about which occupations best emulate professional status. That said, consensus seems to have been reached about the characteristics that separate a profession from an occupation. This accord came about when sociologists declined to offer one concrete definition of a profession, but rather listed attributes thought to be characteristic of 'professional' vocations and then offered judgements as to which occupations most closely matched those commonly agreed upon characteristics (Montagna, 1977).

According to Parsons (1968), the characteristics most commonly upheld by professions were: a) formal, specialized training with an emphasis that the training be highly intellectual; b) demonstrated mastery of skills through practical applications of skill; and c) mechanisms inside of the profession which would ensure that those with specialized skills would use them responsibly. Parsons' (1968) thoughts about what constituted a profession were supplemented about twenty years later by Benveniste's (1987) findings on the same topic. Benveniste (1987) maintained Parsons's (1968) elements of what made an occupation a profession, but extended the definition to specifically include ethics and the importance of being accountable to the public.

Sharing abundant similarities regarding the term profession with both Parsons (1968) and Benveniste (1987), a large number of researchers (Bayles, 1989; Freidson, 1983; Greenwood, 1957; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956; Moore, 1970; Pavalko, 1988), all emphasized that a profession must provide a definite and essential service to society, have the autonomy to self-regulate and have an established code of ethics to ensure competent performance. Outside of the field of sociology, a more modern definition of what it means to be a profession is provided by the *Professional Standards Council* (2016): A profession is

...a disciplined group of individuals who adhere to ethical standards. This group positions itself as possessing special knowledge and skills in a widely recognized body of learning derived from research, education and training at a high level, and is recognized by the public as such. A profession is also prepared to apply this knowledge and exercise these skills in the interest of others. (para 6)

Given the incremental variations that exist between researchers studying professions, there simply may not be one singular best definition of profession that works across time and place. Rather, as Freidson (1983) proposed, researchers should explore the social-historical contexts to "determine who is a professional and who is not, and how they 'make' or 'accomplish' professions by their activities" (p. 27). Using both Friedson's (1983) and Adams' (2010) argument, contextualizing the history surrounding any profession is important to understanding the profession as a whole. Some of that history can be seen in how occupations were identified as professions by the activities members engaged in, activities the likes of which are rooted in Parsons's (1968) and Benveniste's (1987) characteristics of what signify a profession. One such activity, or characteristic, is the creation and maintenance of a code of ethics. Ethical codes and how they relate to the teaching profession and legislation, will be taken up further in subsequent pages.

The teaching-as-a-profession debate

Regardless of how the term 'profession' has been taken up in research since the mid-1900s, it is generally agreed that "every profession is an occupation but not every occupation is a profession" (Monteiro, 2015, p. 53). As such, it should be made clear here, that not every researcher investigating professions subscribes to the belief that teachers are deserving of such a title. In a discussion paper written by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF), it states:

As certified teachers practicing in the K-12 schools of Saskatchewan, we regard ourselves as professionals...Our professional self-image is so strong we sometimes forget that the status of teaching as a profession has yet to be fully established. While considerable progress has been made toward that goal in recent decades, teaching is still regarded as a "semi-" or "quasi-" profession. (STF, 1997a, p. 1)

The STF (1997) pointed out what numerous studies, including the *General Social Survey* cited in Ingersoll and Perda's (2008) study on the status of teaching as a profession indicate, that as compared to the traditionally established professions, "teaching is less prestigious than law, medicine, and engineering..." (Ingersoll & Perda, 2008, p. 115). Tichenor and Tichenor (2005)

reiterated this, pointing out that society does not view teachers as they do other professionals. Specifically, "...the belief that 'anyone can teach' is not found in other professions" (p. 89).

Perhaps it is easier for the general public to imagine, for example, that surgeons are professionals because they cannot imagine themselves having the complex skills needed to conduct surgery; most people simply have no experience with completing that type of work. It may be considerably harder for the general public to imagine teachers as professionals because school is something with which most people in North America have had multiple years of experience. Given this, viewing a classroom teacher as a complexly skilled professional seems to be more difficult. Adams (2010) supported this, saying that most occupations "that have a high level of social status are commonly labeled 'professions,'" (p. 54). Given the vast exposure of the general public to schooling, which has meant that the work of teachers is not mysterious, teachers have not garnered the same status, or the "power to elicit respect" (Clark, 1995, p.15) as other professions (Adams, 2010; Clark, 1995; Ingersoll & Perda, 2008; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005).

Troman's (2000) paper Teacher Stress in the Low-Trust Society referenced a study done by Gardener and Oswald (1999), which revealed that teachers are ranked low by public sector standards (p. 332). In trying to explain factors that increase teachers' stress, Troman (2000) suggested that trust, a missing and critical ingredient for cooperation between teachers and stakeholders, may be the major contributing factor. Making a connection between trust and status is important because this connection can help to explain why teachers are not viewed by society with the same respect the public views other professions. Castells (1997) said that a present-day societal crisis of trust is responsible for the breakdown of relationships not only at the personal, but institutional level as well. Troman (2000) drew connections between society's overall distrust of education: "Panic concerning falling educational standards has continued to encourage the public's distrust of teachers" (p. 338) and the measures put in place to restore trust, such as regulatory practices and control measures over teachers' work, have actually served to cause more distrust. Understanding the interconnectedness of teaching to profession, profession to societal views, and status to trust, perhaps it is little wonder that researchers such as Lortie (1975) claimed that teaching is best viewed as a 'semi-profession'. As the educational and societal landscapes continue to evolve, it is likely that research debating teachers as professionals will continue on into the future.

Teaching as a profession

Research suggests that in our current society, teachers lack trust from the public. This lack of trust causes a deficiency of status in the teaching profession overall and casts doubt on individual teachers being viewed by the public as professionals - that is, people who "integrate their obligations with their knowledge and skill in a context of collegiality, and their contractual and ethical relations with clients" (Sockett, 1990, p. 9). However, despite the debate over whether or not teaching is a profession, "Teachers in Canada's public school systems still claim to be members of the 'teaching profession'" (Bennett & Mitchell, 2014, p. 7). This national view is supported closer to home as well. "The professional organization of teachers in Saskatchewan [have] adapted to a changing professional landscape, varying political climates and new contexts of public accountability" (STF, 2013, p. 11). As such, Saskatchewan teachers consider themselves to belong to a profession and work hard to be viewed that way by the public as well.

Examining teachers as a profession from a more historical lens, Harris (1994) examined the profession of teachers as follows:

In 1885, teachers were trained in classrooms to perform specific functions of instruction and control. Over the course of the next century they had become highly educated professionals. By 1985, while still continuing with classroom instruction and control, teachers had become a body of people who were highly knowledgeable with regard to educational theory and practice, sociology, social theory, child psychology, learning theory, and so on. They had become experts in their subject content; they had won the right, as a professional body, to be centrally involved in the determination and development of curriculum content, schooling practices and educational policy in general. (p. viii)

Harris's (1994) definition of what it means to be a professional teacher is far more encompassing than others' opinions on the matter. At the most basic level, 'professional teacher' "refers to the status of persons who are paid to teach" (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005, p. 90). On a higher level, professional teachers refer to educators who represent the best in the profession and set the highest standards (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005). Wise (1989), said that teachers as a profession are those who not only are masters of their subject areas, but who "know standards of

practice of their profession. They know that they are accountable..." (p. 304-305). Keeping in mind professional standards and accountability, what characteristics typify a profession, and Freidson's (1983) argument about needing to examine an occupational groups' activities to determine if they are a profession, it is clear that teachers exemplify a collective who engage in highly complex work, require specialized training, are accountable to the public, and are governed by a code of ethics. All of these are hallmarks of a profession.

Establishment of a code of ethics has, historically, been taken to be a significant mark of professions (Coady & Bloch, 1996). Currently, teachers practice according to a code of ethics. It is this code, that indicates teachers' corresponding obligation to the public to act in an ethical manner, which sets teachers apart as professionals. In fact, "Every professional occupation, both humble and proud, holds an ethical dimension insofar as it implies some trustworthy relationship between persons and some kind of responsibility over what it does" (Monteiro, 2015, p. 69). Monteiro (2015) argued that the ethical dimension for a profession grows infinitely more complex "in proportion to the extent to which the profession deals most directly and essentially with the human person...and broader its public exposure" (p. 69). For teachers, the ethical dimension existing between them and the public is immense. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) (2008) stated, "The public trusts professional teachers because they have the qualifications, including specialized knowledge, skills, and judgement, to serve students' educational needs" (para. 5). Correspondingly, teachers have a responsibility to "act at all times in a manner that is worthy of this public trust and consistent with the teaching profession's expectations" (para. 5).

It is because of the teacher/public relationship that educators are obligated to uphold the codes, standards, and processes of accountability that reinforce both public confidence and support of the teaching profession. The concept of public trust includes the belief that professions – teachers included - should hold the interests of society above their own. All professions must have a system of accountability to govern them, in turn "protecting the profession's client – the public – from incompetent and dishonest practitioners" (Grimmett & Young, 2012, p. 2). One of the ways that teachers have tried to "foster a reputation of integrity, competence, and commitment to the public interest" is through their legislated code of ethics (STF, 2013, p. 2). In short, teachers procure increased public trust by upholding their professional code of ethics.

Ethics then and now – their meaning and purpose

To understand codes of ethics, one must first know how they are defined and from where they came. Historically, the word 'code' came from *codex* or *caudex*, a Latin word etymology, meaning "a special kind of book, namely a systemic written collection of laws or rules" (Siggins, 1996, p. 56). In relating ethics to the concept of profession, "The word 'profession' in its Latin form meant a public declaration or vow" (Iacovino, 2002, p. 63). Ethical codes then, should clearly be seen as the modern-day vow made by professionals. Because ethical codes are "formal and public proclaiming [of] core values, which are the source of professional responsibilities, laid down in principles and duties..." (Monteiro, 2015, p. 70), they then function as commitments on the part of a profession to itself and to the public.

Traditionally, codes of ethics had strong implications of oath-taking – the ritual of declaring oneself set apart to fulfill an extraordinary commitment or assume an exalted and authoritative calling (Siggins, 1996, p. 56). Jonsen and Butler (1975) paraphrasing Bourke (1968), wrote "...thus from the time of the first Greek philosophers, ethics had but one meaning... It is the reflective study of what is good or bad in that part of human conduct for which man has some personal responsibility" (p. 22). To emphasize the relationship between ethics and responsibility, Siggins (1996) highlighted how and why professions such as medicine and law were set apart from the rest of society. Members of those professions bestowed with elite status (generally divinity, law, and medicine) took oaths to prove their virtuous character, their avowed duty to others, and their prudence of etiquette for their craft (Siggins, 1996, p. 58). Historically, ethical codes were the method through which religious and political stakeholders – those with the right to "supervise and regulate morality, family life, education, and even commerce and warfare" (Siggins, 1996, p. 64) – assured the public that professions were fulfilling their "dut[ies] to society, law, and truth" (p. 62). In this way adherence to ethics was tantamount to public trust.

In both the past and the present, the argument over why professions need a code of ethics remains fairly standard. Professions possess and use a particular knowledge and expertise to help people who are in need of their services. The public, utilizing the services of those employed in professions, need to be able to trust that the profession demonstrates sufficient expertise and will not abuse the user of their services (Banks, 1998). In general, most people do not possess all of

the knowledge they need to tap into (for example medical, legal, and educational knowledge) without utilizing the supplier of services expressly educated to fulfill such needs (Fullinwider, 1996). According to Larson (1979), professions are occupations with special autonomy and prestige, so codes of ethics serve as an essential part of protecting the public's potential exploitation of vulnerability (Fullinwider, 1996). In this light, Codes of Ethics can be defined as documented declarations of what professions should do (Strike & Soltis, 1998) and "enunciate what...their responsibilities and obligations are" (Campbell, 2000, p. 211). Codified ethics "describe duties professionals must perform, conduct they must forgo and situations they must avoid" (Fullinwider, 1996, p. 72). Codes of ethics are the tangible portrayal of quality practice.

Beyond a definition of ethics, Banks (1995, 1998) identified four distinct purposes of ethical codes which can be applied across professions. First, because an ethical code is a key feature of professions, "the adoption of a code of ethics is...about establishing the professional status of an occupational group" (Banks, 1998, p. 218). Secondly, it plays a role in the creation and maintenance of professional identity. "It affirms the fact that members of an occupational group belong to a community of people who share and are publicly committed to the same values" (Banks, 1998, p. 218). Thirdly, ethical codes provide guidance to professionals about how to act and lastly, these codes serve as protection of users from malpractice or abuse (Banks, 1998). Not only can codes of ethics be defined as a framework that formally and publicly states professional responsibilities, principles, and overall values, codes of ethics also have clear purpose and function.

What ethics are not

Equally important to understanding what ethics are and what their purpose is, is the importance of knowing what ethics are not. Ethics are not standards of practice or codes of collective interests. Where ethical codes tend to be a list of statements of ethical principles, codes of practice tend to give more details of what the appropriate action would be in specific situations (Banks, 1998). Standards "do not cover all areas of ethical concern and therefore [do] not automatically give an appropriate answer to every ethical question" (Kluge, 1992, p. 1234). Although messaging inside of various professions' codes and standards can be similar to their code of ethics, ethical codes are their own entity.

Whereas codes of ethics can be seen as a list of professional ideals that members of a profession should live up to and base their professional decisions on, "ethical thinking and decision making are not just following the rules" (Strike & Soltis, 1998, p.1). Ethical decision-making is considered a peculiarly human activity because humans are able to reason, rationalize, and analyze choices, and see themselves as a member of both particular social groups and society at large (Iacovino, 2002). Thus, ethics are not just how we 'feel' about something, it is a reasoned process (Iacovino, 2002, p. 58).

Though ethics and morals are sometimes used interchangeably and have parallels, they are not one and the same. Keniston (1965) argued that the two conceptions, ethics and morals, could be used to define "...opposite ends of a continuum of morality that runs from specific to general" (p. 628). Jonsen and Butler (1975) supported Keniston (1965), arguing that ethics are not moral judgements that answer specific "problems about what is right or ought to be done" (p. 22). Rather, ethics are broad statements detailing the behaviours and values held by the profession as a whole.

Expounding further on the differences between ethics and morals, Keniston (1965) stated that morals are socially learned, largely unconscious, and are rules of right conduct in any community. Additionally, Keniston (1965) believed that moral codes are specific and situational, they tell a person how to behave in defined kinds of circumstances. Moral actions are those that are automatic, unreflective, and self-evident. Conversely, ethics articulate the values of a profession and must be learned and enacted. Ethics seek to provide guidelines for conduct and aspirations. Keniston's (1965) views are corroborated by Iacovino (2002), with both postulating that codes of ethics guide our thinking and decision making processes because codes serve as a base for determining best behaviour when presented with an ethical dilemma. Rather than provide us with definitive answers, codes of ethics provide us with a process by which to act professionally. Though morals – "rooted in the simple interpersonal situations of childhood" – tell us how to behave, they "tell us nothing at all" (Keniston, 1965, p. 631) about professional guidelines and ethical expectations.

Each individual is the judge of what they believe to be moral, and this leads to the potential for as many different standards of right and wrong as people inside of a profession (Christensen, 1994). Gary Edwards (cited in Christensen, 1994) former president of the Ethics Resource Center in Washington, D.C., noted:

Until perhaps the Second World War, the development of both civic and moral responsibility... was deeply rooted in small communities. In these communities urban and rural, moral concepts and values were mediated across generations in two-parent homes where grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins were a frequent presence...In these communities, the efforts of the family to shape the character of the young were weekly supported in the churches and synagogues, and daily in the public as well... (p. 28)

Christensen (1994) used the above quotation to underline the idea that morals, unlike ethics, are rooted, shaped and transmitted via communities: in homes, schools, places of worship, and social networks. Morals – or the individual sense of right and wrong - belong to specific communities and apply only within those specific communities. Although ethical codes also delineate acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, they should be viewed as "the fruit of a collaborative process aimed at articulating the ethical base of professional practice" (Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016, p. 469) rather than moral statements. Ethics must be "reachieved by each new generation" (Keniston, 1965, p. 629) and evolve alongside changing professional norms, societal ideologies, and government policies. Keniston (1965) reiterated this point by saying that ethics reflect a "rapidly changing society continually creat[ing] unprecedented situations between men [sic], their institutions, and their technologies that could not be anticipated in the moral code of the previous generation" (Keniston, 1965, p. 630). To underline these points, Soltis (1986) said, "The very act of becoming a professional commits one to the ethical principles and standards of membership in the community of that profession and to the service of its general purposes" (p. 3). Although morals and ethics can overlap, in committing to a profession, one is also committing to its ethics.

Finally, ethics are not laws. Indeed, there is often a gap between what is legal and what is ethical. Law is deficient as an ethical system because "Codified law focuses on actions and outcomes rather than values" (Iacovino, 2002, p. 58). Laws imply a legislative process and ethics imply a professional process. Ethics and law can, like ethics and morals, overlap – they are not in opposition of one another. "They can and should complement each other as a system of control over human behavior" (Iacovino, 2002, p. 58). Laws, similar to rules, do not denote choice. They enforce minimum standards of what is right and wrong and administer consequences when the laws are breached (Iacovino, 2002). Conversely, as Annis (1989) stated, ethical codes "do not

promote minimalism, the idea that one need only satisfy requirements of minimally acceptable behaviour. Instead professionals are to be judged against high standards, standards that require more than the minimal" (p. 6). Looking beyond minimum and maximum standards, codes of ethics - unlike laws - denote choice in the behaviour of the part of the professional. Though laws are breakable implying that some individuals choose not to follow them, they are intended to be non-negotiable. Ethics on the other hand cannot be imposed from outside of a professional organization (Lichtenberg, 1996) and are organizationally negotiated values that guide the ethical behaviour of a profession.

To sum up, ethics are not individual standards based on feeling, socially learned philosophies of right and wrong, or dependent upon circumstance and law. Ethics can be seen as the "collective conscience of a profession" (Van Nuland, 2009, p. 32) and as reasoned statements of high standards which professionals are expected to uphold. These standards provide clear processes of how to behave competently and must be learned, maintained, and enacted by professionals.

Ethics in education

As Monteiro (2015) pointed out, the ethical dimension for teachers is more demanding than other professions because teachers constantly deal with the public (p. 69). Monteiro (2015) compares teaching to being like a "goldfish bowl" (p. 74) where teachers are constantly exposed to public scrutiny. This scrutiny is a result of being in day-to-day contact with students who echo the behaviour of their teachers back to families and society. Teachers cannot afford to make decisions based on "moral subjectivity and relativity" because if their "competence and conduct are not professionally acceptable, the profession's public image is significantly and negatively affected…" (p. 74).

In the fish bowl that is education (Monteiro, 2015), ethics and teaching cannot be seen as separate entities because teachers' "cognitive and ethical dimensions are, in practice, deeply intertwined" (Monteiro, 2015, p. 69). The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) in the United States sums this intertwining of complex job requirements and ethics perfectly:

The ethical dimensions of teaching also distinguish it from other professions. Unique demands arise because the client's attendance is compulsory and, more importantly, because the clients are children. Thus, elementary, middle and high school teachers are obligated to meet a stringent ethical standard. Other ethical demands derive from the teacher's role as a model of an educated person...Teachers, consequently, must conduct themselves in a manner students might emulate. Their failure to practice what they preach does not long elude students, parents or peers (NBPTS, 2002, p. 6).

The NBPTS highlights the idea that teachers' codes of ethics and public trust in the teaching profession go hand in hand. The STF (2000) also considered the importance of ethics, teaching, and public trust:

In teachers' evolution towards professional status, it has been decided that a high level of public respect and confidence is best achieved when teachers themselves establish and maintain a reputation for integrity, competence and commitment. The level of esteem within which the teaching profession is held by the society it serves will be determined by the collective will of teachers not to compromise the highest standards of professional ethics. (pp. 4-5)

In truth, teachers' ethical codes not only bolster public trust, but these codes function as a symbolic statement about the profession itself (Fischer & Zinke, 1989) encapsulating teachers' ethical activities, motives, and responsibilities to the larger society, stakeholders of education, and even to themselves. In fact, Hostetler (1997) described teaching as a fundamentally ethical activity because "...teachers are continually searching for, and being responsible to, what is ethically right and good" (p.195-196). It is within teachers' quests to demonstrate the highest degree of ethical conduct so that teaching can be considered an ethical profession.

Teachers in Saskatchewan have several codes which contribute to the understanding that teaching is an ethical activity. STF codes include three: *Code of Ethics*, *Standards of Practice*, and *Code of Collective Interests*. Teachers are bound to these codes in order to be considered acting in a professional manner (STF, 2016). Campbell (2000) reiterated the necessity for ethics to be at the forefront of education. Not only should ethical codes be established and enforced so

that teachers can self-regulate and be accountable, but codes of ethics should also "act as a guide and resource to help [teachers] cope with the ethical complexities and dilemmas" (Campbell, 2000, p. 218) inherent to education. If teachers are considered to be members of a profession who conduct themselves professionally, then all educators must live their ethical codes on a consistent basis. After all, teachers' ethical codes are their expression of how they behave, the values they hold and their commitment to the profession's wider public interest responsibilities.

Ethics as legislation

Bourke (1968) wrote about the relationship that exists between the law, society, and ethics when he traced the history of ethics from Greco-Roman times to the modern era, pointing out that philosophers and social theorists began to study ethics as a way "to provide a foundation for their theories of society and law" (p. 221). Leys (1952) declared, "The connections between ethics and policy decisions is not very clearly understood...you will find some people who entertain quite clear and straightforward ideas about ethical duties and they may have definite notions about policies, but they can seldom tell you how to get from ethics to policy or vice versa." (p. 3). However, if we consider ethics to be, in part, legislated policy - we must first understand what policies are and apply this knowledge to what we know regarding ethics and professions.

Dye (1994) described policy as "anything a government chooses to do or not to do (p. 4) and Easton (1965) stated that public policy consists "of decision rules adopted by authorities as a guide to behavior" (p. 358). Extrapolating from this, it could be interpreted that anything that the government chooses to do in terms of directing behaviour is ethical policy. In this way, codes of ethics can easily be seen as policies adopted by professions by way of legislation. Not only do ethics relate to policy, but professions relate to both in that "...the characteristics of a profession are increasingly determined to a significant extent by the state, which is now a major stakeholder in defining professionalism in modern societies. Most professionals are employed, or at least regulated, by governments" (Whitty & Wisby, 2006, p. 44). The type of bargain that a profession and the government strike influences the professions' mandate (Witty & Wisby, 2006). One integral piece of a professions' mandate is that of ethical codes. The relationships between ethics, policy, and legislation are inherent and this complex relationship can most certainly be applied to the teaching profession.

Relating legislation to the teaching profession

Walker and Bergmann (2013) analyzed teacher education policy in Canada and wrote, "very few articles or studies on Canadian teacher educational policy exist" (p. 68). Even fewer are articles regarding *ethics as educational policy* or *professions as legislation*. As such, it is difficult to fully substantiate the teaching profession and its codes of ethics as policy inside of existing literature. That said, one is able to make connections between the teaching profession, ethics, and legislated policy through the fragmented resources that touch on this topic.

Education can be viewed in part as a political act. Robertson and Dale (2013) reinforced this notion, stating that "education is governed through policies, politics, and practices" (p. 433). In fact, research shows that teachers are "primarily understood as implementers of policy decisions made by their organizational superiors" (Bascia & Rottmann, 2011, p. 789). In this vein, ethics can be seen as legislative policy decisions which teachers implement. Furthering this thinking, ethical codes are one major characteristic of professions and thus, a critical component in professionalism. Hoyle, (as cited in Sockett, 1993), described how professionalism relates to professions arguing that, "Professionalism describes the quality of practice. It describes the manner of conduct within an occupation, how members integrate their obligations with their knowledge and skill in a context of collegiality and of contractual and ethical relations with the client... (p. 9). We can infer from this definition that codes of ethics are a form of professionalism. We can further infer from what we know about policies overall, that policy can be viewed as a governmental tool used to regulate professions. Thus, ethics could reasonably be considered to be legislated policy regulating the behaviour of teachers.

Ozga (1995) maintained that "Professionalism is best understood in context, and particularly in policy context" (p. 22). Codes of ethics then, can be viewed as Ozga (1995, p. 35) believed, as a form of occupational control. This concept of ethics as control is upheld in the STF (2013) document titled, *Teacher Professionalism in Saskatchewan*, which states that in the current context of education, "The development of codes of ethics...are closely intertwined with the process of professionalization... [and that ethics are] one of the legislated purposes of the Saskatchewan Teacher's Federation" (p. 2). Not only are ethics a legislated purpose for Saskatchewan teachers currently, but it seems they always have been.

In Sterling McDowell's (1965) doctoral thesis describing the dynamics of the STF, he chronicled his personal interview with Woodrow Lloyd, a Saskatchewan teacher, STF President (1940-1944), Minister of Education (1944-1960), and Premier (1961-1964). Lloyd revealed to McDowell that when the Saskatchewan government passed the *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act* into law on February 21, 1935, it made clear that the STF would not be granted the disciplinary functions the Federation had initially requested in the proposal to government until the organization developed and adopted a code of ethics (McDowell, 1965). In his speech to Council in December of 1935, STF President J.R MacKay acknowledged that the section of the *Act* dealing with discipline had been rejected because "the government, perhaps rightly, claimed that we did not have a sufficiently clear cut code of professional ethics yet..." (STF, 1935a, p. 2). Given this, the STF (2013) "took steps to demonstrate its capacity and commitment to the public interest" (p. 3) by formulating and adopting a code of ethics to "encourage high standards among teachers in Saskatchewan" (p. 3) and guide their professional behaviour. Here we can see the interrelationship between government and teachers as both a historical and contemporary contributing factor to a code of ethics and, in turn, teacher professionalism.

To address current regulatory measures enacted by government to control teacher behaviour, recent legislation passed by the government of Saskatchewan stands as an example. *The Registered Teachers Act (2015)* of Saskatchewan established the Saskatchewan Professional Teachers Regulatory Board (SPTRB), "a single, independent authority responsible for regulating teachers. Though the SPTRB assumes all responsibility for teacher certification and registration, it also receives, investigates, and hears complaints regarding conduct and competence" (SPTRB, video 2015). Hence, Saskatchewan teachers occupy a unique position in that they are responsible to distinctive and separate sets of expectations, policies, and procedures as employees and as members of the teaching profession.

In Saskatchewan there are multiple educational entities to which teachers are responsible. Boards of education have the authority to establish their own policies and procedures regarding expectations of teachers as employees of that particular school division. The SPTRB has codes and standards for teacher conduct and competence across the province and the STF has codes, standards, and procedures different from those of school divisions and the SPTRB. As such, it is important for teachers to not only become knowledgeable about their respective obligations to

each entity, but also to know and understand the legislative pieces that contribute to understanding what their ethical responsibilities are and teaching practices should be.

To explain the relationship between legislation, teaching profession, and public accountability, one can reference the Manitoba Law Reform Commission (1994) from the SPTRB website:

In exchange for the benefits of professional status, the regulatory body of a profession is expected to develop, implement, and enforce various rules. These rules are designed to protect the public by ensuring that services from members of the profession are provided in a competent and ethical manner. This legal authority often includes: the right to set standards for who may enter the profession; the right to set standards of practice for those working in the profession; and the right to create rules for when and how members may be removed from the profession. (Manitoba Law Reform Commission, 1994, in Randall, 2005, para. 4)

It may seem incongruous to compare government legislation concerning teacher regulation in Saskatchewan to both the evolution of professions and ethics. However, these topics intersect in several ways. First, both the STF Code of Ethics and SPTRB codes and standards are tied to teacher conduct and competence and serve as an essential component of ensuring public trust in the profession (Fullinwider, 1966). Second, as Monteiro (2015) pointed out, there is a logical connection between the teaching profession and government. "... Most teachers are public servants governed by Boards, Departments, and Ministries of Education" (p. 72). As such, the government has a considerable hand in controlling policies for teachers. The government "is a partner associated with other actors in order to bring about an action, for which they all share responsibility, authority, risks and an investment of resources" (Lessard & Brassard, 2006, p. 3). Part of being a profession includes working in symbiotic partnership, as Witty and Wisby (2006) pointed out, and, for teachers, this involves cooperation with the government and other educational stakeholders. Findings by Harris (1994) substantiate this need for government/educational partnership positing that, if teachers are considered to be members of a profession, then they should be "centrally involved in the determination and development of educational policy" (p. viii). In a recent publication, the STF stated that the mechanics of the teaching profession are "founded on the historically positive relationships between the partners

in education and the shared responsibility of the government, school divisions and the Federation" (STF, 2013, p. 2). These relationships build teacher mandates and cannot be overlooked when examining the connection between professions, ethics, and legislation. After all, the evolution of teachers' practice and professionalism has seemingly always occurred through a negotiation of shared interests between demands of the state, society, and the teaching profession (Lawn, 1987). It is in the bargains these entities strike that influences education overall, but more specifically, teachers' professional responsibilities - including their ethical behaviour.

Summing up the literature

One of the major hallmarks of a profession is an established Code of Ethics. When a profession has a Code of Ethics, it signals to the public that its members are acting in ethical and responsible ways. Ethical codes are established and re-established as what values and behaviours considered to be professional change over time. Shifts in ethical codes tend to be the result of changing political, economic, and social factors. Time, place, and context also contribute to the evolution of ethical codes.

Though numerous parallels can be drawn between ethics and standards of practice, rules, morals, and law, ethics are none of these. Rather, Codes of Ethics represent a professions' collective beliefs in the form of high-standard statements which professionals are expected to uphold. Codes of ethics provide clear processes of how to behave competently and must be learned and practiced by professionals. When members of a profession have a clear Code of Ethics that is enacted and enforced by a regulatory body, public trust is heightened and maintained.

In order to better understand the evolution of the STF's Code of Ethics, it is imperative to study all of the factors that contributed to its changes throughout time. Because the STF bargains with the government and the Ministry of Education mandates much of teachers' work, it is imperative that teachers view the Code of Ethics as not just a professional expectation, but legislation that regulates their competence and conduct. Understanding the roots and current contexts of ethics allows for professional collectives to create a climate of ethical awareness. Learning about a profession's code of ethics and professional responsibilities can aid in minimalizing the possibility of incurred regulatory measures. Finally, learning about an ethical

code can induce professionals to choose to behave in ways that honour professional, contractual, and societal expectations.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

Filling a gap

Research on the evolution of the STF's Code of Ethics fills a large gap. Much research has been done on professions, especially in the field of sociology, since the mid 1900s (Bayles, 1989; Freidson, 1983; Greenwood, 1957; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956; Moore, 1970; Pavalko, 1988; Parsons, 1968, Benveniste, 1987). More recently, some research has been conducted on how ethics impact professionalism and professionalization of professions (Larson, 2014; Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016; Ozga, 1995; Whitty & Wisby, 2006). Recent research encompasses the increasingly bureaucratic tendencies of education overall (Popkewitz, 1994) and includes, but is not limited to, topics such as standardized testing, curriculum policy, school improvement plans, and teacher workload. Though literature about the ethics of education is available, this research relates almost entirely to the ethical implications that come from teaching ethics as a subject in schools, teacher interaction with students, grading procedures, confidentiality, supervision, inter-professional relations, conflicts of interest, and other topics relating to in-school happenstances and relationships (Boylan, 2006; Keith-Spiegal, Whitley, Balogh, Perkins & Wittig, 2002; Strike & Egan, 1978). Research relating specifically to educators' codes of ethics seems limited to investigating ethical codes as a means to defining professionalism, as a way to determine social status of teachers and their work, as a counter to corruption, and as a search to determine whether or not codes are educational, regulatory, aspirational, or some combination thereof (Banks, 2003; Farrell & Cobbin, 2002; Forster, 2012; Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016; Terhart, 1998; Shortt, Hallett, Spendlove, Hardy, & Barton, 2012; Van Nuland, 2009).

Little research has been completed, and fewer studies conducted, specifically targeting the idea of codes of ethics and their historical connections to other ideas (Lovejoy, 1955; Woods, 1994) such as the economy, social ideology, and legislative policy. The historical research of ethical codes as they relate to being a mandatory characteristic of professions overall, their relation to teachers as professionals, and how they intersect with legislation is seemingly non-existent. Investigating the historical development and evolution of the STF Code of ethics can

provide insight into the related areas of profession and legislation. Until now, no one has written a historical description of the development and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics so this research not only fills a gap, but also has the potential to be a valuable and important resource to educators, post-secondary institutions, and other professions alike.

Why choose historical research?

There is infinitely more than one way to research a question. However, when purposefully examining the evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, "it would therefore seem obvious that historical research methods, whose primary concern is the role of time, would be at the forefront of analysis" (Buckley, 2016, p. 879). Obvious or not, the perspective of time is essential when attempting to conduct historical research. "In all spheres of life, from personal relationships to political judgements, we constantly interpret our experience in time perspective, whether we are conscious of it or not" (Tosh, 1991, p. 1). It is impossible to grasp the full picture of an event and represent the past "without some perception of where it fits into a continuing process" (Tosh, 1991, p. 1). Grasping the full picture of an event involves utilizing history as "collective memory" and as a "storehouse of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and future prospects" (Tosh, 1991, p. 1). It is fascinating to think that by looking into the multifaceted history of the STF, a better understanding can be gained about where ethics stood in the flow of time and where ethics may lay in the future.

Although historians may investigate similar research questions as other researchers in complementary fields of study do, the answers historians arrive at through source analysis are often divergent, especially in terms of causation (Buckley, 2016). That is, historical facts are not merely found, threaded together, and reported. Rather, historical facts must be unearthed, analyzed, and interpreted to tell a story. As Rousmaniere (2004) pointed out, "there is not one true historical story out there waiting to be told if only the correct facts are pulled together. Rather, history is interpretation of the past, drawing on available sources, and it is the historian who does the interpretation" (p. 33). Telling the story of the official recognition of Saskatchewan teachers as professionals, with their Code of Ethics as a characteristic of their profession, and what social ideologies and legislative pieces influenced that code, is not a singular story which can be interpreted in only one way. Rather, it is a multilayered story informed by analyzing interconnecting ideas that "reveal meaning and...make sense of reality" (Finkelstein, 1992, p.

255). Rather than saying 'Why history?' for this type of work, it is better to ask, 'Why not history?'

Historiography

According to Rousmaniere (2004), historiography "literally means the study of the techniques of historical research and historical writing" (p. 33). Historiography then not only means that the historian works to answer their research question inside of a historical framework, but also that the historian grounds their work in both the research data that is their subject, and in other historians' work on the same or similar subjects. It is vitally important for historical studies to cross reference the work of other historians, lending not only credence to the work the historian is presently doing, but as a way to better ensure authenticity of findings. For example, reading McDowell's (1965) and Tyre's (1968) work on the history of the STF, Waiser's (2005) work on Saskatchewan's history as a whole, Pratt's (2002) work on the province's political history and so on, can help to better illuminate factors concerning the STF Codes of Ethics. As such, "historians put more emphasis on historiography than they do on specific historical methods" (Rousmaneire, 2004, p. 33). That said, methodology, method, and framework cannot be eliminated from a historical study altogether.

Differentiating Between Methodology, Framework, and Methods

Pole and Morrison (2003), in their work specific to ethnography, argued that methodology and methods are two separate research entities and that, when not differentiated, can "contribute to the lack of clarity on what it is in any absolute sense" (p. 5). In order to create sense then, a definition of methodology, methods, and framework must be outlined.

Methodology can be defined as "the broad theoretical and philosophical framework into which... procedural rules fit (Brewer, 2000, p. 2). This broadness encompasses all research decisions made in the research process including which questions are asked, what framework is selected, and how data will be collected (Creswell, 2006). Hays and Singh (2012) quoting Maxwell (2005), described a framework as "a network of concepts, theories, personal and professional assumptions, exploratory studies, and alternative explanations that collectively inform your research topic" (p. 112). The development of a conceptual framework helps to refine what is researched and create a clear purpose (Hays & Singh, 2012). Clear purpose is best found

then by developing, naming, and utilizing a framework which 'frames' or sets up definable parameters of what is being researched. Methods relate closely to framework in that they refer to the rules and procedures that are followed when conducting research (Pole & Morrison, 2003).

Methods can be seen to relate to the tool bag from which the researcher selects the most appropriate instrument with which to gather data and subsequently to analyze those data. Methods also act, therefore, to limit and constrain the data collection process, in the same way that the tools of a plumber or a carpenter restrict the work that he or she can do. (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 6)

In this way then, methodology is the practice of research, frameworks set boundaries, and methods are the procedures the researcher follows to collect, analyze, and interpret data inside of the framework. Taken together, they create a process in which the researcher is able to compile meaning about what they are interested in finding out more.

My framework

In order to answer my historical research question which focuses on the beginning and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, I am using the ethnographic history of ideas as my framework. Though ethnography and the history of ideas are customarily taken up as separate frameworks by researchers, I believe this combined approach is the best way to answer my research question.

To the extent that historiography is concerned with the recovery of meaningful worlds... it cannot but rely on the tools of the ethnographer... By the same token, however, no ethnography can ever hope to penetrate beyond the surface planes of everyday life, to plumb its invisible forms, unless it is informed by the historical imagination – the imagination, that is, of both those who make history and those who write it. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992, p. xi)

Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) pointed out that historiography and ethnography go hand in hand. As such, the intertwining relationship of ethnography and the history of ideas also do.

Sharing complementary features, these frameworks are codependent. They both rely on and supplement one another and as such, are an excellent singular framework in which to conduct my research.

Ethnography has been described as "a historically situated mode of understanding historically situated contexts" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992, p. 9). Historical ethnography "examines events that have occurred in the past, using qualitative, naturalistic methods that explore meanings and understandings, and re-creates cultures and contexts in the evocative manner typical of ethnography" (Woods, 1994, p. 310). Ethnographic history is grounded in telling a story, or stories, of an event in its full richness combining narrative and structural history (Woods, 1994). Furthermore, the conclusion of such an ethnographic historical study aims to be holistic in nature. That is, that construction of the event studied is done by fully examining all of the factors which may have influenced it.

Though ethnographers often go directly to a site to conduct research and are his or her own primary data source, the ethnographic historian can both 'visit' a site and gather data about it, by comprehensively investigating primary and secondary sources related to what they are researching. It is common for ethnographers to study social life within the setting the ethnography is focused and to be "concerned not with presenting a distanced, scientific and objective account of the social world, but with an account that recognizes the subjective reality of the experiences of those people who constitute the social world" (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 5). These characteristics of ethnography as a singular framework can be applied to a study of combined ethnographic history of ideas as well. In studying the beginning and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, the research is centered in the setting of Saskatchewan. The research begins with historical materials prior to 1935 when the STF lobbied the government for professional status. The research recognizes that sources pertaining to people, politics, religion, and economy are subjective. The original 'rules' for teachers (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915) were eventually replaced by a professional Code of Ethics which in itself, has also seen alterations as time has passed (STF, 1935b; STF, 1947b; STF, 1957a; STF, 1973b; STF, 2000a; STF, 2017c). How these many changes occurred all play into the social world of education. Detailing one last commonality, for both ethnographer and historian, the analysis of sources follows a similar pattern of rigor. Data found must be cross-referenced and validated.

The history of ideas is a "historical study having to do, more or less, with ideas and their role in human affairs" (Lovejoy, 1948, p. 1). Put more simply, to study from a historical perspective the meanings conveyed by, for example, patterns of behaviour, forms of social organization, economic systems, and technical inventions, is to study the history of ideas (Bevir, 2000). Generally, history of ideas projects originate in problems that arise from the present and imagined future to which historical knowledge is relative (Destler, 1950). That is, present questions take us into the past and the past can help to inform the future. Collingwood (1946) expounded on this saying that "...by understanding [the past] historically we incorporate it into our present thought, and enable ourselves by developing and criticizing it to use that heritage for our own advancement" (p. 230). For my research specifically, wondering about the current Code of Ethics sparked a need to reach back into the past and find out how and why it came into being in the first place and from what it may have originated. Understanding the Code of Ethics' past can help to hypothesize about what ethical changes might happen in the future. Crossley and Broadfoot (1992) commented that there are "deep rooted cultural traditions and institutions" (p. 99) behind educational systems. In a sense the traditions and institutions Crossley and Broadfoot (1992) mentioned are just ideas, or threads that once investigated more deeply, contribute to the overall tapestry of what phenomena is being studied.

Historical events do not unfold autonomously – they are "connected with what happened before, with contemporary developments in other fields, and what came afterwards" (Tosh, 2000, p. 94). One historical subject studied is not just that one subject, but should be viewed as a series of ideas waiting to be discovered, analyzed, and woven into a greater understanding. The history of ideas is interested in taking the many parts of literature, philosophy, religion, science, social, and political movements and see how they interplay, conflict, and ally with other ideas (Lovejoy, 1948). From there, fresh perspective can be gained. In short, the history of ideas is a "program... of both isolation and synthesis – the provisional isolation of an idea for separate study, but the bringing together, for that study, of material from all the historical provinces into which the idea has penetrated" (Lovejoy, 1948, p. 10). I aim, as Lovejoy (1948) detailed, to take all of the ideas relating to the Code of Ethics and create a holistic interpretation of its evolution.

My research question concerns primarily with the STF Code of Ethics. However, in order to truly engage in the methodology of the ethnographic history of ideas I must investigate the social ideologies of Saskatchewan, recognizing that what was happening economically,

politically, religiously, and socially are subjective and undoubtedly impacted the development of the first STF code of ethics and its subsequent changes. Although these ideas when taken up as separate entities may seem to have little bearing on Saskatchewan teachers' Codes of Ethics, taken together, they add perspective to the original research question. Without their combined contribution, the question would be less historically and holistically understood.

History matters, regardless of which conceptual framework a historian chooses to utilize. For my research, it makes sense to apply an ethnographic history of ideas framework. Woods (1994) described the beauty of historical ethnography as a way for researcher to "capitalize on knowing how things turned out" (p. 310) by saturating the incident they are studying via integration and development of other contributory ideas. An ethnographer's use of contributory ideas to their research bears striking resemblance to those researchers using history of ideas to conduct theirs. In this way, both ethnography and the history of ideas should be seen as so complementary that using only one would be a disservice to the other. As such, the best approach to studying the beginning and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, is through an ethnographic history of ideas framework.

Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Sources and verification of authenticity in historical research

Historians rely heavily on written evidence. It is the job of the historian to take this written evidence, make sense of it, and tell a story based on the reconstruction of their findings. This reconstruction can be difficult as there is a vast amount of diversity within the sources a historian finds to reconstruct the past. Historians are preoccupied with sources and their "main methodological concerns have to do with sources, or the different types of historical data available to them, and the way in which they might interpret them" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 45). Sources are not "constructed with the historian in mind; many were produced in settings where academic disciplines did not exist, and they largely stem from the messiness of lives as they are lived – and that includes institutions and arms of government" (Jordanova, 2000, p. 30). What happened in the past – and what a historian studies – was once present. Galbraith (2000) said, "The thoughts of men [sic] are never at a stand, they change from generation to generation; and if institutions or doctrines appear to survive for centuries, it is only with an ever-changing

meaning. The past is dead – as dead as the men [sic] who made it" (p. 23). Galbraith (2000) further made the point, that because the past was created by people who often are no longer alive, fidelity to sources which reveal the past is imperative for historians. Only in immersing oneself into the sources that detail the past, can one hope to understand it enough to recreate it.

In trying to understand and reconstruct the past, a historian must have some method of finding which resources are most relevant to their research. The historian understands and reconstructs in two ways. First, using a source-oriented approach, a historian finds all of the resources that "fall within his or her general area of interest... and extract[s] whatever is of value, allowing the content of the source to determine the nature of the inquiry." (Tosh, 1991, p. 54). A second, or problem-oriented approach, is the opposite of the first. The problem-oriented approach is:

...usually prompted by a reading of the secondary authorities, and the relevant primary sources are then studied; the bearing which these sources may have on other issues is ignored, the researcher proceeding as directly as possible to the point where he or she can present some conclusions. (Tosh, 1991, p. 54)

There are pros and cons to both approaches. Using a source-oriented approach can yield much information to the researcher. However, the sheer volume of data often results in a jumbled mass of incoherency. The problem-oriented approach is logical in nature, but it is sometimes very difficult to locate relevant sources (Tosh, 1991). Relevance is vital to the historian in that sources that seem improbable on the surface, can prove themselves significant in uncovering and reconstructing the past. Those sources thought to be the most relevant at first glance, may simply serve to confuse the story the historian is trying to tell. The relationship between historian and sources is one of constant struggle and fact checking is crucial.

Miles and Huberman (1994) defined Tosh's (1991) concept of fact checking as rigour. Rigour is the attention that is given to finding patterns and ordering data. Dey (1991) described the concept of rigour as a spiral. The spiral moves from collecting data to describing it and from making connections in the data to arriving at a qualitative account. Dey (1991) suggested several steps to follow so as to ensure that sources have been put through an appropriate amount of rigour. A researcher should begin with classification and the establishing of logical connections

inside individual sources and between multiple sources. Once this has happened, the researcher can categorize the data and look for patterns. After this, singularities, regularities, and variations in the sources can be identified keeping in mind that each source has capabilities and liabilities. Once all of these steps have been followed, the researcher can make theories based on his/her total data analysis.

The theories a researcher arrives at as a result of found sources must be carefully appraised throughout the research process in order to prove reliability, accuracy, and authenticity. The sources that a historian utilizes are most usually referred to as primary or secondary.

Primary sources are taken to be original documents, raw materials, direct evidence of the era being studied, while secondary sources are those created by historians and other commentators upon the past. Hence, writings *about* the past... are generally considered secondary sources in that they result from the study of and reflection upon another type of material that was produced *in* the past – primary sources. (Jordanova, 2000, p. 32)

Researching primary sources is often a slow process. "Before the historian can properly assess the significance of a document, he or she needs to find out how, when, and why it came into being. Ascertaining significance requires the application of both supporting knowledge and sceptical intelligence" (Tosh, 1991, p. 56). The critical evaluation of sources is a continual struggle, but one that must be grappled with in order to conduct analytic and holistic historical research.

Some critics suggest that primary sources are better sources simply because they "lie closer to the past" (Jordanova, 2000, p. 33). However, "There is nothing inherently wrong with using mixtures of primary and secondary works" (Jordanova, 2000, p. 33) just as there is nothing wrong with using a mixture of problem and source orientated approaches. Using a mixture of sources can actually serve to provide increased accuracy to the research. One has to remember that even primary source documents are biased. Those first-hand accounts that lie close to whatever is being studied, are also "interested parties... that shape the evidence even as they are recording it" (Jordanova, 2000, p. 33). There is richness and limitations to whatever sources are used and these limitations must be considered.

Authenticity of sources can be both external and internal (Tosh, 1991). External criticism of sources asks questions about a source's veracity. Author, place, and date of writing should be corroborated. Great finds do not appear out of thin air. Sources must be able to be traced back to people and places that produced it. The content of the sources must be fact checked. That is, the source must substantiate facts found in other unimpeachable documents from the time. The corroboration between sources creates authenticity. Internal criticism examines interpretation of sources. Once a source has passed the external criticism test, it is important to question overall meaning and reliability. "What most affects reliability of a source... is the intention and prejudices of the writer" (Tosh, 1991, p. 61). "Very few forms of writing arise solely from a desire to convey the unvarnished truth" (Tosh, 1991, p. 62). Sources cannot simply be put in the unusable pile because all sources are biased to some degree and can be historically significant. Biased documents can account for policies enacted, shifts of public opinion, explanations of why things happened the way they did, et cetera.

...in their very subjectivity often lies their greatest value, since the pattern which the writer makes... is a cultural as much as a personal construct, and...illuminates the frame of mind in which not only the [source] was written but the life itself was led. Even the most tainted sources can assist in the reconstruction of the past. (Tosh, 1991, p. 62)

By focusing on one source at a time and "reconstructing how it came into being by all available means – through textual analysis, related documents...contemporary comment, and so on," (Tosh, 1991, p. 63) reliability can be more assured.

The bulk of sources found then, are "in some way inaccurate, incomplete, or tainted by prejudice and self-interest" (Tosh, 1991, pp. 65-66). Knowing this, the historian then must again evaluate the sources they have already externally and internally criticized. This re-evaluation, for lack of better word, now examines sources as evidence or not, keeping in mind that "everything in the world is potential evidence for any subject whatever" (Collingwood, 1946, p. 280). Collingwood (1946) stated "...there is potential evidence and there is actual evidence. The potential evidence about a subject is all the extant statements about it. The actual evidence about a subject is that part of these statements which we decide to accept" (p. 280). To decide which sources are most relevant, the historian must go back to his/her research question. Although any

source can be considered evidence so long as it answers the research question (Collingwood, 1946, p. 281), the researcher should, as they find any piece of narrative, "...put the narrator in the witness box and to exert all one's ingenuity in order to shake his testimony" (Collingwood, 1926/1993, p. 378). Documents must be treated as evidence to be questioned. The historian should query, for example: 'What was the author thinking when he wrote this?' 'What was his/her intention?' 'What might the author be trying to hide from me?' 'Can the things the author left out of his account tell me as much as the things that he decided to include?' A source's validity as evidence to support the research question can only be extracted by vigorous questioning.

The historian not only must question sources, but themselves as well. "In a very real sense, there is no history until historians tell it, and it is the way in which they tell it that becomes what we know of as history" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 33). Historians are as subjective as the sources they utilize. "It's not that historians make outright lies about the past, but that they omit or deemphasize some data over others, and the definition of what is important depends on each historian's values" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 33). As such, it is as important to evaluate the reliability of resources and understand their biases, as much as it is important to evaluate your own.

Ethnographic and historiographic methods of analyzing data are similar

Ethnographic ways of analyzing data mirrors that of the historian analyzing sources. Watling (2002), in Pole and Morrison (2003), defined data analysis as "the researcher's equivalent of alchemy – the elusive process by which you hope you can turn your raw data into nuggets of pure gold. And like alchemy, such magic calls for science and art in equal measures" (p. 74). An ethnographic historian, cannot tell a holistic story without constantly analyzing the sources available to them. This analysis of sources does not begin after sources are located. Rather, source analysis transpires simultaneously and continuously (Pole & Morrison, 2006). Because historiography often begins from a particular conceptual framework or an idea that is then refined through conducting research, finding sources and redefining the research question, it is possible to argue that the historian never stops analyzing sources through the entire research process. Miles and Huberman (1994) described this process as 'anticipatory data reduction.' "Even before the [sources] are actually collected, anticipatory data reduction is occurring as the

researcher decides (often without full awareness) which conceptual framework, which research questions, and which data collection approaches to choose" (p. 10). Once an appropriate body of sources is found and analyzed, the historian can, as Miles and Huberman explained about ethnography, display their findings and draw conclusions.

Interpretation of sources is part and parcel of the historians' job as much as interpreting data is the job of the ethnographer. Both must constantly prove that the data they interpret is truthful. Truths are arrived at by analyzing sources. Meaning is looked for in each source, and if that meaning is corroborated by other sources, proves itself to be true. Miles and Huberman (1994) as described in Pole and Morrison (2003), suggested that a range of questions be asked as the ethnographer moves from analysis to reporting final outcomes. The questions ethnographers ask are summarized below from Pole and Morrison's (2003) book entitled *Ethnography for Education*. I have included a summary of how these questions relate to historical research:

- 1. **What's there?** The historian can partially theorize from what the sources reveal about what logically would have happened during the time/event studied.
- 2. What goes with what? The historian can find patterns and themes in the sources found.
- 3. What does this mean? The historian can make contrasts and comparisons, identify discrepancies, find intervening variables and make connections in the source material they have found.
- 4. **How can we move towards coherent conclusions?** Using source material, historians build a "logical chain of evidence" and develop coherency as they use those sources to tell a story (p. 101)

Ethnographers and historians do not prove whether or not the data/sources they have are right or wrong. Rather, they try to prove that their data/sources are more right than wrong and vice versa to conclude truths which can then be confidently reported on (Pole & Morrison, 2003).

What type of sources do historians utilize? What are their limitations?

As mentioned, the sources historians utilize are wide and varied. Primary sources can include anything "generated at the time of the event or by the subject in question" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 46). As such any source such as letters, speeches, contemporary newspaper articles,

photographs, meeting minutes, academic journals written, and surveys taken at the time can all be classified as primary data. Secondary data sources are most commonly the work that other historians have written. They can also include items such as newspaper articles and academic journals written later than the event being studied. Each source's usefulness is tied to its ability to answer the research question. Though other researchers in other fields may identify limitations and assumptions, a historian identifies "conclusions about events, each having a place and date of its own... His business is not to invent anything, it is to discover something..." (Collingwood, 1946, p. 251). Those discoveries are chronologically placed and care is taken to ensure the sources used are vetted for authentication and retold as accurately as possible.

For example, personal written accounts are primary sources that are often instrumental to a historian understanding what happened during a specific time. However, the intended audience and purpose of the account must always be kept in mind. The historian should not retell what happened in a manner that does not reflect original intent. Most written documents surviving from the past yield interesting data right now, but their original purpose was not for posterity. Personal documentation sources "may be factual, recording particular events and activities, but they may also be more personal, recording the [writer's] views, opinions, and feelings about a particular topic" (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 58). Any personal records that have been preserved can "allow the researcher to conduct analysis in accordance with concepts which may have been highlighted in data collected by other means or, indeed, in relation to key social variables..." (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 61). If what has personally been recorded can be found in other sources, then it may be argued that the source is conveying factual and/or descriptive elements of what really happened. Much like using photographs, no matter the type source, historians must capture and accurately retell what happened "at the precise moment at which the camera shutter closed" (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 63). The chronological retelling of the past – moment by moment and event by event – alongside the deeper reasons for those moments and events occurring, crafts a holistic history.

Rather than just relying on "traditional manuscript documentation... oral history and memory, biography, architecture, material culture, film and fiction" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 48) are also being utilized to recreate the past. Regardless of the emerging diversification of source material and corresponding critical examination of that material, "Historians are constrained in their work by the availability or sources" (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 47). Not every topic studied

has abundant amounts of historical sources connected to it. On the flip side, "...for all but very remote periods and places [sources] survive in completely unmanageable quantities" (Tosh, 1991, p. 135). Availability and quantity of credible sources can constrain or confuse the story the historian is trying to retell. No matter what sources are found and utilized, the historian is not merely interested in the facts or events the source reveals, but rather what the actions inside of the facts and events reveal. Action has been described by Collingwood (1946) as "the unity of the outside and inside of an event" (p. 213). In researching the action that drove past events and detecting the thoughts of the players involved in the events studied, the historian can recreate the past and tell a more complete story.

To sum up then, limitations for historians involve mostly the copious amount of time it takes to locate sources, authenticate those sources, and accurately retell what the sources reveal. Even when sources have been adequately searched and authenticated, "how to interpret them and explain them is a matter of endless debate" (Tosh, 1991, p. 140). The very diverse nature of history is in and of itself a potential limitation.

Limitations, delimitations, and assumptions for this research

The above mentioned limitations for those completing their research using historical methodologies are also limitations in my research. Regarding social ideologies around the time periods chosen to investigate in this research, there are multiple primary and secondary sources loosely connected to my research question. Conversely, those sources that link directly to the evolution of the STF's Code of Ethics and related legislative policy are far less abundant. Some sources will need to be weeded out if they cannot be directly tied to my research question and some will need to be ferreted out because of their scarceness. As sources are found to be useful, they must be authenticated, interpreted, and connected to other sources for veracity. The finding, weeding, authentication and interpretation processes are very time consuming. Finally, as Tosh (1991) mentioned, no matter how careful I am in my research processes, my explanation of the past may not satisfy every reader.

Just as limitations are important to identify, so are delimitations as they ensure that the research does not become so impossibly large that it cannot be completed. The objective of this research is to use an ethnographic history of ideas methodology to provide a historical view of how and why the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation's (STF) Code of Ethics evolved from

1935-present, paying particular attention to ideologies and legislative policies that may have influenced the code over time. The objective of my research is not to supplement the already existing large body of research on professions, professionalization, professional practice and regulation of teachers, organizational culture or the debate between ethics and morals. Though the literature review touches on these subjects, it does so as a way to isolate ethics as the main topic of research. Date specific chapters – four, five, and six - focus predominantly on primary and secondary documents concerning the creation and multiple revisions to the Code of Ethics. Date specific chapters also aim to demonstrate that ethics are interrelated to social, economic, and political ideologies. Chapter three serves as background information to provide context to the STF's beginning days in Saskatchewan. Chapter seven surfaces key ideas and highlights recommendations for future Codes of Ethics coming from those key ideas.

I have chosen to write this dissertation using written source documents only. The elimination of oral history is deliberate. Given the long time frame of this study, oral sources from earlier periods are no longer available. Relying solely upon present oral history, with its present biases, would only serve to disproportionately counterbalance voices from the past. It is also important to mention that because the STF has changed its Code of Ethics numerous times in the eighty-four years that teachers have been recognized as a profession, it became necessary to look for sensible time periods in which to research the Code of Ethics. Chapter four concentrates on 1935-1960, chapter five focuses on 1960-2000, and chapter six contemplates 2000-Present. Though this paper touches on the various political parties that have formed government since the STF's inauguration, as well as the economy, religious notions, and social makeup of Saskatchewan, it is in no way meant to be a political-science, economics, religious-studies, sociology, or anthropology discussion. These topics are touched on as a way to bring more clarity to the evolution of the Code of Ethics only.

Assumptions are also important to mention. This study assumed that past ideas evolve into present ideas. It also assumed that ways of thinking are shaped and influenced by contextual factors. That is, that 'ideas' like ethics are as important in motivating human action as are external factors such as economics and politics.

Telling a factually fantastic tale

History is both art and science. Not only does history have to be written clearly and embedded in research, "The best history should encompass a broad understanding of the many pathways to the past, and of the regions ripe for historical investigation" (McKillop, 2011, p. 35). As much as historians find sources and methodically carry out the research process to clearly tell a reader what happened, it is equally important for the historian to narrate what happened in a pleasurable manner, gaining and keeping the reader's attention (McKillop, 2011). Collingwood (1946), quoting Macaulay's Essay on History, tells more about this and stated, "a perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque" (p. 241). As such, maintaining a sense of story is the historian's job description. In fact, "In most European languages the word for 'history' is the same that is used for 'story'" (Tosh, 1991, p. 113). The narrative the historian is telling – the people, setting and events, cannot be adequately understood without descriptively piecing together the past. The importance of telling a story is not just important to the work of a historian, but to the audience for whom the historian is writing. When we read historical narratives, we not only encounter what happened in the past, but in reading about it we are able to better understand our own present experiences (McKillop, 2011). The historical past is a living past, and is kept alive by historical thinking (Collingwood, 1946). Reporting that historical thinking in a way that accurately informs as well as creates interest is the obligation of the historian.

Conclusions

It has been said that there are four major aspects to the work of historians. "They use certain theoretical frameworks in order to study certain aspects of the past on the basis of certain source material and with the aid of certain methods" (Van der Linden, 2003, p. 69). I intend to use the ethnographic history of ideas framework in order to study the events relating to the beginning and evolution of the STF Code of Ethics using primary and secondary sources that I have diligently authenticated through ethnographic and historical methods such as internal and external criticism.

I understand that to tell this story accurately I will need to research characteristics of professions and ethics and how these topics relate to education. I must rely on the work of historians before me who faithfully reported on various aspects of Saskatchewan's past. Those

historians who researched depression politics, 1930's economy, the beginnings of the STF, the religious movements on the prairies, and so on will be accessed. Primary sources will represent the bulk of documents I will be researching and will include meeting minutes of the STF executive, legislative acts, and archived documents. Academic journals, books, and news articles will make up the majority of secondary sources I will be using. For each source used, it is important to "fact check" as Tosh (1991) explained. For example, what details are contained in individual sources must also corroborate the findings reported in other sources. It is in the fact checking of subjective sources that helps to create a factual story.

Using a combination of Dey's (1991) rigour approach, Tosh's (1991) internal and external criticism, and Collingwood's (1946) explanations of what sources function as evidence, I believe that the sources I use will help to accurately tell the story of the evolution of the STF Code of Ethics. As I write, I intend to be mindful "of the tension which lies at the heart of all historical enquiry between the desire to re-create the past and the urge to interpret it" (Tosh, 1991, p. 112). A narrative story must be told, but not at the expense of misinterpreting what actually happened.

It is my belief that in telling a story unique to Saskatchewan and what happened here in relation to ethics, that ethnographic history of ideas is the best framework to approach my research question. I am committed to telling a complete historical account of the STF Code of Ethics. This story does not begin in 1951 when the STF created its own, Saskatchewan-made Code of Ethics for teachers. Nor does it begin in 1941 when the STF adopted the Canadian Teachers' Federation Code of Ethics. It does not even begin when Saskatchewan teachers were first recognized as professionals. Rather, it begins much earlier, when teachers' behavior was governed by rules rather than codes. It begins when Saskatchewan was being populated with non-English speaking immigrants as part of the government's plan to settle the west. It begins in a time when church-based values guided public behaviour, including that of teachers and politicians. It begins in a time when teachers banded together as a way to offset the harsh realities of The Great Depression which was ravaging the prairies and their paycheques. One event such as the Code of Ethics, is proceeded by the enlargement of other related events. It will be necessary to narratively and analytically weave the many events together to create the entire story of the STF Code of Ethics. After all, it is a story waiting to be told.

CHAPTER 3

Setting The Stage: Forming a Profession

When studying the evolution of the STF's Code of Ethics, it is important to understand the historical contexts in which both the profession and its eventual code emerged. The foundations of Saskatchewan's educational philosophies were laid long before the 1930s. In many ways - then and today – Saskatchewan's economic climate, religious viewpoints, social ideologies, and government policies underpinned education as a whole, including teachers' personal, curricular, and professional responsibilities.

Early organization of schools in Saskatchewan

According to Briggs (1915) in his book entitled *History of Education*, when Saskatchewan first became a province, the way that education was organized on the prairies was based on earlier legislation:

The North-West Territorial Act of 1875 provided the orderly government of the North-West Territories, in which was included the district, that, in 1905 became incorporated into the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The educational clause of this Act made provision for the organization of schools, but it was not till 1884 that a system of parliamentary schools was established and regular school districts formed. At the same time a Board of Education composed of two sections – a Protestant and a Roman Catholic was created. When the Provinces were organized in 1905, there were over 900 schools in operation in the whole district known as the North-West Territories. (p. 237)

In the same year that Briggs' (1915) book was published, Saskatchewan Premier and Minister of Education, Walter Scott, gave a public address concerning educational reform. Scott (cited in Foght, 1918) declared:

... the time was rapidly approaching, if it were not already here, when the system itself should be radically changed, with the purpose of procuring for the children of

Saskatchewan a better education and an education of greater service and utility to meet the conditions of the chief industry in the province which is agriculture. (p. 5)

Educational reform was being thoroughly discussed by what seemed like everyone in the province including "…teachers' associations, inspectors' conventions, church courts, grain growers' meetings, medical councils, and similar organizations" (Foght, 1918, p. 6)

Educational reform ideas were sustained by Scott's successor, Hon. W.M. Martin who also served as both the Premier and Education Minister. Martin continued advocating for effective school measures and in 1917, as part of his efforts, he commissioned a "survey of educational conditions in the Province of Saskatchewan be made with special reference to rural schools, the same to be conducted by an entirely disinterested expert from without the Province" (Foght, 1918, p. 6). The Saskatchewan Public Education League and the Annual Convention of School Trustees urged and supported "a citizen in the employ of another country to direct the study of its school system... to get a wholly unbiased statement of educational conditions...[an] inquiry into the schools of the people as the schools actually exist" (Foght, 1918, p. 7). With the support of educational stakeholders, Harold W. Foght – a specialist in rural school practices from the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C. - was invited to conduct the survey.

Though contracted to inform on educational matters, Foght's (1918) report entitled *A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan* also provided information about what was going on in the province in a broadly sweeping manner. Foght (1918) began his survey by collecting data on the geography and population of the province in an effort to determine its educational needs. In so doing, Foght (1918) studied normal schools – those educational institutions that were training teachers at the time – public elementary and high schools, separate schools, and collegiate institutes. It is important to note that nearly half of his time was spent in rural districts where, at that point in Saskatchewan's history, the bulk of schools resided. In 1918, emphasis was placed on rural schools because, as remains the case today, rural schools were where most of the province's teachers were employed and responsible for educating the growing number of children in families of those who had recently immigrated to the province.

Similar to how much focus was placed on rural schools, Foght (1918) also paid much attention to ethnic and economic issues facing the province. He noted that "careful study was made of the physical and racial backgrounds of the Commonwealth to determine its educational

needs" (p. 7). One might think some of this information immaterial. However, at this time both farming and settlement of the West factored heavily into education. Foght (1918) recorded that Saskatchewan was undergoing rapid economic, industrial, agricultural, and population growth. To keep abreast of these changes, he suggested that "Saskatchewan must evolve its own educational scheme, basing it primarily upon agricultural and race needs" (p. 19). Immigration was vital to settlement of the west. As a result, 'Canadian ideals' were to expediently be transplanted to newcomers of the province.

Immigration considerations

Foght (1918) observed and recorded the ethnic makeup of Saskatchewan. This observation seems apt given that just 20 years prior to the publication of Foght's (1918) report, Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior for the Canadian government in the late 1800s and early 1900s, had strongly promoted immigration of European farmers to the prairies, assuming that they would be better accustomed to the difficult climatic conditions of Saskatchewan (Waiser, 2005). In fact, Sifton's view of suitable immigrants to the West has often been described in historical research. He believed that "sturdy European immigrants were the best settlers for the challenging Prairies, because of their familiarity with agriculture, rural lifestyles, and harsh climates" (Gagnon, n.d., para. 3). "Sifton and other policy makers at the time believed that agriculture was the backbone of a strong economy and that resources grown on the Prairies would provide raw materials for eastern Canadian factories (Waiser, 2005 as cited in Laforge & McLeman, 2013). Encouraged through legislation such as the *Dominion Lands Act* and the Homestead Act, European farmers immigrated to Saskatchewan and began to farm. Under these pieces of legislation, land was surveyed and divided into six mile square townships which were further divided into 36 sections of 640 acres each (Archer, 1980). Farmers could purchase the title for a quarter section of surveyed land from the government for ten dollars. The only catch was that they needed to clear ten acres for farming per year and build a home within three years (Waiser, 2005). The province during this time was described by Foght (1918) as "overwhelmingly agricultural and pastoral" (p. 10). Of the 647, 835 people living in Saskatchewan at the time, 471, 673 of them were classed as living rurally (Foght, 1918).

Because of the large and growing rural population, schools were seen as essential hubs in rural districts where they were assumed to be "in every way... equipped to help the rural

population to wholesome, joyous, and remunerative living on the land" (Foght, 1918, p. 19). Foght (1918) recommended that teachers be "trained specifically for teaching in rural schools... [to] prepare school children for successful agricultural pursuits" (p. 20) and proposed that properly trained teachers, "in their turn, will furnish the practical aggressiveness, correct outlook on life, and finer idealism..." (p. 20). Teachers "of the highest Canadian ideals" would be the first line of defense in the "assimilation process" (Foght, 1918, p. 18). Foght (1918) commented further on immigration issues stating that "... enough [immigrants] are of Anglo-Saxon origin and characteristics to perpetuate in the whole population the best Anglo-Saxon ideals, traits, and historic traditions" (p. 18). Providing further evidence for Foght's (1918) recommendations, Waiser (2005) in his historical analysis of Saskatchewan, quoted Melis (1980) and said that it was the role of the school "to serve as training ground for Canadian norms, values, and institutions, to break the children's attachment to their home cultures and traditions, and offer them a better, brighter future as Canadian citizens loyal to the British flag and the British Empire" (p. 246). In this way, the expectations of teachers were merely reflections of held societal values which were to be transmitted via the teacher to students in an effort to 'Canadianize' the province and beget morally upstanding citizens.

Keeping in mind the socio-political context of the time period - a context in which ways of thinking of the Anglo-Protestant elite was dominant - Foght's (1918) report made clear his and the Saskatchewan government's expectations regarding what the 'correct outlook on life and finer idealism' should be. For example, Foght (1918) explained that those who were "alien immigrants" would need to be "firmly led... with the right type of schools established in the heart of non-English communities... (p. 19). While it is evident that the "first public education polic[ies] reflected the needs and expectations of a sparse, rural and settler population" (Noonan, Hallman & Scharf, 2006, p. 1), during this particular point in Saskatchewan's history it is also clear that "Anglo-Saxon ideals, traits, and historic traditions" (Foght, 1918, p. 18) not only prevailed, but were encouraged.

Education policies, steeped in Anglo-Protestant values seemed largely church and state driven. As Noonan, Hallman, and Scharf (2006) pointed out,

From the beginning of White settler communities in Saskatchewan, the establishment and maintenance of schools was an important task of the government. The fact that for the

decade after becoming a province (1905-15) Premier Walter Scott was also Minister of Education signals the importance of that portfolio in the early development of the province. (p. viii)

Also important to note was that the territorial and provincial governments of the prairie provinces from 1884 to 1944 established a system of school districts [that were] to be designated as either Protestant or Catholic (Brigg, 1915; Scharf, 2006). Based on both primary and secondary sources it is safe to say that at this time, church-taught values and morals were of utmost importance and were a prevailing influence in the province during the creation of the STF. In fact, these predominant values continue to heavily influence educational matters today.

Provincial economic hardships and their effect on teachers

Rebounding European markets (once lax from the destruction of World War I), collapse of demand for North American products, worldwide overproduction of agricultural commodities, the stock market crash of 1929, and the erection of high tariffs turned into a decade long crisis known as The Great Depression (Waiser, 2005). For Saskatchewan in particular, The Great Depression was accompanied by a very long period without rain. This drought struck the province especially hard because Saskatchewan was composed largely of farmers and those dependent on agriculturally-based employment. Hence the Saskatchewan economy relied on good climatic conditions and on strong export markets which were in an extreme downward spiral. "The effects on farm incomes were devastating. The purchasing power of much of the population of the three prairie provinces dwindled... When farmers ceased to be able to buy goods and services, there were few Prairie people who did not soon feel the consequences" (Horn, 1988, p. 4). This long period with total lack of moisture in Saskatchewan was much more devastating than merely observing that the province was 'without rain'. As the years went on, drought was realistically described in *Footprints in Time* as,

...everything that was hard and hostile in the day-to-day business of living. It still meant, above everything, drought itself, but it also stood for dust, hail, rust, and sometimes frost. It stood for fifty-cent wheat and hardly any of that. It stood for grasshoppers and Russian

thistle... it stood for taxes unpaid, mortgage payments unpaid, bank loans unavailable... (Archer & Koester, 1965, p. 99)

Wheat prices "which had averaged \$1.02 during 1925-1929, averaged only 35 cents in 1932" (Horn, 1988, p. 4) and Saskatchewan, once the fourth wealthiest of all the Canadian provinces, became the poorest with no end in sight (Archer & Koester, 1965). Crops were obliterated, families began abandoning their farms, income was reduced, and the province was consumed by a total economic crisis, which government described as the most unparalleled catastrophe of any other civilized country free of unrest (Archer & Koester, 1965).

During the 1930s, huge black clouds gathered in the sky, but they did not carry hope or rain. Instead, they were clouds of dirt. The Depression and the 'Dirty Thirties' has been described by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (2001) in this way:

Hundreds of millions of tons of parched top-soil were blown by the wind. Black clouds moved across prairies and continued east leaving residue on the ledges of skyscrapers in New York. In the wake, clouds of grasshoppers came in the millions, eating whatever was left: crops, gardens, even clothes left on the line to dry. The cloud of locusts passed with a mechanical hum... (para. 12-13)

In a collection of accounts of those who lived through the Depression, Editor Michiel Horn (1988) included the following excerpt about Saskatchewan:

There has not been a drop of rain in the areas affected...The soil has drifted completely over fences and to a depth of two feet on one road...Something will certainly have to be done to enable these people to live...I venture to state that no other Province in the Dominion has been faced with such a condition of affairs...² (p. 96)

Just as farmers suffered, so did teachers. "The stock market crash in 1929, the nine-year drought, and falling enrolments decreased the demand for teachers" (Corman, 2010, p. 95) Not

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In Horn (1988) from a letter dated December 16, 1931, in the possession of Mrs. A. McDiarmid, Vancouver.

only were jobs in shortage supply, but so were living wages. "Teachers' pay dropped sharply. For the vast majority of teachers, those in rural areas, their pay fell by over half in the period 1930-1935" (Corman, 2010, p. 95). Robert Tyre (1968), commissioned by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) to write an account of the STF's growth and development, summarized what happened to teachers during The Depression. Tyre (1068) wrote:

...the treatment of teachers at the hands of some School Boards during the Depression is an incredible document of hardship, petty authority abused, and glaring instances of teachers callously reduced to the levels of beggars and serfs. Many, many trustees of course, were fine fellows doing the best they could under impossible conditions. But it is also a fact that most rural School Boards seemed to be afflicted with a curious depression-induced psychoneurosis which manifest itself in an almost pathological reluctance to part with money to pay teachers. Not that there was too much money around in those years, and especially in school districts where ratepayers were all on relief... (p. 3)

Tyre's (1968) account is corroborated in other sources. In the reports submitted to the Department of Education in 1932, inspectors of schools noted that teachers' salaries and school operating expenses were reduced, sometimes so much that rather than teachers receiving a pay cheque, they were given "farm products such as butter, eggs, meat, vegetables, coal, etc., ...in exchange for their services" (Province of Saskatchewan, 1933, p. 42 and 43). Not only was it difficult to receive a wage, school life got progressively harder in Depression years. Tyre (1968) details a report "by a representative of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" that stated the "appalling conditions found in a number of schools" (p. 8). Tyre (1968) quoted:

...Blackboards have become so shiny that their use is reduced to a minimum out of consideration for pupils' eyes... teachers were expected to communicate knowledge and guide and educate their pupils in good citizenship – schools where the children were obliged to use the stable for a toilet, where teachers were rewarded with salaries of \$400-\$500 a year – when they could collect it... (pp. 8-9)

One might have expected that the issue of poverty-stricken educators brought to light by way of the official documentation written by school inspectors, would have caused the

government to take action. However, the situation did not see any remediation likely because the population of the province as a whole was mired in economic misery. Everyone required support, not just teachers. Unfortunately, things progressively worsened before they got better. An excerpt from the 1933 school inspectors' reports to the Education Department stated:

Teachers find the continued performance of their duties beset with difficulties, among them being the reduction in salaries, inability to collect earnings when due and the feeling that the tenure of position is insecure...An added difficulty is a tendency in too many instances to dismiss teachers for trivial reasons... These and other abuses of office make one confident that the time has come to make substantial changes in our present system of school organization... (Province of Saskatchewan, 1934, p. 38)

Living in such poverty-stricken conditions, stressed and abused for so long, made teachers desire that which had been discussed in 1915 – educational reform. The familiar colloquial phrase that says 'desperate times create desperate measures,' might have been better said in the 1930s as 'desperate times create people who take proactive measures.' Saskatchewan educators looked no further than the farmers in the province as their example demonstrating that conditions could improve through cooperative efforts.

Early social movements and their effects on education

In Saskatchewan, where agriculture was a chief employer and source of income, farmers began to come together to cooperatively combat the effects of crop failure and the sharply reduced prices they were receiving for their commodities. Cooperative movements had been emerging on the prairies since the end of World War I (Wright, 1955) as a way to band together for transformation. The idea of cooperative movements gained traction at this time because agrarians found that joining forces via cooperatives, associations, and federations helped bring about a unified front to the various causes of concern for their specific groups (McDowell, 1965). One of the best examples of cooperative organizations in Saskatchewan was the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, formed in 1932 as a result of grain farmers coming together to achieve a better bargaining position to sell their product in Canada and on the world market. "Organization was attractive [and] social reform was on every tongue" (McDowell, 1965, p. 38). Farmers began to work together as a way to achieve much needed support for all farmers. It

appears that observing the achievements of cooperative farm movements bolstered teachers' courage to make a similar effort.

The Depression and drought that brought hardships to farmers had similar effects on teachers too. McDowell (1965) stated: "If an entire group finds itself faced with the same circumstances, and if its members share similar beliefs... a common value orientation emerges" (p. 27). Commonalities amongst teachers arose as it did among farmers, but it was not a simple process to become a united teaching organization overnight. Several teachers' groups already existed, but all had differing objectives. At this time there was *The Saskatchewan Education* Association, The Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, and The Saskatchewan Rural Teachers' Association. Most of these existing groups operated in disconnected ways from each other and were, as Gallen (2006) reported in her research about the beginnings of the STF, "regionally based" and "short lived" (p. 165). Each group represented teachers in some fashion, but they persisted in operating independently. The small differences that made each individual group unique were unable to be set aside for the greater good (Gallen, 2006). "Attempts to organize more broadly and enduringly tended to founder on the almost insurmountable problem of developing membership in a province where teachers were scattered, travel was difficult, and even a small membership fee was a significant expense" (Gallen, 2006, p. 165). For these reasons, the three teacher organizations seemed unable to create one common coalition. Finally, despite the many practicalities that made organizing difficult, teachers decided that, "The desperate conditions of the Thirties underscored the weaknesses and defects of the three organizations representing teachers, and made clear the need for one strong, unified body to give the profession some hope of liberating itself from an economic plight that was becoming untenable" (Tyre, 1968, p. 15). The executives of the Rural Teachers' Association took the lead in opening negotiations with the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance. The two groups reached agreement to merge and form one teachers' organization on October 28, 1933. The Saskatchewan Educational Association, seeing what had happened, also joined. By the end of December, 1933, the existing organizations had agreed to forego their autonomy, and the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF) was unofficially formed (McDowell, 1965). Within the year following that, the newly formed STF secured office space, formed an executive, and drafted proposed legislation that, if passed, would officially establish the STF as an organization that recognized Saskatchewan teachers as professionals.

Legislation passed to officially create the STF

During the time that Saskatchewan teachers began to seriously rally their efforts to become a single organization, they purposefully increased political pressure. The newly formed STF was aware of the upcoming provincial election and, justifiably were interested in where running politicians stood on educational matters. They "worked hard to acquire pledges from political parties to provide statutory recognition for the STF" (Gallen, 2006, p. 166). Further to this end, they also decided to ask and publish the responses of political party leaders' stances on educational matters. The 1935 April edition of *The Bulletin* – a communication meant to tell teachers all over the province about STF happenings, "carried the replies by the leaders of the three political parties to a series of questions posed [to them] by the STF" (McDowell, 1965, p. 49). STF's care to "contact personally the representatives of all parties" (McDowell, 1965, p. 53) and publish their responses in *The Bulletin* was likely of upmost importance to teachers as these replies would no doubt have influenced how teachers would vote in the July 1934 provincial election.

On January 5, 1935 the Executive met with the newly elected Premier Gardiner. "When the Liberals assumed office... they kept their word by passing the Teachers' Federation *Act* in 1935...virtually as the STF had written it" (Gallen, 2006, p. 166). *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act*:

...was modeled on the Acts which established the legal and medical professions in the province. The Executive justified the Bill on the grounds that it would benefit the cause of education in Saskatchewan, that it would enable the Federation to promote progressive education policies, and that increased solidarity in the profession would promote increased efficiency. (*The Saskatchewan Bulletin*, 1935 as cited in McDowell, 1935, p. 54)

The process went quickly. Bill 72 was introduced to the legislature and received first reading on February 6, 1935. By February 21 of the same year, the *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act* had reached Royal Assent. This act officially recognized Saskatchewan Teachers as members of a profession. Though the STF would eventually be asked to create a Code of as part of their professional obligations, at this time, unofficial codes called "Rules for Teachers" provided guidance for teacher responsibilities, behaviour, and competence.

Moral traditions of the past once again called on in changing times

Though no official 'code of ethic' existed prior to 1937, 'rules' were printed and distributed, outlining teacher expectations. Such documents can now be found online or in museums such as the Evolution of Education Museum in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. At this museum, in a preserved one-room school house, people are free to peruse the 1872 and 1915 "Rules for Teachers" prominently posted in the historic schoolhouse. Though one set of these rules is reported to have been taken from the records of a British Columbia school district and another from an unnamed teacher's magazine, rules such as these were obviously published, dispatched to teachers, and worked into teachers' contracts. The Museum's 1872 and 1915 Rules for Teachers, or unofficial 'codes,' stated among other things that teachers:

After ten hours in the school, may spend the remaining time reading the Bible... Any teacher who smokes, uses liquor in any form, frequents pool or public halls, or gets shaved in a barber shop will give good reason to suspect his work, intention, integrity, and honesty... You may not dress in bright colours... You may not under any circumstances dye your hair... Your dress must not be any shorter than two inches above the ankle... Sweep the floor at least once daily; scrub the floor at least once a week with hot, soapy water; clean the blackboards at least once a day; start the fire at 7:00 a.m. so the room will be warm by 8:00 a.m... (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915, p. 1)

Upon a first read, the rules can seem archaic. However, this is only true if one reads them from a present-day standpoint. It is likely that these rules simply reflected the values that society had for teachers at the time.

When the STF achieved professional status in 1935, and subsequently began the process of creating their first official Code of Ethics, the economic and ethnic changes that Foght (1918) identified in 1918 were still at play. The first world war had ended and a decade of changes segued into the Great Depression. Perhaps the idea that teachers should exemplify moral beings came from a fear that the "traditional guarantors of morality and social stability – family, church, and small community – [were being] ... steadily eroded" (Bérard, 1984, p. 49) by 1920s industrialization and urbanization of the province. A shortage of cultural and religious homogeneity resulted in Canadians looking to the school and teacher to recreate both common morality and nationality (Sheehan, 1979). In a very real sense, teachers were once again

mandated by the government to create this national homogeneity. Bérard (1984), in his writing about moral education on the East Coast, illustrates this point. He quoted a section of *The Education Act* from *The Manual of the Public Instruction Act and Regulations of the Council of Public Instruction of Nova Scotia* (1900) which specified that teachers were "to inculcate by precept and example a respect for religion and the principles of Christian morality, and for truth, justice, love of country, loyalty, humanity, society, industry, frugality, chastity, temperance, and all other virtues" (Bérard, 1984, p. 55). In this way, Rules for Teachers - a forerunner to the first STF Code of Ethics - were also a reflection of legislated policy that incorporated national ideals and societal expectations at the time. This idea will be taken up in subsequent chapters.

Political implications on education

When researching 1930s Saskatchewan and Alberta politics, Pratt (2002) said, "Political culture should not be seen as a rigid, unchanging phenomenon. Rather, it is an accumulation of earlier...trends and practices that is modified and adapted over time...change comes as a result of particular political events" (p. 55). Indeed, teachers' professional expectations were impacted by politics and politics were influenced by religious and ethnic connotations (Appleblatt, 1976). It seemed that all things involving school and society could not help "but emerge as a political issue" (Appleblatt, 1976, p. 77). Both teacher ethics and government politics reflected what was happening in society, which in turn impacted not only party platforms but government policy as well. All of these happenings were influenced by religion. It is necessary to examine period politics to better understand its implications on education.

The Depression and its ensuing influence on cooperative movements, especially those happening across the prairies, deeply affected politics. Federal politicians were unable to improve economic conditions and as a result, new political options including the Social Credit Party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the Communist Party, and the Union Nationale began to organize. Brown (2017), in his essay on Christian Fundamentalism and Depression Politics, discussed that the popularity of religious leaders at the time of Depression, could convince people to vote for "unconventional economic system[s]" (p. 2). Perhaps this is best understood in the words of Alberta preacher and radio minister William Aberhart who said that "if he saw a way out of the economic morass and could associate [his] plan with biblical prophecy, then he offered hope to thousands who had little left" (Friesen, 1987, p. 412). It

seemed like excellent political strategy to link politics to faith because faith seemed to be the only thing that people during the Depression years had left in which to believe. Politics - led by those with religious influence - brought spiritual bearing directly to the forefront of politics. Before the 1929 election, Saskatchewan's re-elected Liberal leader, James Garfield Gardiner, pledged that no educational regulation would be changed or implemented that would modify the "purely national character of our schools, separate or public" (Appleblatt, 1976, p. 77). Before beginning his speeches, he was reported to have begun with announcing "...I happen to be of the Protestant faith...I make this explanation in order to answer...statements being made with regard to my religious beliefs and activities" (Appleblatt, p. 87).

It is evident that Saskatchewan citizens were debating the religious positions of running candidates and that candidates were, at least to some probable degree, religious and that their decision-making power was influenced by their beliefs. In fact, throughout Saskatchewan's history, premiers have often had strong religious ties. Historical evidence further suggests that federal politicians were also religious. In letters recorded in *The Dirty Thirties* (Horn, 1988), many impoverished Canadians wrote from all over the country to Prime Minister Bennett. In one such letter, the United Church criticized how the government was handling the economic crisis.³ In another, the Prime Minister responded to an irate lawyer, both citing scriptures found in the Gospels.⁴ Perhaps these examples are not entirely conclusive, but they do point to the interconnectedness of politics to religion and both of these to society and the notion of teachers' ethical conduct.

The clash of economics, politics, religion and social ideologies on educational matters:

Understanding the interconnectedness between education and politics is important - though perhaps not always as clearly set out in research beyond that of literature pertaining to professionalization. To begin with, education is a political act. Research reinforces this notion,

This correspondence was included in the "Part VII Better Ideas, Anyone?" (pp. 390-398) section in *The Dirty Thirties*. Horn (1988) references this particular letter - "Some United Church Criticism of the Capitalist System, 1933" – as being reprinted from 1933. Montreal and Ottawa annual conference. *The New Outlook*, (9). pp. 507.

This correspondence was included in Horn's (1988) book and entitled "Christ's Attitude Towards Wealth: A Lawyer and R.B. Bennett Disagree." (pp. 404-406).

stating that "education is governed through policies, politics, and practices" (Robertson & Dale, 2013, p. 433) and that teachers are "primarily understood as implementers of policy decisions made by their organizational superiors" (Bascia & Rottmann, 2011, p. 789). Essentially, the role of the teacher is heavily influenced by those in charge. In 1935 – and still today - this was most definitely the case.

During the Depression when the STF officially established itself as a profession, the Department of Education had full and comprehensive control over nearly everything to do with education. Centralization of power during the early, formative period in Saskatchewan educational history was prominent (Foght, 1918) in that teachers' work was totally controlled by politicians presiding over educational portfolios. For example: The Minister of Education was in charge of such things including, but not limited to, classification and inspection of schools; construction, furnishing, care of schools and premises; examination, licensing, and certification of teachers; teachers institutes and conventions (Foght, 1918). The level of control the Department had over teachers was significant and the values they considered both politically, economically, and socially important influenced how they exerted that control. The values lauded in the Anglo-Saxon society would no doubt have affected the Ministry's directives over educational policy.

The affiliation of government policy and educational matters is interchangeable and inseparable. Not only were politicians in control of educational directives and policy, but the STF self-identified itself during this time as a political body. In 1935 when *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act* was passed, its "most significant sections stated that the Federation 'is continued as a body corporate and politic'" (McDowell, 1965, p. 54). There is little doubt that the STF initially began organizing for better standards and wages as a result of Depression circumstances. However, as the STF evolved, its two-pronged nature of being both a professional organization and a political body has highly impacted relations between themselves and the government.

Besides government policy and economic circumstances, religion and society also have numerous connections to education that cannot be overlooked. Though the stance on religion in schools today has significantly changed, at one time, religion and education were not separate entities. At the time of Fogt's (1918) report, mandatory "…religious instruction in all elementary schools" (Foght, 1918, p. 23) was normal. Not only was religious instruction included in both

separate and public schooling, teachers were expected to be promoters of Canadian ideals which themselves were steeped in Christian values. Christian-based morals were the foundation of social values and heavily influenced what types of decisions were made provincially, including those made about education. Evidence of this can be seen in multiple avenues from the language used in the 1915 'rules' for teachers, Foght's (1918) survey, legislated documents such as *The Education Act*, multiple works by researchers studying this time period, and even in the first versions of the STF's Codes of Ethics. In this way, the affiliations between social values, economy, politics, church ideals, and education are inextricable.

Conclusions

For Saskatchewan teachers, rules came before codified ethics. By going back and examining the interconnectedness of education to the economic, political, religious and social ideologies, we can see many of these factors as being integral to the creation of the STF and ultimately the creation of its first Code of Ethics. For example, had there not been economic disparity enveloping the citizens of Saskatchewan, had sweeping social cooperatives not been formed as a result of the Depression, and had religious values not been a part of the provincial politics and education system alike – rules and later codes would likely not have read as they did. Perhaps Tyre (1968) said it best when he wrote:

A decade is not a long time in the life of a province nor is it a lengthy period in the annals of a professional body. But in its impact on the social, economic, and educational life of Saskatchewan, the period of the 'thirties was an epoch. To the teaching profession this time of trouble and crisis has an importance which is not measured by years. (p. 17)

From the point Saskatchewan became a part of Canada and experienced European immigration to the onset of the Great Depression, educational circumstances reflected the tremendously changing social, economic, and political landscape. To a great extent, this remains true today. When examining the many factors that contributed to the recognition of teachers as a professional body and their corresponding code of ethics, the 1930s emerges as arguably one of the most significant time periods in STF history and is the decade in which the first Code of Ethics was created. The next chapters will highlight the changing STF's Codes of Ethics and will illustrate how economics, politics, and social ideologies impacted its evolution.

CHAPTER 4

The First Two Decades

Seldom does one single factor precipitate change. Rather, it is the intersection of factors – or ideas – that, when examined, contribute to an overall understanding of an event (Lovejoy, 1955). Chapters 4, 5, and 6 seek to examine the Code by way of interconnecting ideas through time and context. It is hoped that in so doing, the Code can become more than a document, but a living and evolving piece of our past, present, and future.

The Canon – 1935

When Saskatchewan teachers obtained professional status soon after the 1935 election, the re-elected Liberal government requested that the STF become "unified to such an extent that they have a professional consciousness that [would] support an ethical code" (STF, 1935a, p. 2). In order to comply with government wishes as well as to fulfill the obligations of their new professional status, a motion was made at the January 1935 Executive Meeting that "A committee of one, Mr. J.H. Sturdy, be appointed to formulate a code of ethics" (STF, 1935c, p. 1). It is clear that Mr. Sturdy quickly went to work on constructing the Code as by April 1935, the Minutes of the Executive state, "Mr. Sturdy presented to the Executive a well-compiled code of ethics which was considered clause by clause" (STF, 1935d, p. 2). Indeed, Sturdy's report on ethics, entitled *Canons of Teaching Ethics* was published in the June 1935 edition of *The Bulletin*⁵. The Canon⁶ listed teacher duties in the following order: Duties to 1) The State 2) The Board of Trustees 3) The Department of Education, 4) The Pupils, 5) Fellow Teachers, 6) The Professional Organization, and 7) Himself. The order⁷ in which this Canon was written requires

The Bulletin, a monthly Federation publication, "began as a four-page leaflet" (McDowell, 1965, p. 48). The publication was intended to develop a sense of belonging and community among teachers, most of whom at its inception were teaching in isolated one room schools (p. 48). "It also contained items that would appeal to the values, views and aspirations commonly held by teachers" (p. 28). No longer just a four-page leaflet, *The Bulletin* is still published and distributed to teachers today.

The Canon was the STF's first Code of Ethics, written by Sturdy and entitled the Canon. For ease of reading and understanding, when referring to Sturdy's 1935 work, I will use the term Canon. When referring to Codes penned after 1935, I will use the term Code.

While this dissertation does not rely on Discourse Analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) per se, these approaches do provide theoretical understandings about how the examination of discourse – including language usage and the structure of language – influences meaning and reflects and shapes societal power relationships. For example, Fairclough (1995) argued that power relations are produced, sustained, reproduced, and

attention as the government, board, and department of education were given first priority; their placement is informative about which educational entities were given highest priority. The most significant of the Canon's ethical responsibilities - those concerning the respect of government institutions and fulfillment of contractual obligations – served as a way to emphasize that teachers were "... required to respect and obey decisions made by workplace superiors or imposed by the government" (Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016, p. 478).

Duties to the State were listed first and emphasize that a teachers' first ethical obligation was to the government. Because of the state's importance, the teacher was to comply with all government initiatives, to promote nationalism (Smith, 2001), and to acknowledge that their positional influence acted as an aid to the government's overall plans for all sectors of the province. Smith (2001) defined nationalism as a "rediscovery and restoration of the nation's unique cultural identity... returning to one's authentic roots in the historic culture community inhabiting its ancestral homeland" (Smith, 2001, pp. 33-34). Settlement of the West brought about a steady increase in non-English speaking immigrants to the Prairies, perhaps threatening the British immigrants who had "established themselves as the elite and their culture as the dominant one in society" (Thompson, 1978, p. 4). The newly articulated Canon in 1935 validated the idea of Saskatchewan returning to and renewing its Protestant, English-speaking principles.

The Canon's duties to the State read as follows:

quotations throughout this work is not intended to offend readers.

- He⁸ owes a duty to the state, to maintain its integrity and its laws and not to aid, counsel or assist anyone to act in any way contrary to these laws.
- To inculcate in the minds of the pupils entrusted to his care a respect for and obedience to all democratic and cooperative institutions, governments, laws, legislators and those who are placed in authority over us by the will of the people.

resisted through language (which is a form of social practice), that linguistic structures and features are purposeful (whether conscious or unconscious), and as a result, that sequence within a discourse matters.

⁽whether conscious or unconscious), and as a result, that sequence within a discourse matters.

8 "He" – a masculine pronoun – was common during this time period and was used to refer to all teachers, no matter their gender. Use of masculine pronouns was typical during this time period and their usage in direct

- To inculcate in the minds of the pupils entrusted to his care the highest ideals of
 citizenship in preparation for their assuming the responsibilities of citizenship and to this
 end he must familiarize himself with the social, political and economic affairs of the state
 and fearlessly, without motives of self-interest and unbiased by prejudice, advocate and
 promote racial, religious, and international good-will and understanding.
- He must exercise, without fear of favor, his own citizenship prerogatives and take his place, by virtue of his service to the state, his education and training, among those who labor for the social, economic, and spiritual well-being of the state. (STF, 1935b, p. 7)

Siggins (1996) wrote that historically, ethics served as the vehicle in which religious and political stakeholders – those with the right to "supervise and regulate morality, family life, education, and even commerce and warfare" (p. 64) – assured the public that professions were fulfilling their duty. Using this characterization of ethics, we can see that the Canon (1935), was inspired by both political and moral expectations. Even though it stated that teachers should 'promote religious and racial understanding', they were also to teach obedience to authority and familiarity with the social, political and economic affairs of the state. The inclusion of statements that indicated that teachers should "promote racial, religious, and international good-will and understanding" is interesting given that at this time, schooling was employed as a tool for assimilation. In 1918, the job of the teacher was to spearhead "the process of making one Canadian-speaking and thinking people" (Foght, 1918, p. 15) and that Anglo-Saxon ideals, traits, and historic traditions be perpetuated via educational institutions (Foght, 1918). As Smith (2001) commented, the restoration of a nation's identity is "...brought about through vernacular languages, customs, arts, and landscapes, through national education and institutions" (pp. 33-34). Through the school, students would conform to Canadian norms and values. Through the Canon, teachers would aid the State in its agenda of assimilation.

Nationalism (Smith, 2001), or, "State sponsored racism" (Warnock, 2004, p. 172), appeared in early 1900s sources and was also reflected in the Canon of 1935. Nationalism "... was a central part of colonial policy... [that] became deeply entrenched in those societies where there was significant influx of European immigrants" (Warnock, 2004, p. 173). Being 'Canadian' became a form of politicized mass culture, mobilizing those in Saskatchewan to "unite into one single moral community" (Durkheim, 1915, p. 47). As the STF created its first official Code of

Ethics, policy makers and teachers were at the forefront of "stripping communities of their ethnic identities" and "assimilating them into their host nation; learning and conducting their affairs in English, learning Canadian (British) history, literature and customs, recognizing Canadian political symbols and institutions and so on" (Smith, 2001, p. 41).

It was at this time that Saskatchewan residents were also encouraged to conduct themselves as good, upstanding Christians. Christian values were written into the Canon by way of moralistic statements referred to as 'spiritual well-being'. Morals, alongside curriculum objectives, were expected to be propagated in schools by teachers of exemplary behaviour themselves. Though the idea of being a teacher of upstanding morals seemed most heavily prevalent during the days of the Canon, this notion predated the STF and was seen in 1872 and 1918 Rules for Teachers. For example, when teachers had spare time it was encouraged that they spend it reading the Bible and be conscious that their clothing, deportment, and leisure time choices spoke to their integrity as individuals (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915). To a more limited degree, morals still inform the ethical codes of present day.

It is important to remember that while the 1935 Canon was required by the government as part of recognizing teachers as professionals, it was an STF creation penned by one individual of the STF Executive. As such, the Canon was written with ideas in mind based on government expectations, STF viewpoints, social ideologies, and Sturdy's own biases. Though the Canon was the first official Code of Ethics created for the STF by a member of the STF, it openly recognized the interconnectedness of politics, economics, and social ideologies of the midtwentieth century:

It is evident to all that the political, social and economic conditions of the state are, in part, the reflection of the educational background of our citizenry and if this be so how great are the responsibilities of the teacher... it is the teacher's duty to promote the interests of the state, serve the cause of education, maintain the dignity of his profession, be faithful to his employers, candid and courteous in his intercourse with his fellows and true to himself. (STF, 1935b, p. 7)

According to the Canon, teachers' secondary ethical responsibilities were to the Board of Trustees. It is important to recall that rural schools made up the majority of schools in Saskatchewan and each rural school was overseen by a Board of Trustees. Owen (2006) reported

that the Department of Education in the *Larger School Units in Saskatchewan* (1947), claimed "…there were approximately 5,000 rural school districts" in the province (p. 36). Trustees were in charge of organizing and supporting schools in their district and entrusted with such things as school condition and efficiency, teacher selection, and length of school term (Foght, 1918). Supporting Foght's (1918) early findings, Charyk (1974) wrote:

The history of rural schools would not be complete without some reference to the school board... They appointed and dismissed the teachers and other employees, looked after district finances, purchased supplies, found a boarding place for the teacher, supervised the day-to-day operations of the school, made various seasonal preparations, and saw to the upkeep of the buildings and grounds. (p. 248)

Adding further credence to the importance of the Board during this period of history, Wilcox (2017) wrote, "Since trustees often controlled funding, the procurement of equipment and hiring decisions, rural teachers were often at their [the Board's] mercy" (para. 2). Boards also published "a monthly journal and attempt[ed] to influence the provincial government with respect to education-related legislation" (Saskatchewan School Boards Association, History section para.1). Given the varied and comprehensive role of Trustees prior to and during the STF's early days, it is no surprise that the Board was given a place of primary obligation in the Canon, listed as the second priority with twelve itemized duties. For example, teachers were to:

- Cooperate with the board of trustees with a view to securing efficiency in the school and harmony in the district.
- Seek the co-operation of the board in improving and maintain the cleanliness, comfort and attractiveness and equipment of the school. (STF, 1935b, pp. 7-8)

Paraphrasing the rest of this section, the teacher was to send monthly reports to the Board on student attendance and progress, send in requisitions for necessary equipment, prepare monthly reports to parents about their child's conduct and progress, exercise vigilance over the school property, and to inform the board when a child was suspended for "violent opposition to authority or other gross misconduct" or "excluded from school" because of "being convalescent

or being in contact with a communicable disease"... (STF, 1935b, p. 7, 8). Though these items could perhaps be viewed as logistical chores more than ethical responsibilities, they were nonetheless included in the Canon. These tasks were clearly considered to have been vital at the time and were likely included due, at least in part, to the nature of teachers' work during this time period. After all, 1935 was not the first time that chores were included in the Code. Going back to the Rules for Teachers (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915), statements were included such as "Sweep the floor at least once daily; scrub the floor at least once a week with hot, soapy water; clean the blackboards at least once a day; start the fire at 7:00 a.m. so the room will be warm by 8:00 a.m..." (p. 1). When the Canon (STF, 1935b) was written, teacher chores were still included and linked to informing the Board of academic results, pupil behaviour, public health concerns, and school maintenance issues. Because the Board of Trustees was a large influencer on educational matters, teachers were in many ways ethically obligated to the Board.

According to the 1935 Canon, teachers' third responsibility was to the Department of Education. Revised in 1931 and 1941, *The Schools Act* gave the Department and Minister of Education full control over items including, but not limited to: curricula, school organization, examination and inspection, construction of schools, certification of teachers, and teacher training and professional development (Government of Saskatchewan, 1940). It is no surprise then that the Canon listed eleven duties to the Department, the first three listed below:

- To co-operate with the department and department officials in an endeavor to render to the state the most efficient educational services.
- To familiarize himself with the terms of the School Act, Superannuation Act, the Act respecting the Teaching Profession, the Curricula, and the rules and regulations set by the department.
- To accept any task, rule or regulation imposed by the department and conscientiously execute the terms of the same. (STF, 1935b, pp. 8-9)

Paraphrasing the rest of this section, teachers were to cooperate with inspectors of schools, diligently teach all required subjects as prescribed by the department, maintain order and discipline, manage the school, organize a time table, keep an accurate register, promote students

to another class or grade as the teacher deemed expedient, provide to department officials any information they requested about the school, and to give permission for new teachers to practice in their classroom and be observed in their practice teaching. Again, some of the included articles in this section of the Canon could be interpreted as logistical chores. There is no real way of knowing the rationale behind why they were included in the Code other than that these chorelike tasks could have been incorporated as a means of the government dictating teachers' work. It is interesting to note that though these duties are no longer included in the modern Code of Ethics, teachers are still largely responsible for enacting the articles included in this 1935 section of the Canon.

The first three sections of the Canon made it clear that the teachers' first ethical responsibilities were to those to whom they were subservient. They were expected to perform a competent job in the most efficient way possible. The Canon articulated that teachers were expected to be knowledgeable of and compliant with legislative pieces and to teach and discipline in concordance with department regulations. However, they were also encouraged to take initiative and "feel at liberty to consult with the department on all educational matters," "to cooperate with the inspector of schools in arriving at a comprehensive understanding," and to "seek the advice and assistance of the inspector" (STF, 1935b, p. 8). Further items in the Canon which emphasized cooperation with various stakeholder groups were:

- To cooperate with the board of trustees with a view to securing efficiency in the school and harmony in the district.
- To seek the cooperation of the board in improving and maintaining the cleanliness, comfort, attractiveness and equipment of the school.
- To cooperate with the department and department officials in an endeavor to render to the state the most efficient educational services.
- ... cooperate with the various governing bodies (local, inspectoral, unit and central organization) in every way... (STF, 1935b, pp. 7, 8 & 10)

It is interesting to note that even with strict teacher expectations, the Canon accentuated that establishing a cooperative working relationship with the state, board, department, community, and profession was a necessary part of being a professional and an integral part of what made

education work in the province of Saskatchewan. Cooperation of educational stakeholders remains an integral part of schooling today.

The notion of cooperation in the 1935 Canon can be correlated to the notion of cooperation in society, economy and politics of the time period. Much economic turmoil effected the political and educational landscape during the 1930s. Rebounding European markets (once lax from the destruction of World War I) caused the collapse of demand for North American products. Worldwide overproduction of agricultural commodities, the stock market crash of 1929, and the erection of high tariffs - turned into a decade long crisis known as The Great Depression (Waiser, 2005). Not only were farmers deeply affected, but those in nearly every other sector of society as well. Falling prices inevitably led to smaller profits for businesses of all kinds. Those losses translated to drastic cuts in workforce wages. It was during these times that many farmers began to abandon their farms for work in cities or other provinces entirely. The state of the economy during this time period was what perpetuated cooperatives and social collectivism, out of which the STF was created. Though other circumstances may have proffered the same end result, one can say with certainty that the economy certainly influenced the STF's formation as a profession and thus the creation of the Canon (STF, 1935b). To illustrate, in the spirit of cooperation to combat hard economic times, the Rural Teachers' Association, Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, and The Saskatchewan Educational Association formed a coalition in 1933, hoping that by becoming one unified body, teachers would be liberated from the dismal conditions brought about by the Great Depression (Tyre, 1968).

At the same time, the Liberal Party dominated Saskatchewan politics largely because they promised "security in an uncertain political, economic, and environmental climate" (Wesley, 2011, p. 117). This collectivist approach appealed to a vast number of rural settlers in the province. When the Depression stole Saskatchewan's economic prosperity and the people had little to hope for, the Liberal Party advertised itself as the "protector of Saskatchewan society" (Wesley, 2011, p. 117). Their 1934 platform proclaimed that the Liberals were responsible for laying "the foundations of the Province, providing it with a code of laws and establishing essential services... to meet the economic, social, and cultural requirements of its people" (The Saskatchewan Liberal Party, 1933 as cited in Wesley, 2011, pp. 119-120). Though the Liberal Premier and Cabinet Ministers involved in the passing *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act, 1935* are deceased and no records were kept on their deliberations (McDowell,

1965, p. 56), the government seemed to recognize that the economic hard times of the 1930s "had so weakened the public school system that all men of good will welcomed any change likely to bring improvements" (Paton, 1962 in McDowell 1965, pp. 56-57). Given that the Liberal Party passed *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act*, 1935, and also required the development of a Code of Ethics from the profession (Presidential Address, 1935, p. 2), it is clear that the Liberal government supported the aspirations of the STF to become recognized as a professional organization and that this government may have recognized the determination with which teachers at the time "attack[ed] the problems facing education" (McDowell, 1965, p. 57). Keeping a status quo for all people and organizations in the midst of uncertainty kept the Liberal government in power through the Great Depression through to the beginning years of the Second World War.

The 1935 Canon's fourth ethical principle was to Pupils and emphasized the need for teachers to be exemplary in their behaviour.

- To secure the respect and confidence of the pupils by being proficient, just, honorable, tolerant and sympathetic.
- To so organize and co-relate all classroom activities as to obtain maximum benefit for all pupils.
- To bear in mind that he is at all times under the observation of the pupils, therefore his conduct should be at all times exemplary. Nothing so readily and completely destroys the respect and confidence of the pupil as to observe blameworthy conduct on the part of the teacher; nor must the teacher forget the adverse effect his misconduct has on the character of the pupil. (STF, 1935b, p. 9)

In 1935 it can be supposed that the 'exemplary conduct' of teachers meant exemplifying the traits listed in the beginning of the section including: being proficient, just, honorable, tolerant, sympathetic, and organized (STF, 1935b, p. 9). It is important to remember that at this time, Anglo-Saxon religious ideologies strongly influenced education. In fact, scriptural passages from the Bible included information about what it meant to be an exemplary teacher. For example: "And you yourself must be an example to them by doing good works of every kind. Let everything you do reflect the integrity and seriousness of your teaching" (2 Timothy 2:7, New

Living Translation). Passages such as these would likely have influenced the Canon as it is not a stretch to think that teachers would almost certainly have had knowledge of the Bible in this time period. After all, reading it was encouraged in the Code's forerunning documents entitled Rules for Teachers (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1918). While churches were considered to be "institutions of moral education and the collective conscience of society" (Jantzen, 2009, Recent Developments section), teachers were looked to as the creators of common morality and nationality (Sheehan, 1979).

Further duties to pupils included giving encouragement and leadership to extracurricular activities in order "to provide the pupil with the knowledge of how to employ his leisure times – how to live," to provide for the physical well-being of children "by means of healthful, well-organized and properly supervised playground activities," and to deal with the exceptional child (STF, 1935b, p. 9). Duties in this section take into consideration the multiple grades that a one-room school house included. The teacher almost certainly would have to 'co-relate' subject material and be exceptionally planned in all areas including that of the playground and extracurricular activities in order to be successful.

The next section of the Canon, Duties to Fellow Teachers, included four items. It was expected that the teacher "maintain an attitude of helpfulness, courtesy and consideration towards his fellow teacher" (STF, 1935b, p. 9). It was also expected that a teacher would not purposefully underbid a fellow teacher in applying for a position or make an effort, through any means, to supplant a teacher already employed (STF, 1935b). In addition, the Canon stated that teachers should not, for any reason other than making a report to an Educational authority in an official capacity, "speak disparagingly of the ability, character, or conduct of a fellow teacher, but rather to defend his good name as he would his own" (STF, 1935b, p. 10). To a large degree, these items, though worded differently, are still included in the present-day Code.

In respect to ethical obligations to the teaching profession, the 1935 Canon stipulated Four Duties to the Profession, focusing particularly on duties to the STF, and these included "loyalty at all times and under all circumstances. However arbitrary the actions of the executive may seem to be..." (STF, 1935b, p. 10). The teacher was also "expected to work wholeheartedly and to the best of his ability for the organization," "cooperate with the various governing bodies (local, inspectoral, unit and central organizations) in every way," and to not "make representation to the Government on any matter affecting the whole or a part of the professional body without

the knowledge and consent of the Executive" (STF, 1935b, p. 10). While the 1935 Canon included a preamble to the whole document, it is interesting to note that the Duties to His Professional Organization section of the Canon is the only section with its own stand-alone preamble. Part of this section's preamble stated that the STF was "created along entirely democratic lines; its effectiveness is dependent on the loyalty, industry and cooperation of its members" (STF, 1935b, p. 10). For an organization claiming such democratic origins, the duties listed may be viewed as anything but. For example, the statement in the section preamble about how the STF was "created along democratic lines" is incongruent with subsequent articles expecting teacher "loyalty at all times and under all circumstances" (STF, 1935b, p. 10). As Schwimmer and Maxwell (2017) pointed out:

The inclusion of duties which valorize obedience to workplace superiors and subordination to the will of a group as a professional quality... send a message that teachers cannot be trusted to act responsibility in relation to contracts and workplace hierarchies. (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 147)

Although solidarity in the early 1930s was seen as the best method for securing "justice, security, and living standards commensurate to services rendered" (STF, 1935b, p. 10), it seems that unanimity was a more important consideration than the perspectives of individual members, particularly if these were contrary to the majority.

The 1935 Canon also included expectations regarding personal duties to Self. Five duties that were included under the Duties to Himself category were: "to seek to maintain the honor and integrity of his profession and expose without fear of favor, before the proper tribunals unprofessional and dishonest conduct on the part of a fellow teacher or an official," "to avail himself of every opportunity of improving his academic standing...," "to cultivate habits of neatness, cleanliness, sobriety, courtesy, toleration, industry and all other desirable qualities of character...," "to secure a standard of living commensurate to the service he renders to the state...," and "to bear in mind that he can only maintain the high traditions of his profession by being by fact as well as in a name a gentleman" (STF, 1935b, p. 10, 11). Given that a large percentage of teachers in the province were women at the time – in fact, an official from the Department of Education in 1938 was reported to have said that unemployment problems could

be solved if only "the 55,000 lady teachers in Canada were eliminated from their positions, making way for men" (STF, 1988, p. 4) - it is interesting to note that author of the Canon, Sturdy, penned the importance of being a gentleman (STF, 1935b). The use of this pronoun was problematic for several reasons. First, the Canon (STF, 1935b) does not make clear what being a 'gentleman' involves. Secondly, if all teachers did know what the statement meant, it would have been difficult for the many women teachers in the province to enact it. This statement speaks to the probable bias of the writer who was a man, and of societal biases. It also represents a time period in history where teaching was seen as an extension of mothers' work where females could hold primary teaching positions, but not secondary or administrative ones or be paid the same as their male counterparts (Hallman, 1997).

Also of interest in this section is that the Canon's (STF, 1935b) list of personal character traits, which read strikingly similarly to the moral characteristics described in Scripture. Anglo-Protestant values encouraged believers to foster and enact the characteristics of Jesus as referenced in the Bible such as "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control" (Galatians 5:22), to "do unto others whatever you would like them to do to you" (Matthew 7:12) and to "love your neighbor as yourself" (Mark 12:11). The Canon's (STF, 1935b) list of characteristics also resembled those included in the Rules for Teachers (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915).

No matter the particular section of the Canon, it is important to recognize that teachers' ethical responsibilities were described overall as 'duties'. Teachers' ethical responsibilities prior to the Canon were called 'rules'. The use of the terms 'rules' and 'duties' is significant because these word choices implied strict obligation and binding adherence. The Rules for Teachers (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915) and the Canon (STF, 1935b) explicitly defined the ethical responsibilities of teachers, leaving little to individual interpretation. For example, it is difficult to misinterpret the responsibility of "Your dresses must not be any shorter than two inches above the ankle" (Evolution of Education Museum, 1915, p. 1) or the responsibility "To accept any task, rule or regulation imposed by the department and conscientiously execute the terms of the same" (STF, 1935b, pp. 8-9). In the most literal sense, the Canon (1935) was an enunciation of teacher responsibilities (Campbell, 2000) describing "... duties professionals must perform, conduct they must forgo and situations they must avoid" (Fullinwider, 1996, p. 72).

These were not simply a list of professional values and ideals that should be enacted, but rather obligations that must be strictly adhered to.

Moving towards a new Code

The 1935 Canon had not been published and used for very long before its overall length became an item for concern. Although STF did not keep highly detailed records of interactions with government, executive meeting minutes, or council decisions at this time, it is clear that the lengthiness of the five-page document caused some discontent. Even though the STF Bulletin reported that Sturdy's Canon was submitted and been given wide publicity (STF, 1936b), the Executive recommended a committee be struck to examine the Code at their Executive Meeting in January (STF, 1935c) and that "...the long code be published in the Bulletin and that extra leaflets containing the longer Code be kept in the office... That the short Code be appended to the Code of Ethics published in the Bulletin" (STF, 1936c, p. 2). The ethics committees' job was to "reduce the long code to a summarized form" (STF Bulletin, 1937, p. 21) and the shortened code was soon after published in the January 1937 Bulletin. The committee reported that the shortened form of the Code was "not intended to take the place of the longer statement... It [was] simply intended to act as a constant reminder, to the teacher, of his professional obligations. The longer code should be painstakingly studied" (STF, 1937, p. 21). Clearly, the STF Executive emphasized that teachers needed to develop deep knowledge of the Code, but little documentation accompanied their recommendations indicating how improving teacher knowledge of the Code was to be accomplished, which educative methods they used, and why such extensive knowledge was considered vital.

The abridged 1935 Code was published "from time to time" (STF, 1937, p. 1) and it remained in effect until February of 1942. At this time, a new STF committee was struck to examine the existing Code of Ethics. While no records could be found to conclusively explain why this was deemed necessary, the Professional Code of Ethics Committee's results which were extolled in the 1942 *Bulletin*, stated the need for the STF to "continue to press for disciplinary powers" (STF, 1942, p. 16), which the Liberal government did not include when it passed the *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act* in 1935. In addition, the Code of Ethics Committee recommended that the Code of Ethics be thoroughly instructed to all new teachers and that the STF, Normal Schools, STF locals, and the *Bulletin* all undertake an educational campaign to

extend understanding of ethical obligations (STF Bulletin, 1942, p. 15). This edict is the second time that the concerns about 'Code knowledge' arose and it will become clear that this issue continued to arise over the years. The Code of Ethics Committee also suggested that the current code "be simplified in structure and wording" (STF, 1942, p. 15), but no recommendations about exactly how the Code should be simplified were given. Following the 1942 flurry of activity around discussion of the Code, the records remain silent regarding examination of the STF Code of Ethics over the next four years and Sturdy's Canon of 1935 remained officially in effect until 1947.

The changing Saskatchewan context

By the time the Canon had evolved into a Code of Ethics in 1947, much had happened in the province politically, economically, and socially. Farmers,

...facing the loss of the family farm to creditors, began to see such initiatives as a planned national economy, government ownership of utilities and natural resources, a national bank, and a public health system as the only way out of the mess they found themselves in. (Waiser, 2005, p. 312)

Cooperative and social reform movements had rapidly gained popularity in the 1930s. It was during this time that parties such as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) began to crop up, becoming a strong rival to the Liberals for power who had, up until this point, enjoyed relatively few political adversaries in Saskatchewan. The Great Depression, the second world war, further industrialization, and migration of mostly rural populations to urban living provided impetus for such rivalry and set the stage for "one of the most ideologically charged campaigns in Saskatchewan history" (p. 123). Elections, normally held every four years, were extended an extra year in 1943 because of the second world war. This extension seemed to work in the CCF's favor, giving them more time to increase their membership and prepare. The CCF "aggressively went after the ethnic, urban, and worker vote" as well as the farmers who were interested in maintaining the gains made during wartime (Waiser, 2005, p. 340). Capitalizing on a changing society – no longer as dependent on the government and no longer exclusively rural - the people of Saskatchewan "were ready for change, especially if it offered the prospect of long-term stability... the CCF promised a new vision of the future" (Waiser, 2005, p. 327). The 1930s saw

many rural folks moving away from the farm in favor of paid employment and the economic upturn of the 1940s decreased the need for people to depend so heavily on government supports. Though the CCF government was considered somewhat radical, they appealed to the people who had tired of the Liberal government's inability to provide new policies that would satisfy their appetite for change (Brown, Roberts, & Warnock, 1999; Waiser, 2005). People at this time seemed to desire a better life, free from economic hardship and personal sacrifice which had plagued them during the Depression. They wanted hope and the CCF delivered in the form of major administrative reforms and policy innovations in the areas including, but not limited to, agriculture, trade unions, health care, and education (Smith, 1993).

Thirty-nine-year-old Baptist Minister, Tommy Douglas was elected as Premier of the governing CCF Government on June 15, 1944 in what the Regina Leader Post called a "Landslide Victory" (p. 1) Part of the social gospel movement, Douglas was renowned for his evangelical preaching and oratory skill. Social Gospel evolved as "a response to the stark miseries of an industrialized age" (McLeod & McLeod, 2004, p. 15), where injustices could be met with moral uprightness. Focusing on the good of 'the collective' and Christianization of the world, Social Gospel sought to evolve society, creating a Christian kingdom of God on Earth, and working hand in hand to share wealth (Ives, 2011). A proponent of politically moral enthusiasm, Douglas "exuded confidence, a sureness rooted in his faith and his unfailing conviction about the oneness of humanity (Waiser, 2005, p. 341). Proving that Christian ideology was still alive and well in Saskatchewan, Douglas's personal background appealed to its citizens, as did his political beliefs in the moral driving-power of cooperation, socialism, and education (Wesley, 2011). The themes of community responsibility, solidarity, and living an upstanding moral life resonated with the people of Saskatchewan throughout Douglas's career as Premier, from 1944 until 1961. These themes were also reflected in the STF's new Code of Ethics.

The 1940s and 1950s also brought about positive economic shifts, the likes of which had not been seen throughout the 1930s. During WWII, accelerated industrialization occurred because Saskatchewan was positioned as a supply depot for the Allied war effort (Brown, Roberts, & Warnock, 1999). Following the war, Saskatchewan's peacetime economy underwent economic diversification with the development of oil, gas, coal, and potash. As the 1950s

progressed, so too did the development of Crown corporations⁹ and public ownership of utilities, health, and auto insurance. Progressive trade union legislation, which included full collective bargaining rights, was also part of this diversification (Brown, Roberts, & Warnock, 1999).

Viewing the economy in an educational light, it is interesting to note that teachers in Saskatchewan first garnered the legislated right to bargain collectively in 1949. In its infancy, collective bargaining allowed teachers the ability to negotiate salaries, but over time, the scope of bargaining widened to include other items such as, medical and dental plans, grievance procedures, and teacher classification. Although collective bargaining relates to labor legislation more than it does to ethics, it is safe to say that the combined rights of the teaching profession were a reflection of a changing economy and shifting socio-political ways of thinking.

A new Code – 1947

Similar to the changes that were taking place on a provincial scale, changes to the STF Canon were also afoot. In December 1946, a member of the STF Executive, Wray Wylie, was asked "...to draw up" a new Code of Ethics and submit it to the Executive for consideration (STF, 1946, p. 2). By April 1947, Wylie was ready to present his new Code to members of the STF Executive, as minutes of their meeting held on that date stated that it was "discussed clause by clause and Mr. Wylie agreed, in light of the suggestions offered, to rewrite the Code for the next Executive meeting" (STF, 1947a, p. 1). Unfortunately, the original document that Wylie authored and the Executive's suggestions for change, were not included with meeting documentation, so the record is uncommunicative regarding details about Wylie's revised code. However, it seems that Wylie's code caused some controversy as revealed in the records of subsequent STF Executive meeting minutes.

In June of 1947, the Minutes of the Executive meeting exposed that a discussion was held on the tentative new Code of Ethics and that, "... after considerable discussion it was decided to leave the completion of the discussion until the afternoon..." (STF, 1947b, p. 1). Dialogue in the afternoon appeared to be rife as "considerable discussion and amendments" resulted in a new draft of a code (p. 2). Again, details about this Code were not included with the June meeting

(SGI), SaskOil, and Potash Corp.

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[&]quot;Crown corporations are peculiar hybrid entities — somewhere between a government body and a private enterprise. They are wholly owned by the state but operate at arm's length from government" (Stastna, 2012, para. 3). In Saskatchewan these include corporations such as SaskPower, SaskTel, Saskatchewan Government Insurance

documentation and no further details were recorded until another Executive meeting held on September 6, 1947. The September minutes of the Executive meeting show that a motion to "adopt the National Code of Ethics as prepared and approved by the Canadian Teachers' Federation" (CTF) (STF, 1947c, p. 58) was carried.

Regrettably, there was no information included in the Executive Minutes as to why Wylie's code, so deeply discussed and drafted in June, was scrapped. This lack of information raises interesting questions: Could it be that Wylie's code simply expressed viewpoints not supported by the rest of the Executive? Or, was discussion of Wylie's code suppressed and then scrapped due to ethical concerns embedded in the 1935 Canon, which indicated that dissenting viewpoints were not permitted? Without revelatory documentation these questions cannot be directly addressed. As was common in STF decisions regarding its Code of Ethics, it seems little information on Wylie's code or the adopted CTF Code appeared for public consumption in conventional media, such as newspapers, and little information seems to have been disseminated to STF members. Instead, on September 23, 1947 the newly adopted CTF's Code of Ethics as approved by the STF Executive, was distributed to STF councilors at fall convention and published in December's issue of the *Bulletin* (STF, 1947e, p. 53).

Although the archival records do not provide details about, or rationale for, abandonment of Wylie's draft code and the adoption of the CTF's Code of Ethics in September 1947, it appears that the STF surmised that changes were coming their way due to a shift in the political landscape. The Liberal government had been replaced by the CCF in the June 1944 election and the government's Education Minister, Woodrow Lloyd, was a former STF President. Perhaps the STF Executive felt it more prudent to spend time and energy on lobbying a government they perceived as potentially more open to supporting their goals than on garnering membership approval for a newly written ethical code. This postulation seems reasonable given that *The Bulletin* directly addressed the Minister of Education and "... pointed out to [the] government that this code [was] a national code governing the professional conduct of all teachers in Canada" (STF, 1948a, p. 39) and requested that the government "assist our organization in attaining full professional status by supporting our plea for the inclusion of disciplinary powers in our professional act" (STF, 1948a, p. 39). Lobbying the government for increased disciplinary powers is well documented by the STF. In an article entitled *Historical Background*, the STF stated, "It was in the continual lobbying by the STF... that the CCF government of Tommy

Douglas amended *The Teachers' Federation Act* in 1948 to give the STF a significant measure of responsibility for the professional conduct of its members" (STF, 1999a, p. 1). The May 1948 *Bulletin* informed members about these increased disciplinary powers and stated, "In addition to giving teachers a recognized place among professional societies it increases their responsibilities. Teachers should know thoroughly the Code of Ethics on which disciplinary measures will largely be based" (STF, 1948b, p. 13). Once again, the edict to thoroughly know professional responsibilities was clearly specified by the STF. The May 1948 publication of *The Bulletin* published section 36 (2) of *The Teachers' Federation Act* which had been amended that year, to include for the first time 'Conduct Rules' for teachers. *The Bulletin* (1948b) and the amended *Act* stated, "A teacher shall be deemed guilty of professional misconduct or conduct not becoming a teacher, who:

- (a) wilfully takes because of animosity or for personal advantage, any steps to secure the dismissal of another teacher;
- (b) wilfully circulates false reports, derogatory to any fellow teacher or to any other person directly associated with education in the Province of Saskatchewan;
- (c) maliciously, carelessly, irresponsibly or otherwise than in fulfillment of official duties, criticizes the work of a fellow teacher in such a way as to undermine the confidence of the public and pupils;
- (d) publishes or circulates any false or mischievous statement or enters into any collusive arrangement intended to circumvent or nullify any of the acts of the Legislature pertaining to teachers or schools or the regulations of the department of education;
- (e) where he is one of a local group, bargains on his own behalf on questions affecting members of the group as defined by by-laws, rules or regulations mad under sub-section (3) of section (20);
- (f) is addicted to the excessive use of intoxicating liquors or the excessive or habitual use of opiates or narcotics as defined in The Opium and Narcotic Drug Act, 1929, (Canada) and amendments thereto;
- (g) has been convicted of an offence under the Criminal Code. (STF, 1948b, p. 13 & Government of Saskatchewan, 1948, pp. 2-3)

These 'conduct rules' are important to mention because they were directly related to disciplinary changes granted to the STF by the CCF government in 1948. As well, they formed the foundation upon which the STF would redefine misconduct some 58 years later when, once again, *The Teachers' Federation Act* was amended to grant further disciplinary powers to the STF by the sitting government.

In 1948, Section 33 of the amended *Teachers' Federation Act*, 1948 gave the STF authority to form a Discipline Committee with statutory powers to hear complaints of unprofessional conduct. Sections 34 to 45 of the *Act* were devoted to enunciating the new disciplinary measures afforded the STF by the CCF government (Province of Saskatchewan, 1948, p. 1-4). To give a clear understanding of the purpose of the new Discipline Committee, Section 36 succinctly stated that:

36 - (1) The discipline committee shall make every investigation ordered by the council or the executive, in any case in which complaint has been made that a member of the federation has been guilty of a professional misconduct or conduct not becoming to a teacher, and may of its own motion investigate the facts in any such case (p. 3).

These events support the claim that the STF may not have followed through with Wylie's Code because they had become aware of upcoming changes to the *Act* and realized that changes to their disciplinary responsibilities would require a changing the Code of Ethics in response to the *Act's* amendments. To the general membership, the STF claimed that the CTF's Code of Ethics would be adopted, distributed, and used in order "To support the [new] disciplinary process," (STF, 1999, p. 1). While adopting the National Code may have provided STF members a Code of Ethics while the organization worked with government, the brief one-page CTF code was "not grounded in any moral or ethical framework..." (STF, 2013, p. 3), and it was not made in, or specifically for, Saskatchewan teachers. Though the archives are also silent in this regard, based on subsequent documented events, it seems logical that teachers may have expressed a need to the STF Executive for an ethical code that reflected Saskatchewan-specific situations and beliefs.

A Made-in-Saskatchewan Code – 1957

After amendments were made to *The Teachers' Federation Act*, 1948 and the CTF's Code was distributed for use by Saskatchewan teachers, the minutes of the STF Executive record

a passed motion stating the "Discipline Committee be asked to form a Committee to study the Code of Ethics and to make recommendations in regards to same" (STF, 1954a, p. 1). The main task of the committee was to finalize a new Code of Ethics. The committee accomplished this task by holding ethics workshops across the province for three years and working with teachers "to define the ethical issues [they faced] and articulate the profession's standards for ethical conduct" (STF, 1999, p. 1). The proposed code was reviewed and discussed by the Executive and council and on April 26, 1957, Council endorsed the new code and voted in favour "that it replace the present code" (STF, 1957b, p. 58).

The new 1957 four-page Code of Ethics of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation stated five key principles. All principles were prefaced with an overall description before listing individual articles related to the principle. In the following order, these principles concerned: 1) students, 2) parents, 3) the public, 4) the employer, and 5) the profession. The order of these principles is a change from the 1935 Canon where duties were to: 1) The State 2) The Board of Trustees 3) The Department of Education, 4) The Pupils, 5) Fellow Teachers, 6) The Professional Organization, and 7) Himself. In 1957 ethical responsibilities had shifted to students, parents, and the public more so than government, board, and employer obligations. However, there were some striking similarities between 1935 and 1957.

The notion of nationalism (Smith, 2001) still prevailed. The 1957 Code's preamble stated that the STF held "several truths to be self-evident" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). One such 'truth' was: "that the achievement of effective democracy in all aspects of Canadian life and the maintenance of our national ideals depend upon making acceptable educational opportunities available to all" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). The concept of nationalism, though tempered from that of the 1930s, was still a concern, seeing as at this time, "the mother tongue of two out of every five people in the province was neither French nor English" (Waiser, 2005, p. 332). It makes sense then, that the First Principle and its six corresponding obligations to students were prefaced by the following:

Since the ultimate strength of the nation lies in the social responsibility, economic competence, and moral strength of the individual Canadian, the primary obligation of the teaching profession is to guide the students in the pursuit of knowledge and skills, to prepare them in the ways of democracy, and to help them to become happy, useful and self-supporting citizens. (STF, 1957a, p. 1)

Citizens that were 'useful and self-supporting' were clearly seen as 'good' Canadians and the teacher was still a fundamental part of "aid[ing] students to develop an understanding of and appreciation for not only the opportunities and benefits of Canadian democracy, but also their obligations to it" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). It seems somewhat discordant then, that in the same section of the Code, teachers were also expected to "deal justly with students regardless of physical, mental, emotional, political, economic, social, racial, or religious factors" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). Paraphrasing the rest of the First Principle, teachers were also to recognize differences among students and meet their individual needs, encourage students to formulate and work towards goals, to respect students' privacy and not reveal confidential information, and not to accept payment for tutoring services (STF, 1957a).

This section of the Code in particular, seems to again highlight incongruous responsibilities. At the same time that the Code stressed the importance of student diversity, it also stressed the notion of national conformity. For example, while the Code stated teachers should "Recognize the differences among students and seek to meet their individual needs" (STF, 1957a, p. 1), teachers were also directed to "Aid students to develop an understanding of... Canadian democracy and also their obligations to it" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). The idea of becoming "happy, useful, self-supporting citizens" well versed "in the ways of democracy" (STF, 1957a, p. 1) is directly hinged to a strong nation built of socially responsible, economically competent, and morally strong individuals (STF, 1957a).

As compared to the second section of the Canon (STF, 1935b) relating to Duties to the Board of Trustees, the 1957 STF Code of Ethics placed obligations to parents as its Second Principle. Teachers were to:

- Respect the basic responsibility and rights of parents for their children.
- Seek to establish friendly and co-operative relationships with the home.
- Provide parents with information that will serve the best interests of their children, and be discreet with the information received from parents.
- Keep parents informed about the progress of their children. (STF, 1957a, p. 2)

The inclusion of the expectation that teachers establish good "relationships with the home" (STF, 1957a, p. 2) is an interesting addition in the 1957 Code and appeared to be closely

connected with the socio-political context of the time period. Not only was nationalism and moral refinement part of this ethical code and expected to be taught in schools, morals were also expected to be taught in homes across the province. Saskatchewan families, tended to be traditionally domestic, that is "rural, extended, closely-knit and self-sufficient" and "made up of the husband, his wife and their children" [and responsible for teaching] "...the language, customs, and values of society" (Hubbard, Sproule, & Thompson, 1974, pp. 4–6). According to Zimmerman (1947), the domestic family, was one controlled by the church and state. Much like educational policies and political platforms of the time, families in the time period under consideration were heavily influenced by the institutionalization of the church (Larson, Goltz, & Munro, 2000).

Just as agriculture formed the material base of Saskatchewan society, the family formed the social base, which in turn shaped the course of social movements (Province of Saskatchewan, 1957) and these movements, in turn, helped to create and shape the STF. Though the traditionally domestic, rurally-based Saskatchewan family had altered in characterization from the province's settlement days, the family was still a consideration in the formation and evolution of ethical codes in 1957. In all versions of the STF Code of Ethics, the community is a consideration, demonstrating that families have been, and will continue to be, a stakeholder in the educational process. Families, as members of a community in which a school functions and teachers reside, must trust that educators are conducting themselves in a competent and professional manner. It is therefore not a surprise to find ideas that connect ethics, families, and communities in the 1957 STF Code.

The Third Principle of the 1957 Code listed a teacher's obligations to the community at large making specific mention that teachers were "to work to improve education in the community and strengthen the community's moral, spiritual and intellectual life" (STF, 1957a, p. 2). According to the STF Code (1957), teachers were also expected to:

... adhere to any reasonable pattern of behaviour accepted by the profession, ...perform the duties of citizenship and participate to a reasonable extent in community activities, ...discuss controversial issues in the classroom from an objective point of view, [and] recognize that schools belong to the people of the community... (STF, 1952 a, p. 2)

It is interesting to note that from 1957 forward, the STF Codes of Ethics have always included dedicated sections to the community (except in 2000 when all headings were deleted). However, only the 1957 Code articulated that schools "belong to the people" (STF, 1957a, p. 2). It could be that as the role of the Board of Trustees evolved and changed and as school units became larger, the general view of the school belonging to a community may not have been as relevant as it was one Code earlier.

The Fourth Principle of the 1957 Code, highlighting teacher obligations to the Employer, was "based upon law, mutual respect, and good faith" (STF, 1957a, p. 3). Again, it is interesting to note the wording used here. Though phrases such as 'mutual respect and good faith' were not used in 1935, the Canon (STF, 1935b) made it clear in its first three sections that teachers were to foster a cooperative relationship with the Department of Education and school boards and were encouraged to seek mutual understandings "in an endeavor to render to the state the most efficient educational services" (STF, 1935b, p. 8). The teacher was also required to familiarize him/her self "with the terms of the School Act, Superannuation Act, the Act respecting the Teaching Profession, the Curricula, and the rules and regulations set by the department" (STF, 1935b, p. 8).

The 1957 Code does not put as much onus on the teacher to learn and obey legislation related to their employment as it had in 1935. Rather, it listed twelve ethical obligations as "shared employer-employee responsibilities" (STF, 1957a, p. 3). These shared responsibilities included similar items as in previous Codes, including applying for positions through proper channels, refraining from discussing controversial information, avoiding asking for a specific position already filled by another, when to refuse to accept an offered position, and to adhere to the conditions of the contract while the contract is in force. Further information in this section detailed the requirement to resign after taking a position with another board, to notify all boards that were sent applications if a position was accepted, and to be fair when providing recommendations for colleagues. Teachers were not to take a position over and above their teaching job, if the secondary employment were to damage their professional standing or relationships with students, colleagues, and community. Lastly, teachers were to cooperate in developing school policies, assume professional obligations incurred by that participation, and accept that professional obligations were part of being a professional (STF, 1957a). Interestingly, up until 1996 when obligations to the Employer were completely removed from the Code, the

1957 Code included the highest number of articles relating to employer-employee responsibilities.

The Fifth Principle, with obligations relating to the Profession, was placed last in the 1957 Code. The Fifth Principle stated that "if teachers are to command the support and respect of the community, they must develop a pride in their profession and a desirable attitude towards other teachers" (STF, 1957a, p. 4). Seven obligations were listed and were not nearly as aggressively stated as they were in the 1935 Canon. For example, rather than require that teachers "maintain an attitude of helpfulness, courtesy and consideration to his fellow teacher" and "to never, for personal or any other reason, speak disparagingly of the ability, character and conduct of a teacher but rather to defend his good name as he would his own" (STF, 1935a, p. 9) teachers were now to:

- Deal with other members of the profession in the same manner as he himself wishes to be treated.
- Support teachers who have been elected or appointed to act on his behalf.
- Report honestly to persons in authority in matters involving the welfare of students, the school system, and the profession. Unfavorable reports on other teachers should be made only after the associate in question has been informed of the criticism. (STF, 1957a, p. 4)

Paraphrasing the rest of this section, teachers were to maintain active membership and participation in the STF, continuously engage in professional growth opportunities, make the teaching profession attractive in ideals and practices, and "observe a reasonable and proper loyalty" to the internal administration of the school (STF, 1957a, p. 4). Though their placement significantly changed by the year 2000, ethical obligations to the profession have always been included in every version of the STF Code of Ethics to date.

The placement of ethical obligations is important because in all editions of the Code right up until 2017, a teachers' ethical responsibilities to the STF were always listed second last, or last (1935b, 1973b, 2000a). This placement is curious. Though the STF does refer to itself as a unitary organization, it commits itself first and foremost to being a professional body and never seems to refer to itself as a union. In a 2006 news release statement, STF General Secretary Lyle Vinish corroborated this notion and acknowledged that in order to quell public and member

confusion, the STF found itself frequently articulating its "position as an organization equally active in areas of economic services and professional issues" and as "... a unitary organization that integrates and combines seemingly divergent objectives" (STF, 2006, p. 1). Regardless of how the STF labels itself, teachers as a collective are recognized by the government as a profession. As such, it is interesting that professional responsibilities have seldom been given a place of priority by the profession itself. For example, in 1935 duties to the Profession were listed sixth in a series of seven ethical obligations and in 1957, listed last in a series of five. If a Code of Ethics is considered the backbone of a profession (Martin, 2000) one wonders why duties and obligations to the profession have historically occupied a lower prioritized place in the STF Codes. Though no clear cut answer exists to this query, it is an item of interest that will be taken up in subsequent chapters.

A teacher's personal conduct was still an item for concern in 1957, though not as descriptively stated as it had been in the 1872 and 1915 Rules for Teachers or in the 1935 Canon. For example: The Rules for Teachers document stated hem length (Evolution of Education Museum, 1915, p. 1) and the 1935 Canon stated a teacher's need to be neat, clean, sober, tolerant and industrious (STF, 1935b, p. 11). In comparison, the 1957 Code sprinkled several items relating to conduct into numerous sections of the document. The 1957 preamble recognized "that the quality of education reflects the ideals, motives, preparation, and conduct of the members of the teaching profession" and "that whosoever chooses teaching as a career assumes the obligation to conduct himself in accordance with the ideals of the profession" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). However, specifics as they once were written, were now tempered in detail. Teachers were expected to "adhere to any reasonable pattern of behaviour accepted by the profession" (STF, 1957a, p. 2), but items such as hem length and sobriety were no longer itemized. Other word choices throughout the document referred to conduct such as 'acting fairly' and 'cooperating' (STF, 1957a), but unlike the Rules for Teachers and the 1935 Canon, teachers were no longer explicitly told how to behave, which specific characteristics to emulate, or what chores/duties to complete. Of further interest is that in all versions following the 1957 Code, a somewhat ambiguous statement relating to teacher conduct is included such as "to act at all times in a way that maintains the honor and dignity of the individual teacher and the teaching profession" (STF, 2017c, p. 40). All versions of the Code – right to present day – include statements relating to teacher conduct, but from 1957 onward, the STF's Codes of Ethics do not include explicit details about conduct, thus providing less and less guidance to teachers on this matter over time. Walker (1995) stated that "unless these ethical 'norms' are more clearly defined and guidelines provided for interpretation to particular situations, they may erode with each passing year" (p. 560). By the 2000s, we can see that stricter interpretations for professional competence and conduct come to the forefront and dictate legislative changes to teacher regulation. More on this idea will be taken up in subsequent chapters.

All specific Code areas aside, it is easy to see that in 1957, morals and social ideology were as closely tied to teacher conduct as conduct was tied to the provision of quality education in the community. Although the Conduct Rules included in the 1948 *Act* stated that a teacher could be disciplined for "undermin[ing] the confidence of the public and pupils" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1948, p. 2), for the first time ever in an STF Code of Ethics, teaching was specifically referred to as a "...public trust involving not only the individual teacher's personal conduct, but also the interaction of the school and the community..." (STF, 1957a, p. 2). This concept of teaching being a public trust has gained traction since and is today, a recognized hallmark of what it means to be a profession. The professionalism of teachers, then and now, is closely tied to their conduct in a community.

The 1957 Code of Ethics was utilized until March 1973.

Summing up the Ethical Time Period

Though whole books can be devoted to the political history of the province, it is the culmination of government action, economy, and social ideologies in any given time period that help to inform educational happenstances. For the STF, it was by way of Liberal and CCF legislation that afforded a "framework of rights and protections... provid[ing] a minimum salary for teachers, economically viable units of school administration, teacher tenure, structures and processes for collective bargaining, and input into teacher classification" (STF, 1999a, p.1). With Lloyd as the Education Minister, the CCF raised teachers' salaries, "reorganized 5,000 school districts into sixty larger school boards to standardize and equalize the quality of schooling," (McGrane, 2014, p. 127) and provided free text books to all students (Warnock, 2004). Although most of these changes can be categorized as unionistic in nature, the STF's efforts in matters primarily related to wages and benefits rather than on Code activities reveal the direction in which the STF was evolving as an organization and suggest that their Code may not have been a matter of high importance.

Changes to the Code of Ethics during the 1935-57 period seemed to spawn predominantly from legislative policies which were themselves influenced by religion, economy, politics, and the social makeup of the province. This period saw the Liberal government give the STF professional status and consequently mandate the creation of the STF's first Code of Ethics. The CCF government then offered increased disciplinary powers which compelled the need to re-write the Code. As the government made changes to *Acts* governing provincial education and the organization of the STF, the Code of Ethics reactionarily evolved and transformed.

CHAPTER 5

In The Middle – 1957-2000

A decade of social changes heralded a new era for ethics - 1960s

The socio-political landscape in Saskatchewan was considerably altered during the 1960s. "Although Regina and Saskatoon remained essentially 'British' cities at the end of the 1950s, ethnic differences increasingly became less pronounced as the children of European immigrants integrated into society at large" (Waiser, 2005, p. 393). The children of settlers were highly influenced by mass culture and the newly liberalized society brought about sweeping ideological changes. Where collectivism and humility may once have been status quo, now individual rights and freedoms appeared to take center stage. Women's rights were coming to the forefront.¹⁰ Art galleries and theatres offered diversified entertainment options. In general, "The outlook, tastes, and styles of a new generation were being influenced by trends south of the border – from juke-box music to television programs to the food consumed at drive-in restaurants like A&W" (Waiser, 2005, p. 393). While the notion of individualism had increased, elements of collectivism had not disappeared altogether. The notion of a still present collectivist attitude was evidenced in 1962 when the CCF/NDP government introduced Medicare, "the first government-controlled, universal, comprehensive single-payer medical insurance plan in North America" (Brown & Taylor, 2012, para. 1). Socialized medical insurance allowed all Saskatchewan citizens access to a full range of health services, irrespective of their individual ability to pay (Waiser, 2005).

Changes to the province's ideological fabric were also influenced by national politics at the time. The Federal government's 1960 *Canadian Bill of Rights* "was the country's first law to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Considered groundbreaking at the time, the *Canadian Bill of Rights* demonstrated the liberal ideological shift impacting citizens across the entire country. The Bill's preamble stated "that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and the rule of law" (Government

Women had officially received the right to vote and hold public office in Saskatchewan on March 14, 1916 (Strong-Boad, 2016). Their efforts to achieve the same status as men accelerated when, "in February 1967, the federal government established a royal commission to investigate the status of women in Canada; it served as a forum for women across the country to express their needs and voice their frustrations…" (Waiser, 2005, p. 398).

of Canada, 1960, para. 1-2). This acknowledgment suggests that religious ideologies were still prevalent and that Christian ideals and moral living still influenced society as a whole, but also that there was no longer one dominant way of thinking. The *Canadian Bill of Rights* mandated the protection of individual rights and freedoms and this type of legislation – that which specified that people could not be discriminated against in terms of "race, national origin, colour, religion or sex," (Government of Canada, 1960, para. 1) was unheard of previously. This legislation further verifies the idea that individual rights were becoming increasingly prevalent.

The ideological changes and continuities of the 1960s are numerous and worthy of dissertation-length treatment. However, the point here is to examine the degree to which the socio-political context influenced the STF Code of Ethics during this time period. Interestingly, there were only two changes made to the STF Code of Ethics between April, 1957 and March, 1973.

The first of the two changes came in 1960, when educators were mandated in a Code edit, "To aid students to develop a generous understanding of the cultural heritages of other countries in the world" (STF, 1960, p. 94). Though this addition to the Code did little to modify it overall, this edit represented the beginning of a substantial ideological shift towards multiculturalism and inclusivity in both education and society overall.

The 1957 code was revised once more in April, 1968. This time, Council resolved that a teacher should not tutor students not enrolled in his/her classes without consultation with the student's principal and regular teacher (STF, 1968, p. 22). The reasons for this revision seem rather mysterious, until one looks into the news articles printed on educational matters in and around this time period. Provincial newspapers reported on teacher professionalism, but a closer read of such articles suggests that the discussion of professionalism at this time was limited to the possibility of merit rating, the utilization of standardized testing, and the consequences of negative teacher portrayal in the media rather than any dialogue explicitly related to ethical codes and their enactment, interpretation, or creation.

While the 1968 Code of Ethics revision did not specifically mention anything about payment of teachers for tutoring services provided, it may stand to reason that this could have been a concern, as in the 1950s and 1960s interest in merit pay revived" (Clifton & Holle, 2003) and legislation around teacher salaries was heating up. Relating to standardized testing, the notion of merit pay, or "paying teachers based upon their performance" (Clifton & Holle, p. 3),

meant that teachers who garnered better student test results were compensated at a higher rate than those teachers whose students did not do as well. Perhaps parents were requesting specific, high performing teachers to tutor their children which may have had the potential to imperil salary negotiations between the government and STF. "In 1968 the [Liberal] Government of Saskatchewan enacted legislation intended to create more equity among teachers by shifting from local to area bargaining" (STF, 2016, p. 1). Parliamentary debate transcripts corroborate this decision. The Minister of Education, Mr. McIsaac stated that proposed legislation would "ensure that all rights presently enjoyed by teachers are guaranteed, rights... which are not presently guaranteed in law" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1968, p. 166). Opposition NDP Member of Parliament (MLA) Mr. Kwasnica responded saying that the proposed salary legislation was "hastily drawn-up... constructed without the co-operative consent of all parties concerned" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1968, p. 175). Indeed, teachers seemed opposed. The proposed legislation concerning the structure of bargaining was short lived (STF, 2016), partly due to teacher resistance, which was happening not only in Saskatchewan, but all across the country. "In the late 1960s and early 1970s, teachers became militant, engaging in illegal strikes to fight for the right to collective bargaining" (Heron, 2012 as cited in Hanson, 2014, para. 4). In Saskatchewan, salary parity was realized by way of the first provincial collective agreement which guaranteed equal compensation for equal qualifications in 1973 (STF, 2016). The collective agreement was brought about through negotiation with a re-elected NDP government, a party that the STF had experienced prior success with when negotiating for increased rights. No archived documents specifically tie the 1968 Code edits regarding tutoring to merit pay, standardized testing, or salary legislation, but primary and secondary source documents provide insight as to how and why the Code was only amended twice during this time period.

The end of the 1960s found the STF "comfortably structured to combine professional activities with teacher welfare activities" (STF, 1997a, p. 2). That said, the unitary structure of the STF began to cause tensions between not only teachers and the STF, but the STF and the government (STF, 1997a) and these tensions were recorded in the media. A newspaper article from October, 1968 highlighted perhaps the beginning of this growing disquiet. Mr. Zacharias, a teacher from Wakaw said that Councillors were "so indoctrinated that STF policy is dogma, that to oppose it is heresy" (Star Phoenix, 1968, p. 8). One cannot assume that all teachers felt similarly, or if they had, would have felt comfortable sharing their opinion in print. What is

known is that throughout the 1960s and 70s, there were teachers whose "expectations clashed frequently and sometimes stridently" with the structure and beliefs of their professional organization (STF, 1997a, p. 3). Although the STF reported that "a range of processes and structures were developed to resolve [the] ongoing tension," (STF, 1997a, p. 3), they also stated that those measures had only varying degrees of success (STF, 1997a, p. 3).

Other media reports of the time demonstrate the beginnings of reporting on the public's view of teachers. For example, the 1973 article entitled STF decries media's portrayal of teachers asked for "the media to stop teaching-bashing" (Star Phoenix, 1973, p. A8). The STF admonished newspapers for printing comparative articles of Canadian academic test results versus other countries. These few articles which can be found during the 1960s and 1970s are important to note, as headlines during this time period demonstrate the beginning of an overall shift in media reporting on educational matters. Prior to 1960, it seemed nearly impossible to find any volume of information about teachers in the media or through government publications. Those articles that could be found revolved mostly around STF-Government negotiations of union issues. For example: In a 1971 article entitled *Increased professionalism urged*, comments made during Spring Council by then STF President Keith Bolton were published. Bolton spoke negatively of "paying teachers according to their performance in a classroom as judged by a principal or superior" (Star Phoenix, 1971, para. 2) and stated that the "STF should insist on more security and better working conditions" as a way to achieve required goals (para. 5). Though the newspapers did not specifically mention ethics, they substantiated that the primary goal of the STF continued to appear more focused on union rather than professional endeavors. Though 'professionalism was urged', the Code of Ethics was not mentioned in the media as a way in which to do so. Finding any newspapers that directly mentioned the STF's Code of Ethics or teachers' professional responsibilities was exceedingly difficult. To a limited degree prior to the 1970s, and to a higher degree in today's mainstream media, items such as collective bargaining, compensation, and benefits can easily be found, as can teachers' professional conduct. It is still difficult to obtain media information strictly regarding the Code of Ethics. It seemed as though these topics were not headline-making or of interest to the public. It was not until the 2000s that this began to rapidly change. This idea will be further taken up in subsequent pages.

A rewritten Code: 1973

Just as media was shifting its focus, also changing was Saskatchewan's political atmosphere. To remain relevant to an evolving electorate, political parties must tailor their platforms, leadership styles, and overall structure to current issues (Leeson, 2001). Leeson's (2001) point is well proven during this monumental time in Saskatchewan politics when parties shifted not only names, but philosophical platforms. With the exception of the 1964-1971 period, the Liberal Party had not formed government since the CCF took over in 1944, and to this day, have never formed government in the province again. In the beginning years of the 1950s, the CCF found that their platform too closely represented that of the opposing Liberals. Needing greater degrees of separation to differentiate themselves to the electorate, the CCF in 1961 was "replaced by the New Democratic Party (NDP), in an attempt to make political inroads...moderating its platform and forming a broader power base" (Bélanger, 2000, para. 1). The CCF/NDP ruled for the majority of the 1944-1982 and 1986-2007 periods and in these times, enacted significant legislative changes which directly concerned the STF.

Mentioning politics alongside the Code of Ethics is significant as history proves that the interactions between the STF and the government in power translated into legislated policies created by the government that directly affected teachers. As has been pointed out, STF negotiations with the Liberal government in 1935 resulted in the *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act*, 1935. Then in 1948 and 1970, STF negotiations with the CCF government resulted in increased disciplinary powers that had been previously denied by the Liberals. These instances demonstrate a theme that would continue into present day.

On November 7, 1970 the STF Executive voted in favor of "investigat[ing] the possibility of setting up a committee... to undertake a study of the code of ethics" (STF, 1970, p. 10). Apparently this became a reality as the Minutes of the Executive show that by September 1971 "the proposed Code [was] forwarded to the members of the Discipline Committee and Administrative Staff for any comments or observations" (STF, 1971, p. 5).

There was need of a new Code of Ethics for two main reasons. First, as alluded to above, this was necessary in light of new legislation amending sections 34-45 of *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Act, 1970* in which the CCF government gave the STF increased disciplinary powers:

(2) The professional competency committee shall... inquire into and determine any matter of complaint against a member of the federation where it is in substance alleged, or the committee has reasonable grounds for believing that the member has been guilty of carrying out the duties and responsibilities of a teacher in an inefficient or incompetent manner. (Government of Saskatchewan, 1970, p. 1, 2)

The CCF government had first amended the *Act* in 1948 giving the STF power to form a Discipline Committee to hear complaints (STF, 1999a, p. 1), processes by which complaints would be dealt with, and seven specific Rules of Conduct, which if violated, teachers could be disciplined (Government of Saskatchewan, 1948). The 1970 revision provided further amendments with legislation offering the STF the opportunity to form a Professional Competence Committee. The Professional Competence Committee, working parallel to that of the Discipline Committee, would be tasked with investigating charges of professional misconduct or conduct not becoming of a teacher (STF, 1972a). The STF maintained that the Code needed to be re-written in order to reflect new ideas and standards about what constituted misconduct (STF, 1999a, p. 1). There is no doubt this was so, but we can also surmise that the re-written Code was also a direct reflection of changing government policy.

Another reason that the STF argued that a revised Code was needed in the 1970s corroborates the hypothesis that teachers were active in seeking a code that reflected their specific professional circumstances. The STF documented that teachers expressed a need for ethical code changes because the Canadian Teachers' Federation version that was in use was "excessively ambiguous" (STF, 1972a, p. 1). Teachers new to the profession in Saskatchewan had also voiced public complaint asserting that the current code was "cumbersome, unnecessarily moralistic, characterized by trite expressions, and inflexibility. They pointed out that the present code interfered in many ways with their individuality" (STF, 1972a, p. 1). Here we can see that just as it did with the 1915 Rules for Teachers, the 1935 Canon, and the 1957 Code of Ethics, the new 1973 Code closely reflected the changing social ideologies of the time. Individuality over collectivism was the new normal for young teachers who ultimately represented a new generation of thinking. The changed tone of the 1973 Code supports Keniston's (1965) notion that a rapidly fluctuating time of culture and social change requires "new rules to be reconciled with old ones, and ever more general principles...needed to affect

their synthesis" (p. 629). The evolving ethical code does so in response to changing professional norms, societal ideologies, and government policies.

The proposed 1973 Code of Ethics was received by the Executive (STF, 1971 & 1972a) and discussed by the Executive, Discipline Committee, and Administrative Staff. It was then forwarded to Local Associations (STF, 1972b) and Council (STF, 1973a) for any additional revisions. Further wording variations were suggested (STF, 1973c) and finally "a decision was made to present the proposed Code of Ethics to the 1973 Council for consideration" (STF, 1973c, p. 2). A motion was subsequently passed that the previous Code of Ethics be replaced with the new one. The new Code employed new language, replacing 'Principles' with 'Commitments', eliminated a dedicated section to parents, and was decidedly brief as compared to previous Codes. For example, the 1935 Canon was five pages in length, the 1957 Code was four pages in length, and the 1973 Code was only one page. The 1973 Code reordered teachers' ethical commitments and listed them as follows: 1) the student, 2) the employer, 3) the profession, and 4) the community.

Commitments to Students became a four-point list and excluded the directive about keeping confidential matters private and the expectations around the concept of tutoring (STF, 1973b). Also excluded from this section was any mention of instructing students in the understanding, appreciation, opportunities, and benefits of Canadian democracy (STF, 1957a), which speaks to the changing view of nationalism. Rather, "to perform the duties of citizenship" was included with no details on how one might accomplish that (STF, 1973b, p. 1). The student articles listed in 1973 were much shorter and less detailed than prior Codes. For example: The teacher was "to deal justly and considerately with each student" (STF, 1973b, p. 1), but again, no details on how a teacher might best accomplish this were given. Earlier Codes gave detailed specifics about how the teacher might ensure that each child was considerately taught. For example, the 1935 Canon suggested that the teacher be "proficient, just, honorable, tolerant and sympathetic" towards the pupils and that they "organize and co-relate activities to obtain maximum benefit for all pupils" (STF, 1935b, p. 9). The section that read "regardless of physical, mental, emotional, political, economic, social, racial or religious factors" (STF, 1935b, p. 1), which had been included in the 1957 Code was omitted in 1973. The 1973 'Commitments to Students' section also took on a different tone than that of prior documents that extoled the need to "inculcate" learning into all minds (STF, 1935b, p. 7) and "recognize the differences

among students" in order to meet individual needs (STF, 1957a, p. 1). The new focus centered on respecting the "right of each student to form his own judgement" and highlighted designing learning experiences for individual learning and development (STF, 1973b, p. 2). This section demonstrated a definite shift to individualism from collectivism as discussed above and evidenced in legislation protecting the rights of the individual through the *Bill of Rights* (Government of Canada, 1960) and *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Government of Canada, 1982).

Commitments to the Employer, listed second in the 1973 Code, was also a shortened version of the previous Code. Adhering to contracts, not engaging in outside employment that could impair professional service, resigning upon acceptance of another position, applying for positions based on qualifications and rendering professional services to the best of one's ability were expected of teachers according to this new Code (STF, 1973b). Though this section was considerably shortened, the articles that were included were strikingly similar to the employer obligations listed in the 1957 Code, as the following example demonstrates. The 1957 Code stated that a teacher must "Adhere to the conditions of a contract until service thereunder has been performed or the contract has otherwise been legally terminated" (STF, 1957a, p. 3). The 1973 edition stated that a teacher must "...adhere to the conditions of his contract until it has been legally terminated" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). The only change to the Commitment to Employer section that was in any tangible way different from the 1957 Code was the addition of two articles including:

- To be consistent in the execution of school policies, and in the enforcement of rules and regulations.
- To be aware of the need for changes in school system policies and regulations and actively pursue such changes. (STF, 1973b, p. 1)

It is interesting to note that 'being consistent in policy and rules enforcement' was included in all new revisions and editions of the Code in 1977, 1979, and 1996 and 2000. The need to be aware of changing school system policy was not included in 1957, but the 1935 Canon had shades of this idea included in Duties to the Department in that teachers were to thoroughly familiarize themselves with legislation, curricula, rules and regulations (STF, 1935b). Though the wording changed in newer editions of the Code, the 1973 renewed focus on being

aware and pursuant of changes in school system policies is still included in the present-day Code of Ethics. Even though the STF disseminates information to teachers across the province, it appears that it is each individual teacher's responsibility to "actively" pursue (STF, 1973b, 1977d, 1979c, 1996b, 2000a) and "advocate appropriately" (STF, 2017c, p. 41) the everchanging rules, regulations, and legislation concerning education.

Commitments to the Profession are listed in the third section and though they include many similar statements to those included in 1957, there are noticeable changes. For example, items such as keeping confidential information private, not applying for a positions already occupied by another, and adhering to terms of collective agreements were now listed as professional commitments rather than obligations to the students and employer. The notion of collective bargaining is for the first time included in the 1973 STF Code of Ethics, in which it was stated that teachers are required "to adhere to all terms of a duly negotiated collective agreement" (STF, 1973, p. 1). The notion of a collective agreement was likely included because in 1973 when the Code was officially adopted by Council, collective bargaining also underwent major changes. The STF and the provincial government created conditions for the bi-level bargaining structure - still in use today - that "introduced teacher representation and influence at both the provincial and local levels and established a formal process for the settlement of disputes" (STF, 2016, p. 1). Also included in the Commitments to the Profession section was the expectation to actively participate in STF affairs. Harkening back to the strict requirements given in the 1935 Canon, but dialed back in the Code of 1957, the 1973 Code gave specific expectations stating that a teacher be "working at local and provincial levels for needed changes in Federation policy, and respecting those decisions made by elected representatives" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). Also, this section stays relatively similar to the 1957 Code by including items such as the proper channels to go through when making a valid criticism of a colleague, to make the teaching profession one that others would wish to enter, and to observe reasonable loyalty to the internal school administration (STF, 1973b). However, added to this section was the expectation "to respond unselfishly to colleagues seeking professional assistance," and "to be objective in all evaluations concerning the work of other teachers" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). Finally, this section also required teachers "to conduct himself at all times so that no dishonor befalls him, or, through him, his profession" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). Remarkably, this phrase is included with only slight wording variations in every Code succeeding 1973.

Commitments to the Community are listed last. There were significant changes to this section. Only one of the four included articles actually mention the word 'community.' For example, listed here are the commitments "to perform the duties of citizenship," "to keep the public informed of and appropriately involved in decisions about educational programs," "to use educational facilities for the purposes consistent with board policy" and "to protect the educational program from exploitation" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). The one article in this section that remained very similar to 1957 was the commitment "to participate in community and professional activities provided there is no unresolved conflict with obligations to students" (STF, 1973b, p. 1). In the dictionary, community is defined several ways including: "a number of people having common ties of interests," "ownership together," and "likeness; similarity; identity" (Avis, Gregg & Scargill, 1963, p. 175). The understanding that the school was what united people in a geographical area, that the school belonged to the people, and that it provided commonalities regardless of individual differences is not present in the Codes 1973 onward. Perhaps this noticeable lack of mentioning the school as a central part of community could be explained because of the rise of individualism, where community ties and cooperatives were no longer as necessary as they were when the Canon (1935b) was written. No longer mentioning that the school belonged to the people could also be explained because of changes to how schools were organized in the province.

In 1947 there were five thousand school districts in Saskatchewan (Owen, 2006), which were formed because of the settlement boom. Most of these 'districts' were one-room school houses which, by the time the Douglas government came into power, were "rundown, lacked teachers [and had] lost students as farms were... abandoned" (Waiser, 2005, p. 362). By 1950, one in five one-room school houses were closed and by the end of the decade two in five were shut down (Waiser, 2005). "The once-proud landmarks of rural Canada [had] been abandoned, and their life and spirit conveyed by the yellow buses to distant, centrally located, chrome-plated modern educational institutions" (Charyk, 1971, p. 315). The debate over larger school divisions had long been discussed in Saskatchewan. Foght (1918) first suggested it in his study of the province's educational needs, but it was "not until 1944, after considerable review, study, and opposition from parents and trustees, that the newly-elected CCF government implemented a program of consolidation" (Owen, 2006, p. 34). By the time the 1973 Code of Ethics was penned, the one-room school house was a thing of the past because of declining small farms, the

introduction of automation, improvement in transportation, and changes to educational philosophy (Charyk, 1974). There were many reasons for amalgamating the many rural schools into larger districts including: "issues of equity, accountability, efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and enhanced quality of the education experience" (Reddyk, 2000 as cited in Owen, 2006, p. 34). As larger school districts became the norm, the notion that the school was a uniting force in each community had significantly altered.

Though similarities and differences have been noted, it should be mentioned that no STF Code of Ethics other than that of 1957 was created at the grassroots level. When comparing the 1957 Code to that of 1973 and all Codes thereafter, what seems to be noticeably missing is an overall feeling of what we might call true Saskatchewan teacher input. Whereas the 1957 Code was written by polling teachers across the province, including them in workshops, soliciting their feedback, and having extensive discussion, this comprehensive approach to rewriting all subsequent Codes has never been taken again. As a result, the 1973, 2000, and 2017 Codes have been written by assigned committees. Though each individual on the committee represents the teachers in their geographical region, they cannot help but write the Code with an individualistic view of ethics, potentially ignorant of a province-wide viewpoint. Also, extremely noticeable in 1973 onward, is the exclusion of any points in the Code relating to spirituality, morality, or fidelity to the nation. It seems these were still important beliefs for the Ministry of Education and the government in power, even as these were been omitted from the STF Code. To illustrate this point, *The Education Act*, 1978 – a document outlining educational policy, included provision for both religious instruction and citizenship education, stating:

181 (2) ...that the exercises preceding the regular daily program of instruction of the school be opened by the reading or reciting, without comment or explanation, of the Lord's prayer or a passage selected from Bible readings which have been prescribed for the purpose by the minister (Province of Saskatchewan, 1978, p. 78).

182 (2) Every school shall make provision for such instruction in Canadian citizenship and participation in patriotic observances and exercises as may be considered appropriate by the board of education and the staff of the school, in accordance with the curriculum guidelines issued by the department. (Province of Saskatchewan, 1978, p. 79)

The Education Act, 1995 retained these exact same edicts with the addendum that religious

instruction should not exceed two and a half hours per week (Government of Saskatchewan, 1995, p. 108). As Foght (1918) pointed out so long ago, the Ministry controlled most educational matters including learning directives as laid out in *The Education Act*. The Ministry's directives over educational policy was and continues to be largely influenced by economic, political, and societal ideologies. *The Education Act*, 1978/1995 make it clear that religion and citizenship were still important to society and as such, also impacted the government's views on educational policy.

The 1973 Code of Ethics remained virtually unchanged for twenty-seven years. Minor changes occurred in the years 1977, 1979 and 1996. The STF (2000a) described that these amendments:

...updated the Code by deleting one statement that treated substance abuse as an ethical matter and adding two regarding the need for teachers to pursue needed changes in school system policies and to act to eliminate discrimination in education. Also, housekeeping amendments were made to the code to update language or terminology, e.g., in response to the 1996 Council resolution that the *STF Code of Ethics* use inclusive language. (p. 2)

To understand these changes more explicitly, going back to the archives provided more detailed accounts of what exact changes were made to the Code. In April 1977, an addition was made under the 'Commitment to the Profession' section. This addition stated, "to pay the annual assessment by way of fees and dues as determined by the local association" (STF, 1977a, p. 6). In April 1979, another addition was made under the 'Commitment to the Profession' section once again. This time, Council had voted to include the statement, "to act to eliminate discrimination in education" (STF, 1979b, p. 12). However, other than these minor changes, the Code originally created in 1973 stayed much the same for more than a quarter century.

The 1980s

Like the 1960s, the 1980s were a time of relative inactivity in terms of the Code of Ethics. In fact, no amendments to the 1973 Code happened in this decade at all. The complete lack of changes is incongruent to the massive changes sweeping across Saskatchewan as a whole. As such, though no Code changes occurred, the decade is worthy of some attention as the events that took place provide context for why the Code did not change during this decade.

The family structure was evolving as evidenced by Matrimonial Property Act, a piece of legislation which stipulated guidelines of how farm property should be divided upon a marriage breakdown (Waiser, 2005). Fascinatingly in the 1940s, Zimmerman (1947) predicted the eventual breakdown of the traditional domestic family when he stated that it would be gradually replaced by that of the atomistic family where familial obligations become "secondary to the individual's right to self-development. No longer a divinely instituted relationship, marriage is now a civil contract, to be ended when it is no longer convenient" (Zimmerman, 1946 as cited in Larson, Goltz, & Munro, 2000, p. 69) Hubbard, Sproule, and Thompson (1972) attempted to specifically explain the changing Canadian family structure and said that in order to completely comprehend its changes we must first "understand that not only the family, but the whole fabric of Canadian society [was] changing today at a rapid rate" (p. 5). They went on to say that families were currently smaller, more urban, and increasingly dependent on outside organizations for survival (p. 6). In relation to domestic families decreasing, the number of farms steadily declined during this decade as well. One sociologist suggested that leaving rural Saskatchewan was more so a family crisis than farm crisis (Stirling, 2001). Losing the farm was tantamount to losing your family's heritage (Boyans, 2001). Those families that tried to hang on to the family farm during this decade were bombarded with "doubt and anxiety, leading to family violence, marital breakups, substance abuse and suicide" (Waiser, 2005, p. 468). The family was indeed changing, and as a result, also changing not only the population, but the geographical location and culture of schools across the province.

Just as the family structure and the rural nature of the province was changing, the 1980s brought new political parties and political ideologies to the forefront. As farms were being consolidated into larger conglomerations, the older CCF agrarian generation moved into towns and were replaced by young farmers who had not experienced the Depression, the advance of cooperatives, or the rise of socialism. "Already socially conservative, they became economically conservative" (Leeson, 2001, p. 7) identifying less and less with the political worldviews of the past and more willing to accept political alternatives vastly different than those of their grandparents' and parents' generations. The Progressive Conservatives, recognized a changing shift in the electorate and tailored their messaging to reflect new values. The 1982 election was won by the Progressive Conservatives who shockingly took over the ten-year reign of the NDP in an avalanche victory.

Premier Grant Devine whose cabinet – and himself – had no government experience, campaigned on the premise that the province was 'open for business'. Accused of not having a plan other than getting rid of the socialist government, "their campaign appeal to the pocketbook promised an end to the [NDP] gasoline sales tax and mortgages subsidized below the going interest rate for homeowners" (Brown, Roberts, & Warnock, 1999, p. 33). In office, Devine tried to reorient the province towards free enterprise and tried to attract foreign investment in an effort to diversify the economy. In direct contrast to the NDP, Devine sold several provincial crown corporations and "introduced major changes into the social welfare, labour and educational systems... New jobs were created but the provincial debt swelled and the standard of living dropped" (Bocking, 2015, para. 3). In fact, the economy during Devine's time in power "rivalled that of the Great Depression for bleakness" (Waiser, 2005, p. 439). Interest rates soared, commodity prices collapsed, and the government went into unprecedented debt of five million dollars by the time the Conservatives were defeated by the NDP in 1991 (Brown, Roberts, & Warnock, 1999). More and more people went to the city to try and find work, but others simply left altogether, dropping the province's population by "numbers that had not been experienced since the late 1960s" (Waiser, 2005, p. 452). After running a deficit budget each year in power, the Conservative government was defeated in the 1991 election.

Though the STF did not make any changes to the Code of Ethics during the 1980s, they seemed to have prepared themselves for possible legislation that may have consequently altered their Code. In 1989, Progressive Conservative "draft legislation proposed setting up a Professional and Occupations Board that would recommend to the government an appropriate level of regulation for each occupation, ranging from self-regulation to complete government regulation (STF, 1999, p. 2). If the Progressive Conservatives had enacted their proposed regulation of professions legislation, "it might well have resulted in a concrete separation, perhaps with two separate bodies – the union activities particularly associated with collective bargaining, and the profession's regulatory functions such as professional conduct and competency" (Dahlem & Crozier-Smith, 2009). In other words, the STF may well have been stripped of the disciplinary powers given to them by the CCF government in 1948 and 1970.

It is important to mention that at the same time that Grant Devine came to power, other rulers such as Margaret Thatcher in England and Ronald Reagan in the United States of America, came onto the political scene, transforming world politics with what became known as neoliberal

policies (Smith, 2018). Neoliberalism is an ideological and political policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition (Smith, 2018), a direct contrast to the NDP's ideology and policies centered around collectivism and cooperation. Although there is considerable debate over what completely encapsulates neoliberal politics, neoliberalism is most commonly "characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as a means to achieve human progress" (Smith, 2018, para. 1). Neoliberalism accentuates efficiency in resource allocation, commitment to free trade, and minimal government intervention in economic and social affairs (Smith, 2018). The concept of neoliberalist policy is important because for the first time in Saskatchewan's history, the government was neither centrist (Liberal) or leftist (NDP). The archives are silent in terms of documented direct interactions between the STF and Devine government, hence there is insufficient evidence to indicate that positive relations or cordial negotiations were ever achieved. What is known is that the Progressive Conservative government tried to enact legislation that would have significantly impacted the function of the STF as a professional organization and that no changes were made to educational legislation, and consequently, the Code of Ethics. The failed attempt of the government in the late 1980s to develop legislation that would test "whether the leadership of the group [had] the ability to distinguish between the public interest and the self-interest of the association" and whether it could resolve matters "on the side of protecting public interest" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1990 in STF, 1999, p. 2) would fascinatingly resurface again some twenty-five years later. It may be a plausible supposition that during the Conservative leadership throughout most of the 1980s, the STF laid low, hoping that in so doing, they might escape any policy changes that could negatively disrupt the structure of their organization.

The 1990s

In a landslide victory, 1991 started with a return to NDP rule with Roy Romanow at the helm. However, the NDP of the 1990s was different than the NDP of the past. It "had changed because the political and social milieu of Saskatchewan had changed" (Leeson, 2001, p. 9). Indeed, the NDP of the 1990s and 2000s represented what has been called a Third Way (McGrane, 2014). No longer strictly leftist, the NDP moved closer to the center of the political spectrum showing "a consistent belief in a mixed economy composed of private, public and cooperative ownership" (McGrane, 2014, p. 203). Appealing to those who could no longer

identify with the leftist NDP of the past, nor the Progressive Conservatives in the far right, the new political platform of the NDP provided a compromise, one that offered targeted social programs, tax incentives and decreasing regulations (McGrane, 2014). "To state the obvious: modernizing the NDP was necessary because of what Devine had achieved in altering the received Saskatchewan political culture" (Cooper, 2016, p. 19). Offering a political system less ideologically defined (Leeson, 2001), the NDP ushered in a new era of political ideology reflective of economics as well. Striking a balance between socialist and neoliberal ideology, Premier Romanow "...combine[d] fiscal conservatism, moderate economic liberalism, and social progressivism" (Praud & McQuarrie, 2001, p. 162) and set to work on balancing the budget and "assiduously courted the business community... favor[ing] less direct state intervention in the economy" (Praud & McQuarrie, 2001, p. 163). Just as the government changed in the 1990s, so too did the STF Code of Ethics. Starting out with relatively minor changes, major Code revisions would happen by the end of the decade.

Council voted in April 1996 to "...revise the Code of Ethics to contain inclusive language" (STF, 1996a, p. 12). At that time, background information on each resolution was given to Councilors to inform their voting. It stated, "The possibility of revisions to the Code was raised at Council 1995... However, no clear consensus about the need for change emerged from these meetings. An internal review... is in progress, but is being undertaken slowly in the context of continuing discussions with the Minister of Education about the Federation's entire discipline structure" (STF, 1996a, p. 54). Though it appears that a motion was made and passed to revise the Code to include inclusive language, regrettably there was no archived material could be found describing exactly what those language changes would be. Though 1996 signifies a year in which a new Code of Ethics was issued to teachers, there were no discernible changes in it as compared to the previous version. It seems reasonable that 1996 resolutions may never have materialized into actionable items before legislation changed, resulting in the need for a new Code.

After undergoing "months of intense lobbying of government officials" (STF, 1999a, p. 3) the STF again saw changes to *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Act*. The 1997 Teachers' *Act* legislation resulted in the STF remaining a unitary organization, but one that split its disciplinary processes internally into three newly mandated committees: Professional Ethics, Professional Competency, and Collective Interests (STF, 1999a). The Professional Ethics committee, first

legislated in 1978, would now replace the Discipline Committee, first legislated in 1948, and work alongside the newly legislated Competency Committee. The 1997 *Act* stated that "Where a complaint has been referred to mediation and the mediation is not successful, the executive may order an inquiry by the professional ethics committee or the professional competency committee" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1997, p. 5). The *Act* also stated that "Engaging in conduct contrary to the collective interests of teachers is a question of fact" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1997, p. 7). With this, the Executive, upon receiving a complaint that a member was guilty of conduct contrary to the collective interest, could make preliminary inquiries and establish a committee to further investigate (Government of Saskatchewan, 1997). In a paper entitled "*Teacher Professionalism in Saskatchewan: Strengthening Regulation*," the STF acknowledged that the 1997 changes to the *Act* were precipitated by a Saskatchewan Court of Appeal Decision that ruled against the STF (STF, 2013).

The discipline committee found T.M. guilty of professional misconduct and recommended that the provincial executive suspend his teacher's certificate...T.M. appealed the ruling on the basis that the process was unfair...The Court of Appeal upheld T.M.'s appeal on the grounds that the Federation had not acted fairly. (STF, 2013, p. 6)

Thomas Munro was charged with sexual touching of a student. He pled guilty and was sentenced to a period of incarceration. The matter was referred to the Discipline Committee where they recommended his teaching certificate be suspended for five years. "The provincial Executive substituted a recommendation that his teaching certificate be cancelled" (Dahlem & Crozier-Smith, 2009, p. 44). Munro appealed this decision, not because he was innocent of charges, but because of what he felt was an unfair professional disciplinary process.

The Court of Appeal ruled in Thomas Munro's favour because "Munro was not given a copy of the report of the committee to the provincial Executive, he was not notified of the meeting of the provincial Executive at which a decision would be made, and he was not invited to make representation. The provincial Executive did not examine any of the proceedings of the committee hearing nor the exhibits, relying solely on the report of the disciple committee..." (Dahlem & Crozier-Smith, 2009, p. 44)

Whether the STF acted fairly or not in the disciplinary process is not the focus here. However, it must be noted that the Court of Appeal decision caused the STF to lobby the NDP government for additional disciplinary powers which resulted in changes to the *Act* which then required revising the Code of Ethics. This chain of events proves, once again, that Code revisions are the direct result of legislated policy brought about by STF/government negotiations. Banda (1999) supported this notion stating that "STF history has illustrated that the primary reason behind establishing a Code of Ethics, and subsequently revising it, was political" (p. 8). In review of the STF Codes of Ethics, political motivation seemed to be a central and recurring theme in its evolution.

In response to the legislative changes, a committee was struck at the December 1997 Executive Meeting (STF, 1997c). This committee was asked to "examine the professional ethics of teachers, review the Code of Ethics, examine teacher competency and standards of practice, and consider the structure of the teachers' professional organization" (STF, 2013, p. 9).

The committee's recommendations specific to the 2000 Code of Ethics were not as numerous as they were unique. That is to say, that all heading categories referred to as Duties in 1935, Principles in 1957, and Commitments in 1973, were deemed unnecessary. The twenty-one articles included the 2000 Code of Ethic are organized as a numbered list rather than in a prescriptive pattern or under headings. Based on a close examination of the 2000 Code it seems that articles one through seven, sixteen and twenty-one are most closely related to teachers' ethical responsibilities to the profession, while articles eight through fifteen seem most closely related to ethical responsibilities to students and their learning and articles seventeen through twenty appear most closely related to ethical responsibilities towards the community.

In 2000 any statements in the Code relating to employment, collective action, or contractual obligations were removed entirely and rewritten into a separate code entitled the Code of Collective Interests (STF, 1999a, 2000a, 2013). The statements addressing these issues were consolidated and placed back into the proposed 2000 Code of Ethics in one article which stated that teachers were "to act in a manner that respects the collective interests of the profession" (STF 2000a, p. 7). Also included in the 2000 Code was the term 'competency.' It should be noted that this is the first time in any STF Code of Ethics that teacher competency was mentioned.

Though the 1935 Canon expected teachers to "teach diligently and faithfully all the subjects required to be taught..." and "to maintain proper order and discipline and to conduct and manage school in accordance with the regulations of the department" (STF, 1935b, p. 8), no subsequent STF Code actually mentions competently performing the action of teaching until 2000. Article eight of the 2000 Code of Ethics reads "To strive to be competent in the performance of any teaching services that are undertaken on behalf of students, taking into consideration the context and circumstances for teaching" and article fourteen reads "to implement the provincial curriculum conscientiously and diligently..." (STF, 2000a, p. 7). Given that the 1997 Teachers' *Act* legislation provided for a Professional Competency Committee, it is not surprising that the concept of competence appears in the 2000 STF Code.

In comparing the 2000 Code with the one issued in 1973, it is apparent that of the twenty six 1973 Code articles, sixteen are used nearly word for word in the 2000 Code. But some interesting differences include:

- "to observe a reasonable and proper loyalty to the internal school administration" (STF, 1973b, p. 1) was likely replaced by: "To respect the various roles and responsibilities of individuals involved in the education community" (STF, 2000a, p. 7)
- "to perform the duties of citizenship" and "to participate in community and professional activities, provided there is no unresolved conflict with obligations to students" (STF, 1973b, p. 1) were likely replaced by: "to model the fulfillment of social and political responsibilities associated with membership in the community" (STF, 2000a, p. 7).
- "to act to eliminate discrimination in education" (STF, 1973b, p. 1) was likely replaced by: "To develop teaching practices that recognize and accommodate diversity within the classroom, the school and the community" (STF, 2000a, p. 7).

A significant change in 2000 Code from prior Codes was that there is no longer any mention of citizenship in terms of duties to the government, nor any moralistic language in terms of cultivating qualities of good character or stipulations on how the teacher should behave and/or conduct themselves. Teachers were no longer expected "to instill in the next generation a sense of obedience to a rigid moral and religious code" (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 149). It is also notable that the first articles listed in the 2000 Code addressed teachers' responsibilities to

the profession. The first place ordering of articles to do with the profession is important as at no point in the evolution of the STF Code of Ethics were responsibilities to the profession given this precedence.

The new organization of the proposed 2000 Code reveal a definite shifting of priorities. No longer as didactic or nationalistic, the Code now placed strong emphasis on professional obligations above students, parents, and community. It should also be noted that the committee gave introductory information about the Code stating, "In order to provide teaching services effectively, teachers must command the confidence and respect of the public..." (STF, 2000a, p. 4). It is clear that the notion of 'public trust', first appearing in the 1957 Code, had gained serious traction. Although the 1989 proposed legislation concerning professions' regulation never did materialize, it did result in bolstering public "doubts about [the STF's] ability to function in the public interest as well as in the interest of teachers" (STF, 1999a, p. 2). It is important to highlight the beginnings of this public distrust in the teaching profession, because these doubts would continue to grow over the next approximately 25 years and by 2015 resulted in significant changes to legislation and media coverage of educational matters.

It was during the 1990s and early 2000s that research began to be conducted on teachers in the media. Though most studies of this nature focused on the portrayal of teachers in film and entertainment (Hansen, 2009), other researchers such as Cunningham (1992) and Wiklund (2003) researched the changing images of teachers in news media and how those changes impacted public perception. Wiklund (2003) in particular, found that politicians and interest groups most prominently contributed to press images of teachers (p. 10). She added that because education is an item of social importance, it often gets "discussed in political circumstances and used by the political parties to formulate their programs" (Wiklund, 2003, p. 3). Her paper, though focused on the educational situation in Sweden, highlighted the interrelationship between teachers and government as well as education to society. The interaction of media, public perception, policy-makers and professional groups creates an evolving "climate of opinion" (Hansen, 2009, p. 336). Hansen's (2009) study also found that "with very few exceptions the 'teacher' headlines of 1991-1993 are 'problem' or 'confrontation news stories'" (p. 341) and that the 1991-2005 period overall showed a "very considerable emphasis on teachers involved in court cases and/or as victims or perpetrators..." (Hansen, 2009, p. 338). With these results, we

can clearly trace the trajectory of an eroding public trust in the teaching profession. This same eroding of trust and increasingly negative teacher view in the media would become even more of an issue when the next right-wing Saskatchewan government took power and this situation will be taken up in detail in the following chapter.

In concert with emerging research on teacher image in the media, research on teacher trust in society also surfaced. Troman (2000) found that a breakdown in cooperation – a necessary ingredient in trust - between teachers and stakeholder groups had contributed to a breakdown of public trust in teachers and their status as professionals. The 2000 Code of Ethics demonstrated that this was so. It was advocated by the committee working on the Code that if a "level of awareness could be raised, much of the dissatisfaction regarding the accountability of the system for teacher competence could be dispelled" (STF, 2013, p. 5). As such, the committee provided commentary on each of its twenty-one articles "in order to provide further information to teachers and the public" (STF, 2000a, p. 3) and also suggested a greater level of publicity be given to disciplinary committees' decisions (STF, 2013).

The committees' restructured Code of Ethics was shown to councilors and Executive members in the hopes that their feedback could give direction on how the report could be revised and best disseminated to teachers across the province. Meeting minutes of the Executive in March, 1999 detail some of this feedback. In particular, the wording of the proposed Code garnered much commentary. The use of the word "shall" was highlighted as an item of concern because it created "an unrealistically strong standard for [teachers] to live up to and [was] considered paternalistic in tone" (STF, 1999a, p. 6). The included 'shall' statements were seen as ones which allowed for personal choice, while other statements were listed as duties which implied binding adherence. Interestingly enough, in 1973 teachers expressed dislike over the inflexibility of the 1957 Code (STF, 1972a, p. 1). Now, the idea of what language the Code utilized surfaced again. Code language becomes another recurring key idea as tension has always existed regarding how prescriptive – or not – the Code should be written.

The wording of ethical codes has been the subject of academic articles focused on ethics. But, as Schwimmer and Maxwell (2017) point out, discussing, analyzing, critiquing, and commenting on ethical codes and their wording "does little to challenge the status quo" or "inform the serious work of developing a professional ethics of teaching" (p. 150). Still, it is the rich discussions about ethics, their wording and purpose, that opens the door for revisions and

that help to minimize some of the problems that writers such as Campbell (2000), Forster (2012), Ladd (1998), Shortt, et al., (2012) and Van Nuland (2009) have identified.

Meeting minutes in January, 1999 show that "the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Professionalism [was] received" (STF, 1999b, p. 10). By September of the next year, meeting minutes document a motion made to discuss the proposed Code of Ethics with councilors at fall convention and, as an Executive, submit a motion to adopt the proposed code (STF, 2000b, p. 4). Documents detailing Council decisions in October, 2000 validate that robust discussion over the proposed ethical code indeed occurred. Several amendments were made to wording before it was finally "... resolved that the proposed Code of Ethics be adopted as a Bylaw of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation" (STF, 2000b, p. 4). The 2000 Code of Ethics was officially utilized until 2017.

Summing up the Ethical Time Period

The 1960-2000 time period encompasses many contextual changes, including a myriad of changes in everything from the economy and family structures to political ideology. There were far fewer changes in terms of the number of revisions to the STF Code of Ethics over this same time period. However, some of the changes that did occur speak mightily in terms of its evolution. It was during this time period, that jingoist nationalism was steadily replaced by a growing tolerance of multiculturalism and acceptance of individual rights and freedoms. The political notion of collectivism had lost the power that it once had in Saskatchewan. Christian belief systems, still prevalent, yet declining, were no longer written into the Code as moral expectations for teachers. Also during this time period, the notion of public and media portrayal of teachers came to the forefront in ways that it had never before.

To conclude a summarization of ethics during this period, attention must be given not only to issues of evolving public trust in education, but also to the inherent relationship between the government and the teaching profession in Saskatchewan. Banda (1999) observed that the STF only gave attention to and revised the Code of Ethics as a means "to suit amendments to *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act*" (p. 8). Archived ethics documentation not only supports Banda's (1999) remarks, but also proves that changes to the Code of Ethics have also been responsive and reactionary to the STF's bid for increased disciplinary measures. Banda (1999) also remarked that "the STF needs to be promoting ethical decision making and ethical

behaviour rather than merely responding to political motives... it must be clear about its pursuit of ethical behaviour, not only at the public and political levels, but more importantly within its membership" (p. 8). These observations raise questions that deserve careful consideration: Are changes to the STF Code of Ethics motivated only by political action? Are changes to *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Act*, and thus the Code of Ethics, primarily dependent on left-leaning governments? Does the Code of Ethics serve a greater goal than simply being the natural consequence of discipline-based legislation? Has the STF Code of Ethics ever been a singular professional priority, or has it simply been the secondary consequence of changing disciplinary functions? How are teacher competence and teacher image in the media related to public trust and ethics? The doubts, concerns, and questions that began to plague the STF during this time period in its history would become the basis for ethical changes in the new millennium.

CHAPTER 6

Moving to the Present - 2000-2017

Starting a new millennium by returning to past rhetoric

The mid 90s "represented a period where the province appeared to get itself back on its feet, both in fiscal and economic terms" (Eisler, 2006, p. 212). When the clock struck midnight and the year 2000 began, Saskatchewan remained under NDP governance as it had since 1991. In 2001, Lorne Calvert became NDP Leader and Premier and remained in power until 2007. During Calvert's time as Premier, he promised to "return the province to its orthodox socialdemocratic traditions" (Wesley, 2011, p. 169). Calvert, a former preacher, used a familiar rhetoric heralding back to the days of Tommy Douglas, blending a "spirit of communitarianism with support for the Saskatchewan state, and by presenting the opposition as a major threat to Saskatchewan values" (Wesley, 2011, p. 169). The NDP government launched a campaign called 'Our Future is Wide Open' which focused on the people of Saskatchewan and tried to instill in them a positive attitude and pride in their province (Eisler, 2006). The campaign broadened to a national and international audience with the hopes that people who had left would come back and others would immigrate as a result of "cost competitiveness, surging commodity exports and the province's strengths in sectors from mining, forestry, energy, manufacturing, and agriculture to high-tech" (The Globe and Mail, 2004 as cited in Eisler, 2006, p. 222). The province's objective to increase its population in 2004 was interestingly reminiscent of the 1905 federal government's initiative to populate the west as Saskatchewan was initially establishing itself as a province. The 'Wide Open' campaign laid the groundwork for the province's burgeoning population of present-day. Recent results from Statistics Canada showed that as of October 1, 2018 the population of Saskatchewan was 1,165,903 people, a number that represents the 50th consecutive quarter of population growth, and "the longest sustained period of population growth since quarterly records started being kept in 1971" (Government of Saskatchewan, 2018, para. 2). During the time the NDP was in power and the province was undergoing economic and population upswings, the STF once again saw changes to educational legislation.

New legislation and corresponding policies

Changes to *The Teachers' Federation Act*, 2006 "included the many amendments that had been incorporated since the previous *Act* in 1978, and also introduced measures that recognized the maturity of the organization..." (Dahlman & Crozier-Smith, 2009, p. 51). Revisions to the *Act* that directly concerned ethics included the replacement of the Discipline Committee with the Professional Ethics Committee and introduction of the Professional Competency Committee. *The Teachers' Federation Act*, 2006 clearly set out the purposes of these committees:

- 34(1) The professional ethics committee shall, on a written order of the executive, or on its own motion, conduct a hearing to inquire into and determine any matter of complaint against a member of the federation where it is in substance alleged, or the committee has reasonable grounds for believing that the member has been guilty of professional misconduct or conduct not becoming to a teacher.
- (2) The professional competency committee shall, on a written order of the executive, or on its own motion, conduct a hearing to inquire into and determine any matter of complaint against a member of the federation where it is in substance alleged, or the committee has reasonable grounds for believing that the member has been guilty of carrying out the duties and responsibilities of a teacher in an incompetent manner. (Government of Saskatchewan, 2006, p. 14)

Though the *Act* did not include a thorough definition of *incompetency*, (in fact, the word 'incompetency' does not appear anywhere in the *Act*) Section 38 clearly and specifically, as it first did in 1948, defined misconduct. The *Act* (2006) stated:

- ... every member shall be deemed to be guilty of professional misconduct or conduct not becoming to a teacher, who:
- (a) willfully takes, because of animosity or for personal advantage, any steps to secure the dismissal of another teacher;
- (b) willfully circulates false reports, derogatory to any fellow teacher or to any other person directly associated with education in Saskatchewan;

- (c) maliciously, carelessly, irresponsibly or otherwise than in fulfilment of official duties, criticizes the work of a fellow teacher in such a way as to undermine the confidence of the public and pupils;
- (d) publishes or circulates any false or mischievous statement or enters into any collusive arrangement intended to circumvent or nullify any of the Acts of the Legislature pertaining to teachers or schools or the regulations of the department;
- (d.1) has been convicted of an offence pursuant to section 151, 152, 153, 155, 159, 160, 170, 271, 272 or 273 of the Criminal Code. (Government of Saskatchewan, 2006, p. 16)

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act, 2006 legislation provided procedures for the review, investigation, hearing, and disposition of complaints on matters of misconduct and incompetence. The Act (Government of Saskatchewan, 2006) also made amendments giving Council the authority to make bylaws. Section 20 of the Act (Government of Saskatchewan, 2006) outlined bylaw procedures and for what purposes bylaws could be made (p. 9). Mentioning bylaws in relation to ethics is important because, section 15(p) of the Act stated that bylaws could be made for multiple purposes including "providing for a code of ethics for teachers" (Government of Saskatchewan, 2014, p. 10). Because of changes to the Act allowing for the creation of bylaws by Council, the Code of Ethics was no longer a stand-alone document. It was adopted as bylaw four during a special meeting of council in October 2000 (STF, 2000c, p. 4) and was placed in the bylaws section of the STF Governance Handbook. Other than its place in the Governance Handbook, the Code of Ethics did not change until 2015, when further legislative changes impacted the STF's disciplinary responsibilities.

The social ideological fabric of the province had shifted

Though Premier Calvert promised a return to 'orthodox social-democratic traditions' and 'communitarianism,' a new generation of people were populating the province that no longer had an appetite for traditions. The Canadian Opinion Research Archive designed a Canadian study carried out by Ipsos-Reid in 2003. The survey interviewed Canadians in their twenties and the results of the survey informed a major multi-part newspaper series called *The New Canada* published in *The Globe and Mail*. One article of the series was devoted to describing a post-

2000 Canada and the new generation of youth populating its borders. It said that the Canada of the new millennium was:

... fashioned by the now-grown children of immigrants from 210 countries, who are blending the roots of their past with the nation of their future... by the couples who take love where it finds them, blind to the stale divides of race and religion and gender... They are skipping election day in alarming numbers and lack faith in Ottawa, but they still expect a common fix for social problems... They have abandoned religion, but place a premium on finding a spouse that shares their moral values... (Anderssen & Valpy, 2003, para. 1, 4)

The Canadian values and attitudes of the past were no longer the values and attitudes of the present. The generation of today have "never known a Canada that did not celebrate multiculturalism or constitutionally guaranteed equality rights" (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003, p. 18). Even though there seemed to be a shared "accepting attitude towards the country's ethnic diversity" (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003, p. 4), there was also an emerging selfishness¹¹ and lack of need or appreciation for collective action (Vail, 2000) that once was the backbone of Saskatchewan politics and society.

New political options arise

As individualism and commercialism gained prominence, so too did a new political adversary to the NDP in the form of The Saskatchewan Party. In a newspaper interview, Saskatchewan Party delegate Martin Boser spoke about the party's roots of origin and said, "Reformers have built this party... we are the Reform party in everything but our name" (Western Producer, 1998, para. 4). Indeed, the Saskatchewan Party closely mirrored the values of the far-right Reformists. The Saskatchewan Party "... advocated deep tax cuts, individual self-reliance and limited government involvement in the economy. It supported the privatization of Saskatchewan's much-prized Crown corporations..." (Foot, 2018, para. 7). Their platform

Peters (1995) described the change of focus in Canadian values as part of a "new meanspiritedness" in Canadian society (p. 71).

resonated with voters who had lost confidence in traditional Saskatchewan politics. By 2004, the Saskatchewan Party had grown in strength and numbers and had a new leader in Brad Wall. Under Wall's leadership, the Saskatchewan Party adopted a new, more centrist position, appealing to the rural voters the party started with and also younger urban voters alike (Foot, 2018). Still, the Saskatchewan Party's "ambiguous stance on privatization" (Wesley, 2011, p. 173) in the 2007 election year became fodder for debate. Campaigning against the Saskatchewan Party, NDP leader Lorne Calvert electioneered that, "Now is not the time for reckless cuts and privatization. We're stronger when we work together" (Wesley, 2011, pp. 169-170). The NDP's cautionary entreaty did not appeal to the changing voter base and society at large. Brad Wall won the election in November 2007 and became Premier. Wall took over provincial leadership at an economically fortunate time of unprecedented booming global commodities. Rising prices increased demand for provincial resources and good economic fortune seemed to envelop the province for the next decade.

Wishlow (2001), who wrote about the rising populism of the Saskatchewan Party in the early 2000s, predicted that if the party were to gain any ground with the electorate, it would be because they were "effective in speaking to voters' consumer sensibilities. Those sensibilities emphasize not just the here and now, but the 'me'" (p. 197). Wishlow's (2001) predictions proved true. Although his writing centered about a political party transcending rural and urban differences, Wishlow (2001) also revealed much about the changing values of Saskatchewan citizens overall, politically inclined or not. Formerly a province that esteemed universality and communal values, a radical consumer culture and had overtaken with a marked focus on self (Wishlow, 2001). Thus, the Saskatchewan Party's neoliberal policies appealed to the changing electorate.

Families and values evolve

The greater diversity found in the cultures of people and politics could also be found in families across the province during this time period. Luxton (2011), a researcher studying the changing structure of Canadian families, suggested that families change in direct response to the political, economic, and social dynamics of differing historical periods (Luxton, 2011, p. 6). "The young adults coming of age in in the 21st century face very different worlds than those of their parents and grandparents" (Luxton, 2011, p. 1). The traditional family of the previous

generation – the nuclear type Hubbard, et al. (1974) described – had been replaced by modernized views on marriage and gender relations. "Same-sex marriage, common-law partnerships, single parents, childless couples, inter-racial partnerships, and adoption" had all, by the 2000s, become more widespread and accepted (Luxton, 2011, p. 4). Just as the 1950s cultural ideal of the traditional family permeated society and informed law and public policies of the time, so too do modern family structures inform the policies of today.

Just as the structure of families was changing during this time period, so were overall Canadian values related to "the role of government, the balance between collective action and individual responsibility, and support for universal social programs," (Vail, 2000, para. 2). Whereas Canadians used to value the role of government in their lives (Lipset, 1989) there was now a decline in trust and confidence in government... [and an] overall decline in trust... towards authority and all forms of institutions" (Vail, 2000, p. 3). These institutions included the church. "In 2001, 21.4 per cent of [people in their] 20s said they had no religion, compared to 6.4 per cent in 1971. If they do attend a religious service, it is far less frequently than their counterparts of an earlier generation, and the deity they worship is less likely to be Christian..." (Anderssen & Valpy, 2003, para. 19). Distrusted institutions included the government. In a 2017 poll, "...only 43 per cent of Canadians say they trust their government — down from 53 per cent a year earlier... The... survey conducted annually by public relations firm *Edelman* is the first time in 17 years that Canada has joined the ranks of "distruster" countries in which more than half of citizens say they distrust their civic institutions" (Chipman & Colbert, 2017, para. 2 & 4). Even though evidence exists that Canadians trust levels are decreasing,

...they still continue to trust corporations enough to invest in them and purchase their products and services. [They also trust] ... levels of government to ensure clean drinking water, effective transportation safety standards, the integrity of the financial system, law, order, health, safety, and so on. (Ezekiel, 2005, p. 4)

That said, whatever the level of trust Canadians have – is directly dependent on the nation's well-being (Fukuyama, 1996). The national characteristics of failing trust confirm lack of trust in the provincial educational sector as well.

The media scrutinizes teacher behavior

Social change in the province, with people becoming more 'me' centered (Wishlow, 2001) were perhaps made more noticeable with the onset of and regular usage of social media. STF Director Gwen Dueck, 2008-2017, spoke about social media and education stating: "We've had a cultural shift in this province. We've become more entitled, more about the individual, and that's unfortunate. We need to focus on what is really important and to consider the future we want as a society – one in which people respect each other wholeheartedly and connect to each other" (STF, 2015b, p. 1). The STF's desire to have everyone respect one another via social media was not reciprocated by the media. The negative image of teachers first reported on by the media in the 1990s gained steady momentum in the 2000s. Lack of trust and the desire for increased transparency and accountability in all sectors, including education, bombarded the news. Articles such as When teachers fail; Investigation reveals cases of misconduct reverberated around the province. Reporter Janet French took a look at Saskatchewan educators "...who had lost their jobs because of behavioural reasons and found that several teachers who had lost their jobs still had valid teacher certificates" (Canadian Television Network, 2013, para. 9). The Star Phoenix investigation called into question whether or not the current teacher disciplinary system was flawed (French, 2013). Before and after French's article was published, other newspapers, blogs, and television reports sustained the trend of questioning whether teachers who behaved inappropriately and violated their Code of Ethics, were properly disciplined. For example, titles such as "Teacher discipline: Who interests are served by hiding the 'bad apples" (Bennett, 2016), "Teacher misconduct: Marketplace finds disciplinary action often kept hidden from public" (Griffith-Greene, 2016), and "Allowing union to handle teacher discipline has negative effect on professional standards: report" (Gerson, 2014) flooded the newsstands and became a stimulus for government intervention.

On the heels of French's (2013) investigative report, The Ministry of Education commissioned Dr. Dennis Kendel to study the issue of teacher regulation across Canada and offer recommendations on future options for teacher regulation in Saskatchewan. His report, entitled *For the Sake of Students* recommended that the STF no longer remain a unitary structure in charge of both union activities and teacher discipline. Kendel (2013) stated that:

If the teaching profession is to be accorded full self-regulatory authority, and I strongly believe that it deserves this authority, I believe the profession will have to conduct collective bargaining and regulation through distinct professional organizations. One of those organizations will need to be dedicated exclusively to public protection and the other exclusively to representation of teachers and advancement of the interests of teachers. When a single professional organization strives to sustain both of these functions, it continually sends "mixed messages" to the public. The public is consequently less inclined to trust that organization to act in its interests... there are insurmountable conflicts of interest created when professions strive to serve two masters through a single organization... It is almost invariably the case that public protection functions will be relegated to the back seat. (pp. 78-79)

Kendel's (2013) recommendations led the government to pursue regulatory changes that would further impact the Code of Ethics.

The STF creates new codes

As a result of *The Teachers' Federation Act*, 2006 defining misconduct and providing some details about incompetence, the STF decided that a formal statement of competence standards was necessary to avoid the possibility of an outside regulatory body assuming responsibility over teacher discipline, "an outcome the Federation was hoping to avoid" (STF, 2013, p. 10). Though the archives are silent on exactly why this was feared, negative media coverage regarding teacher discipline and Kendell's (2013) report may have been mitigating factors. Given that the Saskatchewan Party's platform was comparable to that of the Progressive Conservative government who had threatened the STF's unitary structure in the 1980s, the STF may have surmised that regulatory changes would likely be required should the Saskatchewan Party win the next election.

Conjectures aside, the STF did draft The Code of Professional Competence "which referred to teachers' professional knowledge, skills, and judgement with respect to curriculum, instruction, assessment and evaluation, professional relationships, and student learning" (STF, 2013, p. 10). This code was to serve several purposes including: guiding teaching practices, guiding the Executive to assess complaints about professional competency, and it served as a

complement to the pre-existing Code of Ethics and Code of Collective Interests. All Codes, their preambles and proceedings sections are presently contained in the STF *Governance Handbook* under Bylaws 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4. While additional codes were created in 2013, interestingly enough, no changes were made to the Code of Ethics. French's investigative report and Kendel's recommendations foreshadowed that this would soon change.

Regulatory legislation mandated

In December 2014, soon after Kendel's report was made public, the Government of Saskatchewan introduced the Saskatchewan Professional Teachers Regulatory Board (SPTRB). Though the STF maintained "there [was] little justification for the unilateral imposition of an alternative model of professional regulation (STF, 2013, p. 12), new legislation provided for just that. *The Registered Teachers Act*, 2015 proclaimed on July 1, 2015, enabled the SPTRB – a single, independent authority responsible for regulating teachers - to begin operations including teacher certification and registration, as well as the receiving, investigation and hearing of complaints regarding teacher conduct and competence (SPTRB, 2015). *The Registered Teachers Act*, 2015 effectively rescinded the STF's power to discipline its own members accused of professional incompetence and professional misconduct.

Don Morgan, Education Minister at the time the SPTRB was created, said, "Although the STF made several changes in the wake of Kendel's report... they weren't enough..." (French, 2015, para. 8). Minister Morgan also stated that, "We believe that the knowledge and experience that our teachers possess will help create a more transparent and clear process that will... continue to safeguard our students and protect the integrity and professionalism of teachers" (CKOM News, 2015, para. 5). In reference to the SPTRB, a spokesperson from the Ministry of Education stated that the new regulatory board would "be responsible for investigating complaints of misconduct and incompetence. The STF will continue to work with teachers and school divisions to address competence issues... but they are no longer involved in the disciplinary process" (French, 2015, para. 25). Though the government stated that the SPTRB served the public interest and was the "result of a two-year consultation process with educators and members of other professions" (Davis, 2015, para. 4), the STF did not seem to concur.

In December 2015, the STF publication *The Bulletin*, interviewed STF Director Dueck who referred to the previous year as a "horrible" one where the STF became "involved in an

external environment that [they] could not have predicted would happen" (STF, 2015b, p. 1). While it may have been surprising, the inability to predict the mandating of the SPTRB is debatable as the STF documented time and again repeated threats to the organization's unitary structure (STF, 1997a, 1999a, 2013). The STF believed that "public confusion and skepticism about the teaching profession was minimal, making it difficult to accept the notion that major legislative intervention was necessary" and argued that separating the collective bargaining function from disciplinary and licensing functions "was unacceptable" (STF, 2013, p. 6).

The STF's view of the SPTRB was in direct contrast with that of the government who believed that public trust in the teaching profession had eroded to such an extent that separation of STF advocacy and disciplinary functions were necessary. Naylor (2108) suggested that in provinces like Saskatchewan, where regulatory measures were introduced after highly publicized cases of misconduct surfaced in the news, that:

... informed public discussions have not occurred. Rather than engage in public discourse, governments often appoint an individual to investigate options for action. Some governments use commissioned reviews, then legislate in ways that selectively accept some aspects of a report, but go well beyond the actual recommendations made. (p.17)

Indeed, as Naylor (2018) suggested, the Saskatchewan Party utilized media reports and Kendall's recommendations as justification for significant regulation changes which dramatically changed the government's relationship with the STF. Since inception, the STF had enjoyed a mostly collaborative relationship with the government. However, it must be mentioned that history suggests this collaborative relationship was nearly exclusively with CCF/NDP governments. The Liberals in the 1960s and the Progressive Conservatives in the 1980s tried to enact legislation contrary to STF desires. The imposed regulatory changes of 2015 under Saskatchewan Party governance highlight a termination of the seemingly historic cooperative relationship between the STF and government. Writing about their history, the STF stated that "teachers in Saskatchewan are proud of their history of working together with other partners in education and believe that a successful education sector is renewed and revitalized by respectful dialogue and common understandings" (STF, 2016, p. 6). Perhaps what made the creation of the SPTRB so

initially unpalatable to the STF was that they viewed it as a breach of the historic collaboration they had once enjoyed.

The creation of the SPTRB, whether perceived as positive or negative, demonstrates that history matters when looking at educational policy. All previous events bring us to the now. It also demonstrates that legislative changes create ripple effects in STF professional functions. Though the formation of the SPTRB may not be directly tied to ethics, it is, as Andersen (2007) suggested, an educational initiative embedded in reform policy. The government mandating the creation of the SPTRB in a time of conservative politics and public distrust points to education being inexorably tied to social ideologies, politics, and economics. Grimmett and Young (2012) reinforced this notion saying that "public policy and legislation are the product of the dynamic interchange occurring in socio-political-cultural negotiations of power, wherein players use the currency of their economic, social and cultural capital to frame and construct events and understandings" (p.170). The SPTRB was a change "brought about in the process of adaptation between new policy and pre-existing institutions" (Andersen, 2007, p. 52). "Political initiatives and the development of new policies are shaped within institutional frames, whether these are formal rules, policy structures or norms... In this way, institutions steer individual choices in certain directions and thus both restrict and make certain action possible" (Andersen, 2007, p. 42). The fact that the SPTRB came into existence through a struggle between the government and the STF is significant because it proves the inherent interconnectedness of ideas that this dissertation has highlighted. The economic conditions and social ideologies that are present in any given time period influences the actions of government. In turn, what the government does impacts education. The relationships among all of these facets are what creates history.

Present day code

As a result of new regulatory measures, the STF Executive established the Teacher Success and Professionalism Working Committee in August 2015 to review changes to teacher regulation in Saskatchewan as well as to review current STF codes and standards. The Committee's work, among other items, resulted in proposed revisions to the Code of Ethics, now contained in STF Bylaw 6 (STF, 2016). The majority of the proposed revisions concerned "minor changes in wording... to update the language used, especially where a more positive framing of a statement [was] possible" (STF, 2016, p. 18). Campbell (2000) stated that though

"it may be easier, clearer and thus more useful in an application sense to be specific from the negative perspective" (p. 212), codes framed in a positive perspective are "fundamentally optimistic and uplifting" (p. 212). Supporting Campbell's (2000) research, Schwimmer and Maxwell (2017) stated "the more open and flexible [code] has the advantage of enlarging the range of possible situations and ethical concerns... Of Course, what is gained in terms of openness is lost in terms of precision" (p. 146). When comparing the 2000 Code to the 2017 Code, there are pieces, both missing and added, that serve to enhance and diminish its clarity.

For example, an added 2017 feature was the Committee's recommendation to "...return to the practice of organizing articles in the Code of Professional Ethics under relevant headings in order to enhance readability and coherency" (STF, 2016, p. 17). The headings proposed were: Commitments to the Profession, Commitments to Teaching and Learning, and Commitments to the Community (STF, 2016). As a result of changing Code headings, the Committee also recommended revising the introductory statement to better reflect the Code's reorganization (STF, 2016). In short, the headings that were deleted in the 2000 edition were replaced in the 2017 edition.

However, deleted from the 2017 Code were three articles previously included in the 2000 version of the Code. The deleted articles, listed below were reminiscent of historical codes. To explain:

- "To develop teaching practices that recognize and accommodate diversity within the classroom, the school and the community" (STF, 2000a, p. 7) was deleted in 2017, but included in 2000. Shades of this item were seen in the 1957 Code: "Recognize the differences among students and seek to meet their individual needs (STF, 1957a, p. 1).
- "To seek to meet the needs of students by designing the most appropriate learning experience for them" (STF, 2000a, p. 7) was deleted in 2017, but included in 2000. Shades of this item were seen in the 1973 Code: "To seek constantly to better serve the needs of students by designing the most appropriate learning experiences for them (STF, 1973b, p. 1).
- "To implement the provincial curriculum conscientiously and diligently, taking into account the context for teaching and learning provided by students, the school and the community" (STF, 2000a, p. 7) was deleted in 2017, but included in 2000. Shades of this

item were seen in the 1935 Canon: "To teach diligently and faithfully all the subjects required to be taught by the regulations of the department" (STF, 1935b, p. 8).

The committee suggested that the above three articles be "moved to the Standards of Practice [Code] because they [were] more directly related to teaching practice than to ethics" (STF, 2016, p. 18). Whether or not the articles should have been moved is debatable. If ethics are "the study of right and wrong; that part of science and philosophy dealing with moral conduct, duty and judgement" (Avis, et al., 1963, p. 303), would it not stand to reason that conscientious implementation of the curricula, meeting the needs of students and accommodating diversity are expected duties of teachers and thus ethical obligations? Conversely, Banda (1999) might applaud the removal of the three articles to the Standards of Practice code as she wrote, "for the purpose of ethics, it is important to concentrate on issues of value judgement" (p. 10) rather than legal, contractual or competency issues. Erstwhile other researchers such as Keniston (1965), said that ethics and morals are opposite sides of a spectrum and that morals tell professions "nothing at all" (p. 631). Iacovino's (2002) work proposed that ethics and law should not be in opposition to one another, but rather act in complementary ways, thereby suggesting that Codes of Ethics possibly should include legal responsibilities. As such, there are both supporting and opposing arguments for the rescinding and replacing of items in a Code of Ethics to other related codes.

At first glance, when comparing the present-day Code to the 2000 version it replaced, there are no large and glaring differences. The remaining eighteen articles included in the 2000 Code (three of the twenty-one were moved to Standards of Practice) were all present and accounted for with minor language changes in 2017. However, a closer look at the fine print does reveal some interesting features. The 1935, 1957, and 1973 Codes all include either Duties, Principles, or Commitments to the students. This category is missing in the 2017 version. Though Commitments to Teaching and Learning had become a heading, four of the seven articles included in this section entailed: providing professional services, responding generously to colleagues, protecting the educational program from exploitation, and the proper method of evaluating the work of others which are Duties/Principles/Commitments to the Profession. These four articles are incompatible with expectations related to obligations to students, which were

included in previous Codes. In fact, in the 2017 Code, only three of the seven articles in the Commitments to Teaching and Learning category directly mentioned students. These are:

- To treat each student justly, considerately and appropriately in accordance with the beliefs of the profession.
- To respect the right of students to form their own judgements based upon knowledge.
- To support each student in reaching their highest levels of individual growth, across intellectual, social-emotional, spiritual and physical domains. (STF, 2017c, p. 40)

Other examples of items included in inharmonious sections are numerous. An example is: "To inform an associate before making a valid criticism and to inform the associate of the nature of the criticism before referring the criticism to appropriate officials," (STF, 2017c, p. 41) is included in the Community section whereas in previous Codes, this would have been included in the Profession section. Though arguments could be made about why each article is included where it is, no documentation exists detailing explicitly why the articles in any one section were organized the way they were and no study guide was provided with the 2017 Code.

Another incongruous item to note in the 2017 Code relates to how parents are addressed. Although this Code mentioned keeping "parents and the school community informed of and appropriately involved in decisions about educational programs" (STF, 2017c, p. 41), in the Commitments to Community section there is no further mention of parents. The 2017 Code's minor mentioning of parents contrasts with previous Codes which included items such as "establishing cooperative relationships with the home" and recognizing that the schools "belong to the people of the community" (STF, 1957a, p. 2). Further to this point, the current Commitments to Community section seems to take into consideration the larger educational community. More specifically, the 2017 Code expects that teachers "respect the various roles and responsibilities of individuals involved in the educational community" (STF, 2017c, p. 41). 'Individuals involved in the educational community' could mean not just the school and parents, but government officials and those in support roles such as Special Education Specialists, School Counsellors, Physical Therapists and so on. It could also take into consideration those employed in positions with the League of Educational Administrators, Directors, and Superintendents of Saskatchewan (LEADS). Those who could be included on the 'educational community' list

seems much larger than the school community referred to in previous Codes. Added to the Community section on 2017 is the expectation that teachers "... strive for the appropriate implementation and enforcement of legislation, regulations, bylaws, and policies enacted by the Ministry responsible for PreK-12 education, school divisions and schools" (STF, 2017c, p. 41). The 2017 Code's inclusion of Ministerial activities is also curious. This article includes much more detail than its predecessor, which read: "... seek to be aware of the need for changes in local association, Federation, school, school division and Department of Learning policies and regulations and actively pursue such changes" (STF, 2000a, p. 7). In this example the language that is used is of interest. In 2000 teachers were expected to 'seek to be aware' while in 2017 they were expected to 'strive for the appropriate implementation and enforcement of'. There is a large difference from being *expected to know about* versus *striving to implement and enforce*, and the new use of the word 'enforce' logically responds to new notions of teacher regulation.

The 2017 Code places far more emphasis on the Ministry as the sole catalyst for the legislation, regulations, bylaws, and policies that teachers were expected to implement and enforce as compared to the previous code. The 2000 Code recognized a larger number of interacting education stakeholders. This new emphasis on government as primarily responsible for teacher expectations could logically be explained by the differences in the governments that were in power when the two Codes were written. For instance, the 2000 Code was written in a time of NDP governance, when the more cooperative and collaborative relationship between the government and STF apparently existed. The 2017 Code was written in a time of Saskatchewan Party governance, when the government mandated agendas to the STF and the cooperative relationship between them seemingly disintegrated. Not only was the SPTRB created without support from the STF, the Saskatchewan Party also legislated calendar changes in the Education Act, 2015 stating that "... (4.1), the earliest day that a board of education... may set as the first instructional day in a school year is the first day following Labour Day [and]... The latest day that a board of education... may set as the last instructional day in a school year is June 30" (Province of Saskatchewan, 2015, p. 94). As part of its budget in 2017, the Saskatchewan Party also cut education funding by 54 million dollars, though "A \$30-million increase to classroom spending in the 2018-19 provincial budget restore[d] little more than half" (Martin, 2018, para. 1) of what was cut the year before.

Mandated items and funding cuts aside, the STF documented in its *Educational Governance Review Report* that the school was fundamental to the center of any given community and that "the health and vitality of education is a shared responsibility among the school, communities, and government" (STF, 2017d, p. 7). Perhaps it is in the STF's acknowledgement of the government being "responsible for the establishment and oversight of governance and administrative structures and supports" (STF, 2017d, p. 7) that made this article read as it did. Finally, the placement of this article in the Code is noteworthy as it seems more suited to Professional commitments than commitments to the Community.

Finally, a focus that did not appear in other Codes until 2017 is the concept of Saskatchewan having a "publicly funded public education system" (STF, 2017, p. 40). This phrase prefaces the 2017 Code of Ethics and also appears in a multitude of other STF documents, thereby indicating that the STF sees this as being of upmost importance. Perhaps this became a strong focus for the STF because the Saskatchewan Party was and continues to be, strong proponents for privatization. Logically, there may have been a renewed fear of ideas that were first spoken about in 1960's newspaper headlines including possibilities of private schools, merit pay, and standardized testing – all plausible under a right-wing government.

All of the proposed changes to the Code of Ethics were discussed and formally voted on in the fall of 2016 and implemented the following year. The 2017 Code approved by Council in April 2017 remains the Code in use today.

Summing up the Ethical Time Period

The Code of Ethics did not change during the 2000-2016 period other than its place in the bylaws section of the *STF Governance Handbook*. In fact, there were no broad or sweeping changes made to the STF Code of Ethics, even as the 2000 Code was revised in 2017. However, broad and sweeping changes did unfold in the area of teacher regulation when the SPTRB became a reality in 2015. Though this dissertation is not intended to be a historical analysis of teacher disciplinary structures in Saskatchewan, it seems that disciplinary structures put in place

Privatization in Saskatchewan: A pocket timeline created by the Saskatchewan Office of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives chronologically demonstrates the pronounced acceleration of the number and type of privatization initiatives under the Saskatchewan Party Government. See this document at https://www.sgeu.org/public/images/Media_Room/Privitization-Pocket-Timeline-Dec_2015.pdf

as a result of legislation have been an important catalyst for changes to the Code of Ethics. As such, changes to teacher regulation become a piece of the whole when discussing the evolving STF Code of Ethics.

As a result of the growing distrust over teacher discipline, media coverage, Kendel's (2013) report and recommendations, and the subsequent mandating of the SPTRB, the notion of competence and regulation took center stage. In response to perceptions of professional misconduct and incompetence as well as changes to *The Teachers' Federation Act*, 2006 and *Teacher Regulation Act*, 2015, the STF created a Code of Collective Interests and a Standard of Practice Code. These codes consequently changed the direction of the Code of Ethics as well as the professional obligations that were included in it.

This time period signifies a marked change in the Code of Ethics in that professional obligations are listed first. No other Code of Ethics prior to 2000 had ever given ethical obligations to the profession first priority. The 2000s also signifies the moving of employment and competence expectations to other code documents begging questions about what items constitute ethical obligations. The 2017 Code enunciates the impact that the government had on education legislation and as a result, calls into question the evolving relationship between the Ministry of Education and the STF. As in all ethical time periods previously discussed, it appears that changes to legislation directly impacted teacher discipline and changes to teacher discipline directly impacted changes to the Code of Ethics. The type of government in power – left or right leaning – influenced the STF's control of teacher discipline. In the early 2000s under an NDP government, we see more disciplinary power given to the STF. By 2015, under a Saskatchewan Party government, we see disciplinary powers taken away from the STF. Since the STF Code of Ethics has always changed as a result of legislation (Banda, 1999), one wonders if an ethical code really is of primary significance as an emblem of the profession and how such codes might evolve in the future.

CHAPTER 7

Pulling The Ideas Together

It must be reiterated that this is not a dissertation discussing the definition of profession, the professionalization of the teaching profession, or the regulation of teacher behaviour. It is not a dissertation discussing Saskatchewan's political, economic and social history. It is not a dissertation highlighting contrasts and comparisons between morals, values, laws, and ethics. It is however, a historical analysis of how the STF Code of Ethics has evolved from 1935 to the present. Though paradoxical in nature, it is nonetheless true that all of the ideas (Lovejoy, 1948) encompassing all of the things this dissertation is not, informs what it is.

This research aims to examine the Code as it unfolded in particular contexts, over time, using a historical perspective. In this final chapter, I will address key ideas that have arisen from the analysis presented, and make recommendations for future formulations of a present-day Code of Ethics based on these historical findings.

What is Revealed in the Historical Analysis of the Code?

Emerging key ideas

History cannot be discounted when researching a profession's ethical code. Tracing an organization's ethical history tells us about where the organization has been, informs us about its present state, and helps to light a path forward. It is impossible to grasp the full picture of the STF's ethical past "without some perception of where it fits into a continuing process" (Tosh, 1991, p. 1). When we utilize history as a "collective memory" and as a "storehouse of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and future prospects" (Tosh, 1991, p. 1), we can better understand the overall purpose of ethical codes and what they expect of us as professionals. It is fascinating to think that by looking into the multifaceted history of the STF, that better understanding can be gained about where ethics stood in the flow of time and where ethics may lie in the future. After investigating the evolving STF Codes of Ethics, several key ideas emerged.

KEY IDEA #1: STF Codes of Ethics are ideologically responsive

Due to the scope of this research, it may seem unnecessary to point out that the STF Code of Ethics has evolved in context with an ever-changing society. Nevertheless, a recurring key

idea that has emerged from this historical analysis is that the Code of Ethics is ideologically responsive. That is, the Code has always been revised in response to societal and cultural shifts, government policy, and ever-changing professional norms. History verifies that as culture and society rapidly fluctuate, new Code content must be "reconciled with old [content and] ever more general principles... [are] needed to affect their synthesis" (Keniston, 1965, p. 629).

Prior to the Canon, teachers' work was dictated by a set of rules stipulating everything from skirt length and hair colour, to where, what, and with whom teachers could spend their leisure time. Leaving very little to individual interpretation, the Canon identified teachers' ethical responsibilities as 'duties,' thereby implying obligation rather than choice. In the years of provincial settlement, professional conduct was synonymous with moral uprightness. Spiritual principles alongside curriculum objectives, were expected to be propagated in schools across the province. Teachers of unquestionable moral standards were to "... instill in the next generation a sense of obedience to a rigid moral and religious code" (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 149) To a large degree the 1935 Canon articulated via professional expectations, the thinking of the dominant Anglo-Protestant elite and emphasized the need for nationalism. That is, the Canon (STF, 1935b) emphasized the government's hope for "...rediscovery and restoration of the nation's unique cultural identity... [a return] to one's authentic roots in the historic culture community inhabiting its ancestral homeland" (Smith, 2001, pp. 33-34). The school was the training ground meant to teach British norms and values where teachers would break children of their home traditions and encourage their students in "Anglo-Saxon ideals, traits, and historic traditions" (Foght, 1918, p. 18). In keeping with the Great Depression, the 1935 Canon's contents mirrored the collective action being taken by Saskatchewan citizens in response to economic dispersity. It extolled the need for teachers to both obey and collaborate with the government, school boards, and Department of Education (STF, 1935b) in order to reach "comprehensive understanding" (STF, 1935b, p. 8).

Though moderated in tone and explicitness, the 1957 Code remained nationalistic and moral as evidenced in both society and its opening preamble:

Since the ultimate strength of the nation lies in the social responsibility, economic competence, and moral strength of the individual Canadian, the primary obligation of the teaching profession is to guide the students in the pursuit of knowledge and skills, to

prepare them in the ways of democracy, and to help them to become happy, useful and self-supporting citizens. (STF, 1957a, p. 1)

The notion of collectivism was still societally prevalent and could be found not as much in the contents of the 1957 Code, as in the manner in which it was written. Its predecessor considered much too lengthy, the 1957 Code was four pages instead of seven and created at a grassroots level, employing the opinions of teachers from all across the province in order to formulate its contents.

As the one-page 1973 Code emerged, the idea of explicitly following the rules without complaint, being in subservience to those in authority, and communally reaching consensus was usurped by an increasing need for rule flexibility and sense of individualism. Teachers expressed their wishes that the Code become more flexible and less moralistic (STF, 1972a) since the old one had "interfered with their individuality" (STF, 1972a, p. 1). No longer as didactic or duty-driven, the 1973 Code's content mirrored a shifting society that allowed for individual interpretation, which was now more accepted than in years past.

The 2000 Code reflected society's "accepting attitude towards the country's ethnic diversity" (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003, p. 4) and fully excluded any references to teacher conduct, morals, or citizenship. For the first time, professional obligations were placed above students, parents, and community and any statements relating to employer expectations and employment contracts were removed. As the media began reporting on educational matters such as standardized tests, merit pay, teacher image, and disciplinary accountability the 2000 Code included teacher competency and its linkage to public trust. By 2017, as the government stripped the STF of its disciplinary functions and mandated the SPTRB, the Code placed a corresponding emphasis on "...implementation and enforcement of legislation, regulations, bylaws, and policies enacted by the Ministry responsible for PreK-12 education, school divisions and schools" (STF, 2017c, p. 41). During a time of unprecedented breakdown of trust among society and teachers and the government and the STF, the Code placed its strongest yet emphasis on responsibilities to the profession.

Changes to the STF Code of Ethics have historically been in response to shifts in any one of or a combination of economy, government, and societal changes. As evidenced, the Code of

Ethics is intrinsically tied to context. In other words, the evolution of the Code is inherently embedded with evolving context.

KEY IDEA #2: STF Codes of Ethics are political

Education can be viewed as a political act. Ozga (1995) maintained that "Professionalism is best understood in context, and particularly in policy context" (p. 22). Robertson and Dale (2013) reinforced this notion, stating that "education is governed through policies, politics, and practices" (p. 433). Furthering the notions that education is governed through politics and that teachers are implementors of legislation (Bascia & Rottmann, 2011), history substantiates time and again that the type of interaction between the STF and the governing party has always translated into legislation directly impacting teachers. When interactions were positive, the STF were typically successful in bargaining with and lobbying the government for gains in unionistic items (such as wage and benefits) and/or professional responsibilities (such as disciplinary functions). When interactions were negative, the STF typically did not lobby the government and nearly always saw setbacks to unionistic and/or professional responsibilities. Changes to the STF Code of Ethics seem to have always been brought about by the "...dynamic interchange occurring in socio-political-cultural negotiations of power, wherein players use the currency of their economic, social and cultural capital to frame and construct events and understandings" (Grimmett & Young, 2012, p.170).

As has been pointed out, STF negotiations with the Liberal government in 1935 resulted in the *Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act*, 1935. In accordance with new legislation formally recognizing teachers as a profession, the government required that the STF create a Code of Ethics. In 1948 and again in 1970, the STF lobbied the CCF government for increased disciplinary powers which resulted in changes to *The Saskatchewan Teachers Act*. Changes to the *Act* resulted in revisions to the Code of Ethics. While the Liberals (1964-1971) were in power, they tried to enact legislation intended to create more equity among teachers by shifting from local to area bargaining (STF, 2016). Under Progressive Conservatives rule, the government tried to enact legislation that would have divided the STF into two separate bodies – one to perform union activities and the other to discipline its members (Dahlem & Crozier-Smith, 2009). Though the Liberal and Progressive Conservative's proposed policies never materialized in legislation, at these times, neither were there changes to the Code of Ethics. After

undergoing "months of intense lobbying of government officials" (STF, 1999a, p. 3) the STF saw changes to *The Saskatchewan Teachers' Act, 1997* under an NDP government. Changes to the *Act* resulted in the STF remaining a unitary organization, but one that split its disciplinary processes internally into three newly mandated committees: Professional Ethics, Professional Competency, and Collective Interests (STF, 1999). Legislative changes and disciplinary function increases resulted once again in revisions to the Code of Ethics. Under Saskatchewan Party rule (2007-Present), the government legislated *The Registered Teachers Act, 2015* which effectively rescinded the STF's power to discipline its own members accused of professional incompetence and professional misconduct. Disciplinary duties were handed over to the SPTRB. Changes to legislation and mandating of the SPTRB once again resulted in changes to the Code of Ethics.

The affiliation of government policy and educational matters is interchangeable and inseparable. As the STF evolved through time, its two-pronged nature of being both a professional organization and a political body has highly impacted relations between the STF and the government, and thus the Code of Ethics. Changes to Code of Ethics have never been simultaneous with changing legislation, nor have Code revisions ever preceded or been independent of legislative changes. As evidenced, the Code of Ethics seems to have always been reactionary to political activity. In other words, the connection between changing legislation leading to revised Codes is dependent on the ideology of the government in power.

KEY IDEA #3: STF Codes of Ethics have shifted in tone

Historically, the ethical codes of the STF have shifted from being entirely regulatory in tone to nearly exclusively aspirational. No matter how, in what ways, and why the Code has evolved through time, there has always been both philosophical features included alongside mandated professional obligations. The balance of these two features has not always been equal as a result of contextual factors.

Various researchers have published their thoughts on what items ought to be included in codes and how they should read. For example, Codes of Ethics can generally be identified by the tone they take (Van Nuland, 2009). Aspirational codes "are meant to positively inspire professionals to try and achieve a certain ideal of professional conduct and do not explicitly position themselves as having a disciplinary function" (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 142). Regulatory codes "generally explicitly state that members can face disciplinary action if the

standards outlined in the code are breached" (Banks, in Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 142). As Codes should "describe duties professionals must perform, conduct they must forgo and situations they must avoid" (Fullinwider, 1996, p. 72), there is no need to separate the dual nature of professional aspirations and regulations.

When looking at the historical evolution of the STF Code of Ethics, an evolution of content tone can easily be traced. For example, the 1915 Rules for Teachers stated:

You may not dress in bright colours... You may not under any circumstances dye your hair... Your dress must not be any shorter than two inches above the ankle... Sweep the floor at least once daily; scrub the floor at least once a week with hot, soapy water; clean the blackboards at least once a day; start the fire at 7:00 a.m. so the room will be warm by 8:00 a.m... (Evolution of Education Museum, 1872 & 1915, p. 1)

In this case, there are no aspirational statements that speak to the philosophical values underlining the teaching profession.

As in 1915, the 1935 Canon was exclusively regulatory in tone, calling the Canon a "set of rules which particularize all the duties of the teacher" (STF, 1935b, p. 7). Indeed, all included ethical considerations in the Canon are referred to as 'duties.' Following the line "It is the duty of the teacher" were lists of obligations beginning with strong verbs. For example, teachers were to cooperate, avoid, seek, submit, send, exercise vigilance over, report, deliver up, familiarize, accept, teach, maintain, organize, provide, secure, refrain from and so on (STF, 1935b). There were no overtly aspirational statements. Rather, the Canon (STF, 1935b) was a large document of forty-five highly detailed duties such as: "To keep in a conspicuous place in the school room a timetable showing the classification of pupils, the subjects taught each day and the length of each class period; and to submit such timetable to the inspector for his approval on the occasion of his visit to the school" (STF, 1935b, p. 9). The entire document specified chores, duties, and behaviours expected of the teacher.

The Code of 1957 was a mix of aspirational and regulatory statements, with more obligations than philosophical statements. For example, the document began with a preamble stating: "We, the members of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, hold these truths to be self-evident" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). Underneath this opening line, four aspirational 'truths' were stated. For example: "... that the primary purpose of education is to develop individuals to the fullest

realization of their potentialities" (STF, 1957a, p. 1). Following the four aspirational statements, thirty-four ethical responsibilities were laid out in four categories preceded by the edict "In fulfilling the obligations of this principle, the teacher will…" (STF, 1957a, p. 1-4). In this way, the 1957 Code was more regulatory than aspirational.

Despite teachers' concerns that the 1957 Code was too rigid, the 1973 Code still employed a regulatory tone, though not as descriptive as before. No longer prefaced with upheld beliefs of the profession, the 1973 Code included four sections that, like the 1935 Canon, all began with verbs. For example: "To adhere to...", "to engage in...", "to render...", (STF, 1973b, p. 1). However, the contents of each obligation were no longer as prescriptive as they had been in previous codes. To demonstrate, teachers were "to deal justly and considerately with each student" (STF, 1973b, p. 1), but no details were given as to how the teacher would accomplish this task, leaving the enactment of the obligation largely up to individual interpretation. In this way, the 1973 Code can be viewed as both aspirational and regulatory.

The 2000 and 2017 Codes are alike in tone in that regulatory items read in an aspirational way. For example: "To make the teaching profession attractive in ideals and practices so that people will desire to enter it" (STF, 2000a, p. 7). Teachers were 'to make' the profession 'attractive' but no details were given about how to enact the 'ideals' and 'practices' that would make teaching desirable to the public. "To implement the provincial curriculum conscientiously and diligently..." (STF, 2000a, p. 7) lacks information that was once included as to how to diligently teach including 'familiarizing himself' with the contents of legislation and curricula in order to be "in accordance with the regulations of the department" (STF, 1935b, p. 8). In this way, modern Codes can be viewed as more aspirational than regulatory, letting each individual teacher decide for him/her self...

...how far [their] conduct should rise about the minimum standard that is acceptable to the profession... within the particular context that shapes each individual's teaching practice, keeping in mind the responsibility that a professional has to the public. (STF, 2000a, p. 5)

Indeed, history shows that Codes logically cannot "attempt to foresee and deal with all potential problems" (STF, 2000a, p. 5) and interpretations because the "varied relations of [a teacher's] professional life" (STF, 1935b, p. 7) is impossible to articulate in an ethical code. That

said, history also proves that Codes must at least "provide a framework of behavioural principles and reference points" (STF, 2000a, p. 5) "designed to protect the public by ensuring that services from members of the profession are provided in a competent and ethical manner" (Manitoba Law Reform Commission, in Randall, 2005, para. 4). Even the 1935 Canon expressed that "the teacher has responsibilities beyond those of an ordinary citizen" (STF, 1935b, p. 7). Code content guiding the conduct of teachers has only gained importance in a modern world where teacher behaviour is reported in the media and regulated by the government.

As Monteiro (2015) pointed out, the ethical dimension for teachers is more demanding than other professions because teachers constantly deal with the public (p. 69). Teachers cannot afford to make decisions based on individual interpretations because if their "competence and conduct are not professionally acceptable, the profession's public image is significantly and negatively affected…" (p. 74). As evidenced, changes in the Code of Ethics' tone have evolved from completely regulatory to nearly exclusively aspirational. Code tone can and should be viewed in context with an evolving society, especially in light of the ever-increasing desire for transparent processes and protection of the public trust.

Recommendations for Future Codes

Arising from the key ideas that emerged as a result of historical analysis, I propose the following recommendations concerning future STF Codes of Ethics.

Knowledge of ethical codes should never be assumed but rather promoted and expected

Having a perfect representation of every teachers' thoughts being reflected in future Codes of Ethics is virtually impossible. So too is believing that just because opportunities are offered to teachers to participate in having their ethical viewpoints heard, that teachers will choose to contribute. That said, the process of gathering viewpoints would be infinitely easier if ethics discussions were happening in a regular fashion across all levels of education with all stakeholders on a consistent and ongoing basis. Currently, the STF "must not assume that all teachers have read, accepted, and implemented equally the principles outlined in the present Code of Ethics" (Banda, 1999, p. 16). Because knowledge of the Code and Code discussions are not ongoing at all levels of the organization, the STF "must find a way to ensure that all teachers are aware that the STF has a Code of Ethics and that they are familiar with its content" and realize that even if all teachers are aware of and have read the Code that "they will not all be at

the same level of ethical behaviour and awareness" (Banda, 1999, p. 16, 17). It must be further acknowledged that professionals are on what I might refer to as an ethical continuum. On one extreme there are those professionals who are aware the Code exists, but do not know its contents or can only repeat the most commonly referred to articles (for example: letting a colleague know of a criticism before reporting that criticism to a higher authority). On the other extreme there are those professionals who have full understanding of the Code and likely seek out professional opportunities that will increase their ethical knowledge. In the middle of the continuum is an entire range of professionals with varying degrees of ethical knowledge as well as various levels of care, enthusiasm, and effort in enacting the Code. As first suggested in 1935, it is of utmost importance that STF Ethics Committees, STF staff, and every teacher in the province be in constant awareness of their professional obligations and "painstakingly study" the Code (STF, 1937, p. 21).

Awareness and enactment level of the STF Code of Ethics has historically been problematic. Several sources in the 1930s and 1940s stated that knowledge of ethics and ethics instruction needed to become a priority in all teachers from Normal School students to veterans of the field. In the 1950s it appears that understanding the STF Code of Ethics was made a priority. Before the 1957 Code was completed, articles and case studies regarding ethics and law were published in *The Bulletin* and current Code content was discussed in schools, at Council, and at workshops throughout the province. In years following, the STF Code of Ethics has not received the same vigor of discussion, creation, and implementation thus making the edicts of the 1930s and 1940s once again viable. Not only is Code awareness and understanding an issue, further "Problems arise when codes of professional conduct have been merely memorized, and not analyzed, debated or examined thoroughly from an ethical perspective" (Boon, 2011, p. 81). It is therefore once again imperative to promote, invite, and expect teachers to participate in mandatory ethics workshops, discussions, and other such professional development opportunities. Without each individual teacher's visceral knowledge of their STF Code, it is unreasonable to expect that teachers would be excited to share their ethical viewpoints in an attempt to create a present-day Code using a 1950s approach.

Ethical codes must identify what is important and be co-authored

Simply calling together a committee of interested teachers to revise the Code or create another, is not ethically sufficient.

Although it is very time consuming and difficult to write a code of ethics without the use of another as a guide, such a process would guarantee a true, unbiased examination of the profession's ethical principles. If core values were identified and then formulated into ethical principles, it would be a true reflection of teachers' beliefs today and not a simple update of the old. (Banda, 1999, p. 9)

Banda's (1999) notion supports that of Keniston (1965) when he said that ethics must be redefined each generation. Ethical codes and the professional standards contained in them must be re-enunciated as time and context evolve, especially in times of regulation "when the nature of professionalism is being re-assessed" (Iacovino, 2002, p. 71). "The STF went to great lengths in 1954-57 to write a code which truly reflected the teachers of Saskatchewan" (Banda, 1999, p. 9) and their personalized experience. Teachers' opinions and thoughts on ethics were solicited, questionnaires were formatted and sent out, and workshops were held across the province all in an effort to create a grassroots code that represented educators' views on what should be included. In a nutshell, the process for writing the Code was reflected in its contents. It is important to note that the process undertaken in the 50s has never again been utilized and I would argue that this process should be reinstated when the Code undergoes future changes. When ethics committees have a strong understanding of prior Codes and the history that made them what they were, they can ultimately write a more thoughtful and responsive Code that reflects where teachers have been, where they are currently, and where they might be in the future. Though time consuming and potentially expensive, the STF should consider revisiting their Code revision process. Codes that are written with their own history in mind are authentically evolutional, responding to the needs of the here and now.

Codes of ethics need to be taught

Not only do ethics need to be thought about through a historical lens and reevaluated as time and context change, they also need to become an evergreen educational focus. "Ethics need

to be both integrated with the professional standards and taught in a standalone subject" (Boon, 2011, p. 89) to not only preservice teachers, but to teachers already inside of the profession, no matter how many years of service they have accrued. More specifically, teachers already inside of the profession should receive ongoing and mandatory ethics training. Pre-service teachers should receive extensive ethics training and understanding before they leave university and have direct contact with the public as practitioners (Abbott, 1988). Ethics training opportunities could be implemented by the STF itself, or created and presented by school divisions or local associations throughout the province. As the 1942 Professional Code of Ethics Committee reported in *The Bulletin*,

It is the duty of the STF through its administrative officers to instruct persons seeking entrance to the profession in the tenants of the ethical code. Intending teachers should be fully acquainted with their duties towards authorities and towards their fellow members, so as to avoid as far as possible the extreme measure of adjustment of differences in the courts of law. (STF, 1942, p. 16)

The 1942 Committee also published its suggestion that "an intensive and continued educational campaign" be started "with the aim of further extending fraternal understanding" of the Code of Ethics across teacher training facilities, local organizations, in *The Bulletin* and in schools (STF Bulletin, 1942, p. 15). The STF should contemplate re-employing these 1942 suggestions now in an effort to get teachers all over the province on the same ethical page.

Opportunity for ethical dilemmas to be openly discussed is central to understanding and enacting one's ethical code. One way to do this is to use the STF Code of Ethics as a document for continuous study and discussion. Teaching educators *how to think* rather than *what to think* (Martin, 2000) when ethical issues arise makes the Code a meaningful and living pedagogical document. Because Codes of Ethics can also be utilized by the public and educational stakeholders to "inform their understanding and expectations of the teaching profession," (The Teaching Council in Ireland, 2016, p. 4) it would be a good idea for the STF to develop educational ethics workshops for non-teachers who are trying to better comprehend the role of the teacher, public, and education profession. Educating the wider public about teachers' professional expectations and job complexity could serve as a tool in bridging gaps in educational stakeholders' relationships and their understandings with and about teachers. With

current regulation measures in place and the media reporting on teachers' ethical infractions, having the general public educated and aware of teachers' ethical codes is more important than ever before. Whereas school teachers were once unquestioned in their practice, discipline, and moral standards, they are now responsible to the public to unequivocally prove their professionalism. Ethics education can only help to create common understandings and unity between educators and the public.

Once a system is in place for system-wide ethics education, attention can be turned to who should author ethical codes. Taking a page out of the 1935 Canon, STF Executive and teachers should not be the only contributors to the Code. The Canon of 1935 stated that it was the duties of teachers to cooperate, to arrive at comprehensive understandings and to seek the advice and assistance from employees in the Department of Education (STF, 1935b). In subsequent Codes, various stakeholders of education are mentioned to varying degrees. For example, the 2000 Code mentions local associations, the Federation, schools, school divisions, and the Department of Learning. If we see education as an interconnected relationship of the profession, the government, and the community all working for the betterment of students, would it not make sense that all educational stakeholders contribute in varying degrees to the formation of Ethical Codes? For example, teachers could contribute to articulating overall ethical values, professional expectations and competency requirements. School Board and LEADS members could contribute to articulating contractual and employment expectations. The Ministry of Education could contribute to articulating legal and curricula expectations. Community members could contribute to articulating public trust expectations. Having a comprehensive representation of all stakeholders contributing their expertise would help to not only guide professional behaviour, but also would reinforce public trust in the profession (Abbott, 1988; Banks, 2003).

Research demonstrates that teaching is highly politicized and "the tension between professional autonomy and external control is key to understanding debates around the role and the value of a code of ethics..." (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 144). As increasing regulatory measures are imposed, and the Ministry of Education dictates everything from the school year calendar to the curriculum through various pieces of legislation, it is clear that "education is governed through policies, politics, and practices" (Robertson & Dale, 2013, p. 433). As educators can be viewed as implementers of policy created by superiors (Bascai & Rottmann, 2011), then "a teacher's professional judgement with respect to the best interests of

their students never overrides what the State or its agents decide is in the best interests of those same students" (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017, p. 144). As such, even though stakeholders of education must cooperate and should seek mutual understandings, it is important to recognize that ethical codes are documents which secure compliance with government policy (Goodin, 2017). A Code of Ethics is also a social contract between the profession and society in exchange for the right to be autonomous (Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017). However, it should also be acknowledged that a teacher's job and their ethical obligations are not altogether self-directed and are in large part dictated by a number of forces including the government, the public, and the professional organization itself. Therefore, teachers are accountable to society through their ethical conduct, but they are also obligated to larger legal ramifications enacted by the government. Opening the Code of Ethics up to being a co-created teacher/government/public document may be appropriate.

The risk that the policies and regulatory practices of a profession will be viewed as being in conflict with the public interest is hugely diminished if the public is deeply engaged in the development of the profession's policies and in its regulation of its members in the public interest. People are always more trusting and supportive of policies they helped to create and processes that they co-manage. (Kendel, 2013, p. 15)

Co-creating an STF Code that thoroughly documents public trust expectations, legal obligations and professional competencies would ensure that the Code of Ethics is inclusive and responsive to the realities of education in our present climate.

Ethical codes must be clearly articulated in tone, title, content, and enforcement

Codes of ethics have generally been classified as either aspirational or regulatory. "Those developing ethical codes must confront their positions on this distinction head-on..." (Campbell, 2000, p. 208). Soltis (1986) supported codes which clearly clarify basic responsibilities and bluntly state obligations. Codes that are written with "much greater specificity and fewer vague statements of broad generality" (Haynes, 1998 as cited in Campbell, 2000, p. 213) openly articulate professional responsibilities and guide teachers confronted with complex ethical dilemmas about what response would be most appropriate (Campbell, 2000).

Regardless of whether the tone of an ethical code is aspirational or regulatory in nature, teacher organizations around the world seldom use a consistent title when referring to the Code of Ethics. In fact, a Codes of Ethics can be called all manner of titles including: codes of professional conduct, codes of professional ethics, standards of the profession, and so on. The STF also has a number of codes and policies all with analogous purposes. The Code of Professional Ethics lists ethical ideals, The Standards of Practice lists competent teaching practices, the Code of Collective Interests lists employment, contractual, and collective agreement expectations, and the Teacher Success policy refers to "the ongoing attainment of desired professional goals by individual teachers..." (STF, 2018, p. 79). Though research both supports (Banda, 1999) and opposes (Iacovino, 2002) keeping ethical codes free of contractual obligations and competency issues, it is interesting to note that for sixty-five years (1935-2000) of the STF's history, the items presently contained in multiple codes were in some capacity enclosed in one document called the Code of Ethics. One wonders what the purpose of superfluous codes are other than being a cause of confusion, especially in those teachers who do not fully grasp the contents of their ethical code alone? If ethics are defined as professional duties, then it should be acknowledged that honoring employment obligations and enacting job requirements competently are overall ethical obligations and should be contained in the Code of Ethics. Several places in the world use one document that encompasses ethical ideals, competency expectations, and employment and legal responsibilities. The one code generally serves a three-fold purpose: 1) it serves as a "guiding compass as teachers seek to steer an ethical and respectful course... in teaching and to uphold the honor and dignity of the profession" (The Teaching Council in Ireland, 2012, p. 4), 2) it serves as a way to inform the wider education community and the public about expectations of the teaching profession, and 3) complementary to legislation, it is used as a reference point in exercising disciplinary functions dealing with issues such as unprofessionalism, misconduct, incompetence, and fitness to teach. If a one-code system works other places in the world, why should it not be reemployed here in Saskatchewan? Having one code – the Code of Ethics – could eliminate confusion and allow for more comprehensive understanding of the many ethical responsibilities teachers must embody on a regular basis.

Ethical codes can become further confusing when moralistic language is used in its contents. Morals are intrinsically embedded into the practice of teaching (Sockett, 1990) and as

such, should not be the sole focus of an ethical code. Though a moral code "provides a rule book for behavior... an ethical system merely offers ideals without specifying the precise way to obtain them" (Keniston, 1965, p. 629). Teachers can obey their ingrained sense of morality by acting on the dictates of their conscience. Teachers obey their profession's Code of Ethics by hesitating, thinking, reflecting, and pondering on what the profession expects before acting. Following an ethical code means continually risking conflict between professional expectations and personal morals (Keniston, 1965). Teachers cannot afford to make decisions based on "moral subjectivity and relativity" because if their "competence and conduct are not professionally acceptable, the profession's public image is significantly and negatively affected..." (Monteiro, 2015, p. 74). Furthermore, morals differ from teacher to teacher. For example, "To act at all times in a way that maintains the honour and dignity of the individual teacher and the teaching profession" (STF, 2017c, p. 40) can be interpreted as many ways as there are teachers in Saskatchewan. Each individual teacher's sense of what acting honorably and with dignity means will be reflected in their practice. Unless the moral behaviours of acting honorably and with integrity are defined as precise duties, teachers will be relying only on their personal morals, which may or may not meet ethical standards expected by the profession. Though principles such as "trust, integrity, honesty, justice, and care form the values fundamental to professional accountability and they are firmly rooted in the practice of teaching" (Campbell, 2000, p. 209), they cannot form the entirety of ethical codes. Morals and virtues "are not reducible to shared principles of duty, even though they bear on how professionals understand their responsibilities" (Martin, 2000, p. 5). Codes of Ethics must be boiled down to duties and dilemmas only. Ethical codes must consist of "...(a) identifying the duties that are or should be standardized within professional codes of ethics applicable to all members of a profession, and (b) grappling with how to apply the duties to particular situations where they conflict of have unclear implications" (Martin, 2000, pp. 3-4). When Codes of Ethics only include the collectively agreed upon fundamental duties and explicit standards of conduct which are central to the practice of teaching and expected of registered teachers (The Teaching Council in Ireland, 2012), teachers are less confused and more accountable. When ethical codes are free from morals and values that differ from individual to individual, they "enable us to appreciate professional ethics as a source of meaning in work, rather than merely a set of onerous requirements" (Martin, 2000, p. 7) and become complementary to legislation.

Ethical codes should be enforceable. It is interesting to note that at no point does the Education Act or the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Act specifically stipulate that teachers must abide by the STF's Code of Ethics. Amendments to these pieces of legislation included definitions of teacher incompetence and misconduct, but never mention enforcement of the STF's Code of Ethics. Now that *The Registered Teachers' Act*, 2015 is in place and the SPTRB regulates the teaching profession in Saskatchewan, the STF more than ever must maintain a high level of accountability and ethical conduct and take a collective stand against any practices that are not. Even with new regulatory practices in place, "The STF must work to convince the teaching population that ethics are of utmost importance and that the Code of Ethics will be enforced" (Banda, 1999, p. 23). If the code is not at the very least, visibly and intrinsically made a priority, it will serve only as a superficial document and "ultimately the ethical principles it espouses will erode" (Banda, 1999, p. 23). The STF Governance Handbook (2018) outlines the proceedings for complaints alleging that a member has breached the Code of Profession Ethics in Bylaw 6.5. However, unless the STF publicizes decisions made by the Professional Ethics and Practice Committee "so that their decisions become a source of learning for the membership" (Banda, 1999, p. 22), the membership will not view ethics as non-negotiable, important, and enforceable legislation. When the STF fails to 'walk the talk' (Kendel, 2013) of expecting teachers to conduct themselves and their professional actions in an ethical manner, their reputation in the public suffers and teachers become further desensitized to the very real expectation of enacting their Code of Ethics.

Ethical codes must be a professional priority, not a consequence of changing legislation

When looking back into the historical evolution of the STF Code of Ethics it becomes abundantly clear that the Code of Ethics has only and ever been altered as a result of changing legislation that either increased or limited the organization's disciplinary power. "If one of the true aims of the teaching profession is to become more ethical, then the STF must go beyond political motivations" (Banda, 1999, p. 8). History suggests that the STF has only had success with increased disciplinary responsibilities under left-wing governments. By lobbying the government and being awarded more disciplinary powers, the STF has had to change the Code of Ethics to reflect disciplinary changes. Without disciplinary changes granted under NDP governments, would the STF have ever intentionally and purposefully made changing the Code

of Ethics a priority? It seems the spirit of the Code of Ethics has been neglected "as little has been done to ensure that teachers are aware of the STF Code of Ethics and its contents or in training individual teachers in ethical decision making" (Banda, 1999, p. 8). Revisiting the Code of Ethics cannot continue to be politically motivated where changes are the consequence of changing legislation. The Code of Ethics requires exclusive attention, focused work, and the laying aside of ideological differences. The Code of Ethics should proactively and on a regular basis be acted upon via education, review, revision, and renewal rather than remain a reactive byproduct of political legislation.

Personal Reflections

Why is a historical study on ethical codes important?

As the final chapter concludes, it is interesting to reflect back on my original research question, framework, general purpose, and overall learnings. The objective of this research was to use an ethnographic history of ideas methodology to provide a historical view of how and why the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation's (STF) Code of Ethics evolved from 1935 to present, paying particular attention to ideologies and legislative policies that influenced the code over time. As I began the initial steps of the dissertation process, I knew that researching the eighty-four year history of the STF's Code of Ethics would likely be best accomplished through historical research methods, "whose primary concern is the role of time..." (Buckley, 2016, p. 879). Still, I was left with the question of which historiographical method would best address my query. As I sifted through a myriad of potential frameworks, I finally decided that both ethnography (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992) and the history of ideas (Lovejoy, 1948) seemed most appropriate, yet not quite a perfect fit by themselves. As such, I combined the two to create a unique framework that I entitled an "ethnographic history of ideas.' I felt this combination approach most responsively refined what needed to be researched (Hays & Singh, 2012).

Historical ethnography examines events that have occurred in the past, is grounded in telling a story, and takes into account that all history is based on the "subjective reality of the experiences of those people who constitute the social world" (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 5). The history of ideas investigates the meanings conveyed by such ideas as economics, social organization and politics (Bevir, 2000). Because historical events never unfold autonomously and are connected to the past, present, and future (Tosh, 2000), creating an ethnographic history

of ideas framework in which to research became the best method to take all of the ideas relating to the Code of Ethics and create a holistic interpretation of its evolution. To be ethically aware is to be historically aware of how and why a professional code reads as it does. I feel as though I have fulsomely examined all of the 'ideas' surrounding the STF's Code of Ethics in an effort to grasp its full picture, understand where it fits into a continuing process, and predict how it might evolve in the future. After all, we have the power to keep history alive by engaging in historical thinking (Collingwood, 1946). As history is read, present experiences are better understood (McKillop, 2011).

As this work comes to a close, I also reminisced on the motivation behind conducting this particular research. Beyond personal interest in this topic, I whole-heartedly believed that a professional's comprehensive understanding of their ethical code was both practical and necessary in an age of increasing teacher regulation, transparent discipline processes, and public accountability. After having completed my literature review, it became increasingly clear that although the subjects of ethics and professions have been researched, "... few articles or studies on Canadian teacher policy exist" (Walker & Berhmann, 2013, p. 68) and to my knowledge, none regarding the Code of Ethics as educational legislation inside the province Saskatchewan. I wanted to complete research that would fill this gap and encourage all professionals who read it, teachers or not, to become more ethically aware and advanced in their ethical thinking. When this happens, professionals are less apt to become the subject of regulatory measures and are more readily inclined to choose to behave in ways that honor their ethical obligations to their profession overall, to their colleagues, and to the public. When ethical interest is peeked, professional collectives can begin and sustain healthy conversations about ethics. Ongoing conversation, work, and exploration on and about professional responsibilities aids in keeping the Code an evergreen priority for teachers. If this research has even a small part in helping to realize any of these motivations, I cannot think of a better outcome.

When reflecting on what was revealed in the findings chapters and what arose as key ideas from the analysis, my learnings are as vast and complex as the evolution of the Code of Ethics itself. I feel privileged to now have a broad understanding of my province's and organization's professional Code of Ethics. By completing this research, I want to better embody my ethical code and help my colleagues appreciate its past, present, and potential future as much as I do.

Summary Remarks

The STF needs to view the Code of Ethics as the professional backbone of the organization. Physiologically, the spine is not the only important part of the body. However, the backbone does provide the whole body structure and stability. Similarly, the STF must place more emphasis on the Code of Ethics, making it the backbone of the organization and giving it a place of exclusive priority. When the Code of Ethics is given a more prominent place with continued work and analysis, it will be serve as the organization's structure, providing teachers with a uniform understanding of their ethical responsibilities and practices. When the Code of Ethics receives as much attention as the union activities that the STF undertakes, it can become an instrument that guides and inspires teachers' professional behaviour. It will be the mechanism that keeps the organization upright and of good standing in the eyes of the public.

The STF should consider, at a cooperative and grassroots level, how best to "clearly define its core values and ethical principles, educate its members on these principles, train its members in ethical decision making, and then seriously enforce transgressions" (Banda, 1999, p. 23). Since teaching is so intrinsically tied with legislation and public trust, the Code of Ethics must evolve into a co-created document co-authored by all educational stakeholders. If the recommendations I have provided in this chapter are enacted, The STF Code of Ethics can be the impetus behind society at large to better understand the complex nature of teaching, and become a source of inspiration to other professions.

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Appendix A: Rules for Teachers



1935

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CANONS OF TEACHING ETHICS Committee on Ethics.

FREAMBLE:

It is impossible to frame a set of rules which will particularise all the duties of the teacher in all the varied relations of his professional life and no attempt has been made to do so. The following Canons of Ethics should therefore be construed as a general guide and not as a denial of the existence of other duties equally imperative though not specifically mentioned. The teacher has responsibilities beyond those of an ordinary citizen; he is not only the teacher of the youth of the community but their guide, philosopher and friend; he gives leadership and guidance in all community activities; his sphere of influence extends beyond the class-room, into the community, into the nation, into the lives of succeeding generations. It is evident to all that the political, social and economic conditions of the state are, in part, the reflection of the educational background of our citizenry and if this be so how grave are the responsibilities of the teacher! The teacher is a member of an ancient, honorable and learned profession. In these several capacities it is the teacher's duty to promote the interests of the state, serve the cause of education, maintain the dignity of his profession, be faithful to his employers, candid and courteous in his intercourse with his fellows and true to himself.

1. TO THE STATE:

- 1. He owes a duty to the state, to maintain its integrity and its laws and not to aid, counsel or assist anyone to act in any way contrary to these laws.
- 2. To inculcate in the minds of the pupils entrusted to his care a respect for and ocedience to all democratic and co-operative institutions, governments, laws, legislators and those who are placed in authority over us by the will of the people.
- 3. To inculcate in the minds of the pupils entrusted to his care the highest ideals of citizenship in preparation for their assuming the responsibilities of citizenship and to this end he must tamiliarize himself with the social, political and economic affairs of the state and fearlessly, witnout motives of self-interest and unclased by prejudice, advocate and promote racial, religious and international cood-will and understanding.
- 4. He must exercise, without fear or favor, his own citizenship prorogatives and take his place, by virtue of his service to the state, his education and training, among those who labor for the social, economic and spiritual well-being of the state.

II. TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

- It is the duty of the teacher:
- 1. To co-operate with the board of trustees with a view to securing efficiency in the school and harmony in the district.
- 2. To avoid, at all times, subservience; to fearlessly recommend and put into execution that which he knows to be in the interests of the sencel.
- 3. To seek the co-operation of the board in improving and maintaining the cleanliness, comfort, attractiveness and equipment of the school.
- 4. To submit each month during which the school is in operation a report on the progress, attendance and health of the pupils, school activities, cleanliness and comfort of the class-room, requisition for equipment etc. By this means the interest of the board is enlisted and sustained and co-operation and harmony promoted.

- $5.\ \,$ To send monthly to the parents or guardians of each pupil, if required by the board, a report on the pupil's attendance, conduct and progress.
- 6. To encourage the observance of Arbor Day by holding suitable exercises, to take an interest in the cleanliness and tidiness of the school grounds and to secure the co-operation of trustees and parents in planting trees and shrubs about the school.
- 7. To exercise vigilance over the school property, the buildings, fences, furniture and appartus so that they may not receive unnecessary injury, and to give prompt notice in writing to the board of any such injury.
- 8. To suspend from the school any pupil for violent opposition to authority or other gross misconduct, and to forthwith report in writing the facts of such suspension to the board which shall take such action with regard thereto as it deems necessary.
- 9. To deliver up any school register, school house key or other property of the district when required by a written order of the board.
- 10. With the approval of the board, to exclude from school any child suspected of suffering or of being convalescent from or being in contact with a communicable disease; to give notific tion of such exclusion and the reasons thereof to the medical health officer for the municipality or to the Linister of Fublic Health in case there is no medical health officer; and to admit such child to the school upon production of a written certificate from a medical health officer.
- 11. Reports by parents or members of the community to the teacher on school matters outside the teacher's jurisdiction should be candidly submitted to the board for their consideration.
- 12. In graded schools, the principal's or superintendent's report to the board on the work of the members of the staff should be just, unbiased and when compatible with honesty and the interests of the school the members should be defended against adverse criticism. The members should be loyal to the principal and to each other and avoid consulting the board, unless requested to do so, on all matters pertaining to the school without the knowledge and consent of the principal.

III. 10 THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION:

- It shall be the duty of the teachers:
- 1.To co-operate with the department and department officials in an endeavor to render to the state the most efficient educational services.
- 2. To familiarise himself with the terms of the School $A_C t$, Superannuation $A_C t$, the $A_C t$ respecting the Teaching Profession, the Curricula, and the rules and regulations set by the department.
- 3. To accept any task, rule or regulation imposed by the department and conscientiously execute the terms of the same. The department welcomes constructive suggestions and the teacher should feel at liberty to consult the department on all educational matter.
- 4. To co-operate with the inspector of schools in arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the conditions of the classes being inspected, and to seek the advice and assistance of the inspector in cases or all difficulties.
- $\,$ 5. To teach diligently and faithfully all the subjects required to be taught by the regulations of the department.
- 6. To maintain proper order and discipline and to conduct and manage the school in accordance with the regulations of the department.

- 7. To keep in a conspicuous place in the school room a timetable showing the classification of pupils, the subjects taught each day and the length of each class period; and to submit such timetable to the inspector for his approval on the occasion of his visit to the school.
- 8. To keep the school registers in the prescribed form and accessible to any person authorized by the board to examine them.
- 9. To make such promotions from one class or grade to another as he deems expedient subject to the ratification of the inspector at his next visit
- 10. To furnish to the minister, the inspector of schools, the board or any person appointed by the minister, any information which it is in his power to give respecting anything connected with the operation of the school or in any wise affecting its interests or character.
- 11. Subject to the regulations of the department, to admit to his class room for the purpose of observation and practice teaching any student enrolled in a normal school or college of education, and to render such assistance in such observation or practice teaching as the board may direct.

IV. TO THE PUPILS:

- It shall be the duty of the teacher:
- 1. To secure the respect and confidence of the pupils by being proficient, just, honorable, tolerant and sympathetic.
- 2. To so organize and co-relate all class-room activities as to obtain maximum benefits for all pupils.
- 3. To provide for the physical development and well-being of all pupils by means of healthful, well-organized and properly supervised playground activities.
- 4. To give encouragement and leadership to all extra school activities, such as literary societies, detating clubs, boy scouts, girl guides, art societies, parent and pupils' clubs, etc. It is becoming increasingly important to provide the pupil with the knowledge of how to employ his leisure times-how to live.
- 5. To bear in mind that he is at all times under the observation of the pupils, therefore his conduct should be at all times exemplary. Nothing so readily and completely destroys the respect and confidence of the pupil as to observe blameworthy conduct on the part of the teacher; nor must the teacher forget the adverse effect his misconduct has on the character of the pupil.
- 6. To exercise painstaking care in arriving at an understanding of and in dealing with the exceptional child. Such a pupil may be helped to higher development through the guidance and inspiration of an understanding, sympathetic teacher.

V. TO HIS FELLOW TEACHER:

- It shall be the duty of the teacher:
- 1. To maintain an attitude of helpfulness, courtesy and consideration towards his fellow teacher.
- 2. To forbear from underbidding a fellow teacher in applying for a position. Underbidding is entirely unethical and is one of the prime causes for the exceedingly low scale of salaries which has always prevailed in the pro-

To never, for personal or any other reason, speak disparagingly of the ability, character or conduct of a fellow teacher, but rather to defend his good name as he would his own. The status of the profession depends on the re

putation of its members and nothing so undermines the esteem in which it is held as malicous and derogatory remarks directed against its personnel.

NOTE: This does not preclude reports made to an Educational authority when done so in an official capacity.

4. To refrain from all attempts at supplanting a teacher already engaged by the circulation of a petition, by employing undue influence with the board or ratepayers, by advancing the plea of superior academic qualifications or experience, by submitting application at a lower salary or by other means.

VI. TO HIS PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION:

<u>Preamble</u>

The Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation come into existence through the will of the teachers. It exists for the purpose of improving educational services in the province and the position of the teacher; it is organized along entirely democratic lines; its effectiveness is dependent on the loyalty, industry and co-operation of its members. Therefore the teacher owes to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation-

First: His loyalty at all times and under all circumstances. However arbitrary the actions of the executive may seem to be--however contrary to the expressed and considered opinion of the individual member or a minority group, be it remembered that the executive, in all major matters, acts only in ecordance to instructions received from the council, which in turn reflect the will of the majority of the members. The assurance of one hundred per cant loyalty on the part of the members would, more than all other factors captined, result in the removal of these disabilities under which the profession has suffered. Solidarity on the part of all the teachers will gain ustice, security and living standards commensurate to services rendered. The teacher must submerge selfishness, prejudice and all other considerations in the interests of the organization which aims at the attainment of these worthy objectives as listed above and as set forth in the constitution.

<u>Jecond</u>: The teacher is expected to work wholeneartedly and to the best of his ability for the organization. He should insist on an active and effective local and inspectoral unit. He should see to it that the officials of the Federation are teachers of ability, integrity and industry. He should willingly undertake and conscientiously execute any task imposed by the executive.

Third: He should co-operate with the various coverning bodies (local, inspectoral, unit and central organization) in every way. Constructive criticism is welcomed by the governing bodies of the Pederation and it is the duty and privilege of the member to submit any suggestion or criticism directly or through his councillor, to the central executive. It is unethical to adversely criticise the Pederation in the presence of a non-member, to withould information, to give false evidence, or to in any way undermine confidence in the Pederation or interfere with its effectiveness.

Fourth: It is unethical on the part of an individual or group to make representation to the Government on any matter affecting the whole or a part of the professional body without the knowledge and consent of the executive.

VII. TO HIMSELF:

The teacher owes a duty to himself:

- 1. To seek to maintain the honor and integrity of his profession, and to expose without fear or favor, before the proper tribunals unprofessional and dishonest conduct on the part of a fellow teacher or an official.
 - 2. To avail himself of every opportunity of improving his academic stand-

ing and in every way seek to equip himself mentally and culturally in order that he may more efficiently serve the high purpose of his profession.

- 3. To cultivate habits of neatness, cleanliness, sobriety, courtesy, toleration, industry and all other desirable qualities of character. Let the teacher remember that back of every great man has been a good mother or a good teacher or both.
- 4. To secure a standard of living commensurate to the service he renders the state and furthermore to obtain a guarantee of security for himself and dependents against unemployment, unwarranted dismissal and injustice of any kind. All artisan and professional bodies, with the possible exception of the teachers, have endeavored through co-operative means to secure just and reasonable treatment at the hands of society whom they serve.
- 5. To bear in mind that he can only maintain the high traditions of his profession by being by fact as well as in a name a gentleman.

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Appendix C: 1957 Code

CODE OF ETHICS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN TEACHERS; FEDERATION

We, the members of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, hold these truths to be self-evident:

- that the primary purpose of education is to develop individuals to the fullest realization of their potentialities;
 - .. that the achievement of effective democracy in all aspects of Canadian life and the maintenance of our national ideals depend upon making acceptable educational opportunities available to all;
 - .. that the quality of education reflects the ideals, motives, preparation, and conduct of the members of the teaching profession;
- .. that whoever chooses teaching as a career assumes the obligation to conduct himself in accordance with the ideals of the profession.

FIRST PRINCIPLE: SINCE THE ULTIMATE STRENGTH OF THE NATION LIES IN THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, ECONOMIC COMPETENCE, AND MORAL STRENGTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL CANADIAN, THE PRIMARY OBLIGATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IS TO GUIDE STUDENTS IN THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS, TO PREPARE THEM IN THE WAYS OF DEMOCRACY, AND TO HELP THEM TO BECOME HAPPY, USEFUL, SELF-SUPPORTING CITIZENS.

In fulfilling the obligations of this first principle, the teacher will:

- Deal justly with students regardless of physical, mental, emotional, political, economic, social, racial, or religious factors.
- Recognize the differences among students and seek to meet their individual needs.
- Encourage students to formulate and work for high individual goals in the development of their physical, intellectual, creative and spiritual endowments.
- 4. Aid students to develop an understanding of and appreciation for not only the opportunities and benefits of Canadian democracy but also their obligations to it.
- 5. Respect the right of every student to have confidential information about himself withheld except when its release is to persons authorized to receive it.
- 6. Accept no remuneration for tutoring except in accordance with approved policies of the governing board.

SECOND PRINCIPLE: THE MEMBERS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION MUST SHARE WITH PARENTS THE TASK OF SHAPING EACH STUDENT'S PURPOSES AND ACTS TOWARD SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ENDS.

In fulfilling the obligations of this principle the teacher will:

- 1. Respect the basic responsibility and rights of parents for their children.
- Seek to establish friendly and co-operative relationships with the home.
- 3. Provide parents with information that will serve the best interests of their children, and be discreet with information received from parents.
- 4. Keep parents informed about the progress of their children.

THIRD PRINCIPLE: THE TEACHING PROFESSION OCCUPIES A POSITION OF PUBLIC TRUST INVOLVING NOT ONLY THE INDIVIDUAL TEACHER'S PERSONAL CONDUCT, BUT ALSO THE INTERACTION OF THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY; EDUCATION IS MOST EFFECTIVE WHEN THESE MANY RELATIONSHIPS OPERATE IN A FRIENDLY, CO-OPERATIVE, AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER.

In fulfilling the obligations of this third principle the teacher will:

- Adhere to any reasonable pattern of behaviour accepted by the profession.
- Perform the duties of citizenship and participate to a reasonable extent in community activities.
- Discuss controversial issues in the classroom from an objective point of view.
- 4. Recognize that the schools belong to the people of the community, encourage lay participation in shaping the purposes of the school, and strive to keep the public informed of the educational programme.
- 5. Work to improve education in the community and to strengthen the community's moral, spiritual and intellectual life.

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FOURTH PRINCIPLE: THE MEMBERS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION HAVE INESCAPABLE OBLIGATIONS WITH RESPECT TO EMPLOYMENT, WHICH ARE SHARED EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RESPONSIBILITIES BASED UPON LAW, MUTUAL RESPECT AND GOOD FAITH.

In fulfilling the obligations of this fourth principle the teacher will:

- Apply for positions only through the proper channels and only on the basis of competence.
- 2. Refrain from discussing confidential and official information with unauthorized persons.
- Avoid asking for a specific position known to be filled by another teacher.
- 4. Refuse to accept a position when the vacancy exists:
 - (a) as the result of unfair practices on the part of the school board or its agents;
 - (b) as a result of controversy over professional policy;
 - (c) pending a Board of Reference;
 - (d) pending a Board of Conciliation under the Tenure Act.
- Adhere to the conditions of a contract until service thereunder has been performed or the contract has otherwise been legally terminated.
- 6. Resign from his present position immediately after he has signed a contract with another board.
- Notify all boards to which he has sent applications as soon as he has accepted another position.
- 8. Be fair in all recommendations that are given concerning the work of other teachers.
- 9. Accept no compensation from producers of instructional supplies when his recommendations affect the local purchase or use of such teaching aids.
- 10. Engage in no gainful employment, outside of his contract, where the employment affects adversely his professional status or impairs his standing with students, associates and community.
- Co-operate in the development of school policies and assume the professional obligations thereby incurred.

12. Accept his obligations to the profession for maintaining a professional level of service.

FIFTH PRINCIPLE: IF TEACHERS ARE TO COMMAND THE SUPPORT AND RESPECT OF THE COMMUNITY, THEY MUST DEVELOP A PRIDE IN THEIR PROFESSION AND A DESIRABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER TEACHERS.

In fulfilling the obligations of this fifth principle the teacher will:

- 1. Deal with other members of the profession in the same manner as he himself wishes to be treated.
- Support teachers who have been elected or appointed to act on his behalf.
- 3. Report honestly to persons in authority in matters involving the welfare of students, the school system, and the profession. Unfavourable reports on other teachers should be made only after the associate in question has been informed of the criticism.
- 4. Maintain active membership in the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and, through participation, strive to attain its objectives.
- 5. Seek to make professional growth continuous by such procedures as study, research, travel, conferences, and attendance at professional meetings.
- 6. Make the teaching profession attractive in ideals and practices so that sincere and able young people will want to enter it.
- 7. Observe a reasonable and proper loyalty to the internal administation of the school.

Appendix D: 1973 Code

1. Commitment to the Student

- a) to deal justly and considerately with each student.
- to respect the right of each student to form his own judgment based upon knowledge.
- to encourage each student to reach the highest level of individual development.
- d) to seek constantly to better serve the needs of students by designing the most appropriate learning experiences for them.

2. Commitment to the Employer

- to adhere to the conditions of his contract until it has been legally terminated.
- b) to engage in no outside employment which will impair the effectiveness of his professional service.
- to resign from his present position immediately after he has signed a contract with another board.
- to apply for a position on the basis of his highest professional and legal qualifications.
- e) to render professional service to the best of his ability.
- f) to be consistent in the execution of school policies, and in the enforcement of rules and regulations.
- g) to be aware of the need for changes in school system policies and regulations and actively to pursue such changes.

3. Commitment to the Profession

 to conduct himself at all times so that no dishonor befalls him or, through him, his profession.

- to participate actively in Federation affairs, working at local and provincial levels for needed changes in Federation policy, and respecting those decisions made by elected representatives.
- to make valid criticism of an associate only to appropriate officials, and then only after the associate has been informed of the nature of the criticism.
- to apply for specific positions only if they are not already held by other teachers.
- e) to make the teaching profession attractive in ideals and practices so that able persons will desire to enter it.
- f) to respond unselfishly to colleagues seeking professional assistance.
- g) to adhere to all terms of a duly negotiated collective
- to be objective in all evaluations concerning the work of other teachers.
- to keep the trust under which confidential information is exchanged.
- to observe a reasonable and proper loyalty to the internal school administration.

4. Commitment to the Community

- a) to perform the duties of citizenship.
- b) to keep the public informed of and appropriately involved in decisions about educational programs.
- to use educational facilities for purposes consistent with board policy.
- d) to protect the educational program from exploitation.
- e) to participate in community and professional activities, provided there is no unresolved conflict with obligations to students.

Adopted by the Council of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation on March 30, 1973.

73-GA447

Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Code of Ethics

These are the ethical ideals for Saskatchewan teachers:

- To act at all times in a manner that brings no dishonour to the individual and the teaching profession.
- To act in a manner that respects the collective interests of the profession.
- To make the teaching profession attractive in ideals and practices so that people will desire to enter it.
- To respond unselfishly to colleagues seeking professional assistance.
- To respect the various roles and responsibilities of individuals involved in the educational community.
- To inform an associate before making valid criticism, and inform the associate of the nature of the criticism before referring the criticism of the associate to appropriate officials.
- To support objectively the work of other teachers and evaluate the work of other teachers only at the request of the other teacher or when required by role as a supervisor.
- To strive to be competent in the performance of any teaching services that are undertaken on behalf of students, taking into consideration the context and circumstances for teaching.
- To deal justly, considerately and appropriately with each student.
- To develop teaching practices that recognize and accommodate diversity within the classroom, the school and the community.
- To respect the right of students to form their own judgements based upon knowledge.
- To encourage each student to reach the highest level of individual development.

- To seek to meet the needs of students by designing the most appropriate learning experiences for them.
- To implement the provincial curriculum conscientiously and diligently, taking into account the context for teaching and learning provided by students, the school and the community.
- To be consistent in the implementation and enforcement of school, school system and Department of Learning policies, regulations and rules.
- To render professional service to the best of the individual's ability.
- To keep the trust under which confidential information is exchanged.
- To keep parents and the school community informed of and appropriately involved in decisions about educational programs.
- To model the fulfillment of social and political responsibilities associated with membership in the community.
- To protect the educational program from exploitation.
- To seek to be aware of the need for changes in local association, Federation, school, school division and Department of Learning policies and regulations and actively pursue such changes.

These ideals, set by Council guide:

- a) the ethical behavior of Saskatchewan teachers.
- the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Executive in decision-making regarding the disposition of complaints, and
- the deliberations and judgements of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Ethics Committee.

BYLAW 6

Professional Ethics and **Practice**

6.1 Preamble

- **6.1.1** The Code of Professional Ethics and Standards of Practice, set by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Council, guide the:
 - (1) Ethical behaviour and teaching practices of Federation members.
 - (2) Decision making of the STF Executive regarding the disposition of professional complaints related to ethics and practice.
 - (3) Hearings and decision making of the STF Ethics and Practice Committee.

6.2

Code of Professional Ethics

These are the ethical ideals for Saskatchewan teachers, expressed as commitments made by assuming the duties of a professional teacher within Saskatchewan's publicly funded public education system:

Commitments to the Profession

- 6.2.1 To act at all times in a way that maintains the honour and dignity of the individual teacher and the teaching profession.
- 6.2.2 To strive to make the teaching profession attractive and respected in ideals and practices.
- 6.2.3 To act in a manner that respects the collective interests of the profession.
- 6.2.4 To perform teaching duties competently in accordance with the profession's standards of practice and taking into consideration the given context and circumstances for teaching.

Commitments to Teaching and Learning

- 6.2.5 To provide professional service to the best of one's ability.
- 6.2.6 To treat each student justly, considerately and appropriately in accordance with the beliefs of the profession.
- 6.2.7 To respect the right of students to form their own judgments based upon knowledge.
- 6.2.8 To support each student in reaching their highest levels of individual growth across intellectual, social-emotional, spiritual and physical domains.
- 6.2.9 To respond generously and appropriately to colleagues seeking professional assistance.
- **6.2.10** To evaluate the work of another teacher only at the request of the other teacher or when required by role as a supervisor.
- 6.2.11 To protect the educational program from exploitation.

Commitments to the Community

- 6.2.12 To model the fulfilment of social and political responsibilities associated with membership in the community.
- 6.2.13 To respect the various roles and responsibilities of individuals involved in the educational community.
- 6.2.14 To keep the trust under which confidential information is exchanged.
- 6.2.15 To keep parents and the school community informed of and appropriately involved in decisions about educational programs.
- 6.2.16 To inform an associate before making valid criticism and to inform the associate of the nature of the criticism before referring the criticism to appropriate officials.
- 6.2.17 To strive for the appropriate implementation and enforcement of legislation, regulations, bylaws and policies enacted by the Ministry responsible for PreK-12 education, school divisions and schools.
- 6.2.18 To maintain awareness of the need for changes in the public education system and advocate appropriately for such changes through individual or collective action.

6.3

Standards of Practice

These are the core principles of competent teaching practice for Saskatchewan teachers, expressed as commitments to standards of practice, each of which teachers may demonstrate in various ways throughout their careers:

Commitments to Standards of Practice

- 6.3.1 To create and maintain a learning environment that encourages and supports the growth of the whole student.
- 6.3.2 To strive to meet the diverse needs of students by designing the most appropriate learning experiences for them.
- 6.3.3 To demonstrate and support a repertoire of instructional strategies and methods that are applied in teaching activities.
- 6.3.4 To develop teaching practices that recognize and accommodate diversity within the classroom, the school and the community.
- 6.3.5 To carry out professional responsibilities for student assessment and evaluation.
- 6.3.6 To demonstrate a professional level of knowledge about the curriculum and the skills and judgment required to apply this knowledge effectively.
- 6.3.7 To implement the provincial curriculum conscientiously and diligently, taking into account the context for teaching and learning provided by students, the school and the community.
- 6.3.8 To reflect upon the goals and experience of professional practice and adapt one's teaching accordingly.
- 6.3.9 To work with colleagues in mutually supportive ways and develop effective professional relationships with members of the educational community.
- 6.3.10 To conduct all professional relationships in ways that are consistent with principles of equity, fairness and respect for others in accordance with the beliefs of the profession.