‘how lucky my generation was’:

Teaching studentships in Victoria 1950–78

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Lillian Bowler and Robert Smith, who encouraged their working class daughter to go as far as she could with her education. And to my husband, Ron Leslie, my heartfelt thanks, for all the meals prepared and the housework undertaken over the four years I was researching and writing. Above all, thanks for your constructive criticism, your constant support and your unswerving belief that I could complete this thesis and that it was a project worth undertaking.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those former studentship holders who happily completed surveys, generously answered interview questions, patiently provided additional information by email, and shared memories and souvenirs of their tertiary years and their later careers with me. As a researcher, I could not have had a more welcoming and helpful group of subjects.

I would also like to acknowledge my supervisors, Professors Richard Broome, Marilyn Lake, Diane Kirkby and Katie Holmes, whose inspiration, guidance and feedback helped clarify my aims, place my research within its historical context and structure my arguments. And whose encouragement, particularly Richard Broome’s, enabled me to keep going.
A personal note

My own narrative parallels those that many of the studentship holders related in this thesis. I attended Monash University between 1965 and 1968 on a teaching studentship. During that time, I was a member of the Monash Labor Club and involved in student politics to a minor degree. I taught in Victorian government secondary schools from 1969 to 1986 and was an active member of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association, before leaving to work for state and local governments and as a self-employed writer, editor and trainer/teacher.
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Summary

In 1950, secondary teaching studentships were reintroduced in Victoria. This thesis studies the effects of receiving a teaching studentship on recipients’ lives—either at university or at other teacher training venues. From the ranks of former studentship holders, 168 were surveyed and 34 were interviewed. Studentship recipients were mainly from working and lower middle class backgrounds. Women, and those from migrant and rural origins, were more highly represented than they were in the general university population. Contributors to this thesis saw studentships as enabling them to undertake tertiary studies that would otherwise have been impossible or difficult. The availability of cheaper hostel accommodation was seen by country students as vital. Former trainee teachers perceived their tertiary studies as having broadened their lives academically, intellectually, socially and culturally. Neither university nor teachers college training was without difficulty, for trainees who were often the first members of their families to go beyond secondary schooling. Though student teachers were amongst university activists, the majority of those interviewed and surveyed were neither radicals nor student leaders. However, they did see themselves as having become more liberal and left-wing than their parents or siblings as a result of their tertiary experiences. Though previous researchers suggested that being bonded to become teachers could result in high attrition rates and in a lack of commitment, those interviewed for this thesis had lengthy teaching careers and were enthusiastic about their ability to make a difference in their students’ lives. Interviewees were also active teacher unionists who saw their actions as motivated by idealism. Graduate teachers, especially males, were more likely to be able to find careers beyond school teaching. By their own accounts, teaching allowed them to become more socially mobile and affluent.

1 Throughout this thesis, I have used ‘teachers college’, ‘teachers hostel’, ‘girls school’ and ‘three years service’, following the rule that the apostrophe is dropped when the compound noun is descriptive rather than possessive. (Style manual for authors, editors and printers, 6th edn, John Wiley & Sons Australia Ltd, Canberra, 2002, p. 87.)
though they tended to measure this in terms of the opportunities it gave them, rather than in material possessions.
Statement of authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person’s work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Research procedures reported in this thesis were approved by the Human Ethics Committee.

Signature: Date:
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Australian Broadcasting Corporation (previously Company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed.</td>
<td>Bachelor of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dip. Ed.</td>
<td>Diploma of Education</td>
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<td>FLN</td>
<td>Front de Libération Nationale</td>
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<tr>
<td>HECS</td>
<td>Higher Education Contribution Scheme</td>
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<td>HOD</td>
<td>Head of Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSC</td>
<td>Higher School Certificate</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member for the Legislative Assembly</td>
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<td>MLC</td>
<td>Member for the Legislative Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLF</td>
<td>National Liberation Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCW</td>
<td>Open Sub-Committee on Women’s Issues (VSTA)</td>
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<td>para.</td>
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<td>Phys. Ed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SATC</td>
<td>Secondary Art Teachers Certificate</td>
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<td>Secondary Teachers College</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRC</td>
<td>Students Representative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Institute of Technical and Further Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>TITC</td>
<td>Trained Infant Teacher’s Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPTC</td>
<td>Trained Primary Teacher’s Certificate</td>
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<td>TSTC</td>
<td>Trained Secondary Teacher’s Certificate</td>
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<td>TTAV</td>
<td>Technical Teachers Association of Victoria</td>
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<tr>
<td>VWLLFA</td>
<td>Victorian Women’s Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives</td>
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<td>VSMPA</td>
<td>Victorian Secondary Masters Professional Association</td>
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<td>VTU</td>
<td>Victorian Teachers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3A</td>
<td>University of the Third Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAP</td>
<td>White Australia Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEL</td>
<td>Women’s Electoral Lobby</td>
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Introduction

Overview

From the 1950s onwards, Victoria’s school population soared, resulting in overcrowded classes. The government struggled to build new schools and train new teachers. One solution was to increase the number of primary teaching studentships available and to reintroduce secondary studentships, previously discontinued in the 1930s. Once implemented, studentships were offered until 1978, when declining school populations, and the availability of free university education, reduced the need for them.

Primary teaching studentships enabled recipients to complete a two- or three-year course at a teachers college, while a secondary studentship enabled recipients to undertake a three-year degree and a year of teacher training. Mostly, these were separate and consecutive, but later, Bachelor of Education courses combined teacher training with subject studies. As well, studentships to become arts and craft or domestic science teachers could be either three or four years. Initially, secondary teachers colleges were developed to support and monitor studentship holders as they undertook their degrees. They also provided alternative training for those who began university courses, but failed subjects during the course of their studies. These students then undertook a combination of university and teachers college subjects. Later, colleges provided alternative teacher training venues for those who obtained a secondary studentship, but failed to obtain a
university place—a result of university quotas being introduced as participation rates grew.

Studentships provided trainees with both paid tuition and a living allowance, in return for which they were ‘bonded’ to teach for the Education Department for three years after training. Female teachers who married only had to teach for one year. If studentship recipients failed to complete their training or did not complete the three years teaching, the bond had to be repaid either by the recipients or their guarantors, usually their parents, since trainee teachers were generally seventeen- or eighteen-years-old and the age of adulthood was twenty-one years.

At the same time as the school population expanded, those undertaking tertiary studies increased in number as new teachers colleges and new universities were opened. Historians of the post-war period have noted the rapid expansion of government-funded education, particularly of university education, and the social changes that sprang from this:

Ironically, Menzies’s commitment to education had produced a large population of university students, often schooled in the critique of the new social sciences and whose affluence and idealism made them ready and eager to overthrow the old order associated with Menzies and Calwell. Across the country the old concern to preserve the status quo, to conserve
uniformity, to safeguard the Australian way of life and the family home from subversion was giving way to demands for change.¹

Sociological research from the 1960s to the 1980s about teaching studentships, by educationalists such as NG Fary and EJ Rowlands, and later by DS Anderson, examined the gender balance and social backgrounds of the recipients compared to those in faculties such as Law and Medicine, or examined the effectiveness of studentships as conduits to teaching. Little or no research was undertaken to determine how studentship recipients themselves perceived the studentships and the effects that they saw them as having on their lives.

Unlike previous research, this history thesis explores recipients’ attitudes and the effects of teaching studentships on their lives and on Australian society, with particular emphasis on those who attended university. Chapter 1 examines the rationale behind the re-introduction of secondary studentships in 1950, and the educational, social and political changes in Australia in the second half of the twentieth century. The socio-economic and educational backgrounds of studentship recipients and male-female ratios are studied in Chapter 2. How tertiary studies broadened trainee teachers’ horizons and whether there were differences in how a teaching studentship affected those who attended a primary or secondary teachers college and those at university is reviewed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 investigates the political and social activism of student teachers, whether this differed for university or teachers college students, and whether trainee teachers differed from the rest

¹ P Grimshaw, M Lake, A McGrath & M Quartly, Creating a Nation, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, 1994, p. 300.
of the student population. Chapter 5 analyses interviewees’ teaching careers and union involvement, and if those who accepted a studentship did so because they saw teaching as their future career or merely as a means of gaining an otherwise unattainable university or tertiary qualification. Studentship holders’ later careers outside teaching and the effect of teaching training on social mobility are considered in Chapter 6.

**Methodology**

Previous research focussed on the socio-economic backgrounds of the students, their social and political attitudes and the effectiveness of the bond as a means of recruiting and training teachers. It was undertaken by researchers interested in understanding broad social indicators. While I am concerned to see how my research matched this earlier work, my thesis is more focussed on the richness and specificity of individual experiences captured through oral histories and detailed surveys.

**Surveys**

A series of questionnaires was developed to determine the family and social backgrounds of studentship recipients, their areas of study, teaching careers, and careers outside teaching. Surveys were distributed after an advertisement was placed in the Australian Education Union’s magazine, through personal contacts amongst current and ex-teachers, and through La Trobe University staff still in contact with former students.\(^2\) Those surveyed were invited to nominate others. Before distribution, the survey was refined by trialling it with a small group. One hundred and sixty-eight former studentship holders

\(^2\) See Appendix 1.
completed surveys, including those who had attended primary and secondary teachers colleges and university. An analysis of the surveys was undertaken to determine socio-economic backgrounds, commitment to teaching, length of teaching careers and careers outside teaching in order to make a comparison to previous researchers’ conclusions.

**Survey issues**
Three methodological issues arose from the analysis of these 168 surveys. First, those surveyed were not a representative sample of the over 22,000 studentship recipients who attended university and secondary teachers colleges. Only 123 surveys from former university and secondary teachers college graduates were received, approximately half of one per cent of the total number. The 45 former primary teachers college trainees do not even represent that proportion, as more primary than secondary teaching studentships were offered each year. Former primary teacher studentship holders were included to see if there were any obvious differences between their responses and those of secondary trainees.

The second issue was the gender balance of those surveyed. Though females made up more than half of those receiving university studentships, more male university recipients completed surveys, because the survey was circulated to a reunion email list for men who had lived in student teacher hostels around 1960. This also skewed the age distribution of male respondents and of the number who had lived in teachers hostels.

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3 The number of entrant student teachers was included in Education Department annual reports until 1975. No such figures were included from 1976 to 1978.
The third issue was the difficulty experienced in contacting the large numbers of studentship holders who never completed their teacher training, who left either before serving out their bond or who only taught for the three years required. Previous research indicated that this was approximately 25 per cent during university years and between a third and a half within three years of starting teaching.\(^4\) (See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of teacher attrition rates.) Most trainee teachers surveyed for this thesis completed their training (though some transferred to teachers colleges or gained a Trained Secondary Teacher’s Certificate with a mixture of university and teachers college subjects). All but four of them taught at least at the beginning of their careers. Therefore, those who began a teaching studentship and failed to complete either their training or their bond are not adequately represented by those surveyed for this thesis.

What the surveys did provide is information about those who completed their training and who, for the most part, taught in schools either for their total careers or for several years before moving on to other careers.

**Interviews**

Thirty-four of those who completed surveys were selected for interviews, including male and female recipients, those who attended university, primary and secondary teachers colleges, those who continued in teaching as a career and those who left teaching. Former studentship holders were interviewed to determine how they saw a tertiary education as having affected their lives and the effects that it had on their social mobility, their

political and social views, and their involvement in teacher unionism, and how they saw teaching as a career. A series of questions was developed to encourage interviewees to speak freely and broadly about their studentship years, their teaching experiences and their lives in general. Additional prompts were developed to clarify issues raised by these questions. The interviews were transcribed and then analysed to determine not just what was said, but the silences, the hesitations, the questions that were avoided and the topics introduced by the interviewees.

In order to determine how actively student teachers participated in university life, apart from the interviews conducted with studentship holders who attended university, I also sent additional questions about the effect of attending university on their social and political attitudes to those surveyed, but not interviewed. To these emails, I attached summaries of the issues from articles in *Farrago, Lot’s Wife* and *Rabelais* for the years that studentship holders attended university. While this may have prompted memories that would not otherwise have been forthcoming, it also enabled me to determine what issues concerned student teachers during their university years.

**Other primary sources**

To supplement and contextualise the surveys and interviews, primary source material about changes in education from 1950 till the mid-1980s was reviewed, including the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education and Commonwealth Year Books for 1947 to 1984. Victorian parliamentary records and Melbourne newspapers illuminated the discussion preceding the re-introduction of secondary studentships in 1950. Student

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5 See Appendix 2.
newspapers were examined for information about social and political movements at universities and the likely involvement of studentship holders. Teacher union magazines also provided information.

The annual reports of the Minister for Education revealed the number of students gaining studentships each year and where they undertook their studies. However, the method of reporting varied over the more than 30 years in which studentship holders attended tertiary institutions. Sometimes reports gave the exact breakdown into faculties, gender, institutions etc.; at other times, only the raw figures for the number of primary, secondary and technical studentships were given. The exact number of secondary studentships is, therefore, impossible to ascertain exactly, but over twenty-two thousand were provided.

Education Department archives in the Public Records Office, and the Victorian Women’s Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives (VWLLFA)—are closed until 75 years after they were created. Biographies are available from the VWLLFA, which indicated that a number of feminist activists were teachers, but they are not detailed enough to determine if there was a link between the 1970s feminist movement and women who were or had been beneficiaries of studentships.

**Oral history issues**

Discussions of memory frequently focus on its unreliability as a historical source. Wallot and Fortier saw three main issues with oral history: as testimony, it is opinion, not fact; it is solicited by an external source; and it is not contemporaneous with the events being
described. Interviewees’ memories are affected by a range of factors. Oral historians emphasise that what people remember in interviews is not necessarily what happened, but what they perceive to have happened. In narrating our histories, we relate what is important to our picture of ourselves, what fits within our meta-narratives. Alistair Thomson argued in Anzac memories: living with legend that we “compose our memories to make sense of our past and present lives … compose or construct memories using the public languages and meanings of our culture … we compose memories that help us to feel relatively comfortable with our lives and identities …” Comparisons, therefore, need to be made between former studentship holders’ oral histories and contemporary primary sources.

Thomson commented that remembering is affected by physical age as well as by time passed. While this may be due to physical or intellectual decline, it may also be due to an inability to cope with the technological and social changes that have occurred since the period of the events recalled. He argued that “how we make sense of experience, and what memories we choose to recall and relate (and thus remember), changes over time”. According to Thomson, this leads interviewees to compare the past to the present as a time of more appropriate and acceptable behaviour. Or the reverse may occur. Trevor Lummis argued that as people age, they become less radical, and so may underreport past conflicts: “the more aware of history and politics an informant is, the more likely is the

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8 Ibid., p. 183.
9 Ibid., p. 9.
10 Ibid., p. 183.
danger of his rationalising an account of the past to harmonize with a present viewpoint”.

Gender and social class also play a role in how people remember. Joan Sangster’s examination of how women narrate their memories reviewed studies of women’s narrative techniques which showed that women tend to understate their own achievements and that their remembering was more related to family members and events. Silences and omissions are important in women’s stories: for example, women may omit violence or harassment in the workplace, which is partly a reflection of the difference between past and present attitudes to these issues. Also influential in women’s recounting of their lives are ideals of femininity, motherhood, and ‘proper’ jobs for women. Therefore, oral historians need to listen in stereo to both the dominant and the muted meanings, to search for the choices, the pain, and the stories beyond what is acceptable in conversation.

Despite these concerns about the accuracy of oral history, Alessandro Portelli argued, “Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge.” Once checked, wrong statements may be seen as psychologically true. As Passerini stated, “The guiding principle could be that

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13 Sangster, p. 91.
all autobiographical memory is true; it is up to the interpreter to discover in which sense, where, for which purpose.”16 Interviews, therefore, need to be rigorously examined both against external sources and for internal consistency. In studying interviews, historians must examine not only what interviewees say, but how they say it, what they emphasise and what they omit. Oral historians need to work from more than a transcription—they need to examine the recorded interviews.

Another issue for the oral historian is the effects of the interview process and the interviewer’s presence on remembering. The questions that interviewers ask determine what specific aspects of the past are examined. When recording equipment is used, are interviewees more likely to concentrate on what they consider suitable for posterity and so self-censor? The interviewer’s perceived views may also influence what people choose to relate and how they relate it. Sangster argued that the power relationship between interviewee and interviewer is always unequal, even when the interviewer tries to make the process a cooperative collaboration.17 In oral history, the historian is more of a protagonist than one who works solely with documents18, because they choose what topics are discussed and what questions are asked.

The degree of closeness or empathy of the interviewer for the interviewee also influences the interview. Should the interviewer be as close as possible to the interviewee group or a detached observer? “Whilst ‘outsider’ status is believed to accord objectivity, an ‘insider’

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17 Sangster, p. 92.
18 Portelli, p. 72.
perspective has the benefits of special insight otherwise obscure to outsiders”.

Does strong rapport cause an interviewer to avoid asking difficult questions?

**Oral history issues and studentship holder interviews**

A spirit of adventure, a delight in watching human beings as human beings quite apart from what you get out of their minds, an enjoyment of the play of your own personality with that of another, are gifts of rare value in the art of interviewing.

What are the implications of these oral history issues for interviews with former teaching studentship holders? In determining what differences former studentship holders saw a tertiary education as having made to their lives, the interview pool needed to include representatives of the different types of studentships offered, those who attended private or government schools, country and rural recipients and those who remained teachers as well as those who left for other careers. It needed to include male and female studentship holders to see if there was a significant difference in women’s and men’s narratives. Ideally, it should include both those who did not complete their training or the three years teaching required, those who obtained a degree and a teaching qualification, as well as those who undertook training at primary and secondary teachers colleges.

In total, from the 168 people surveyed, 34 interviews were conducted. The group chosen for interview was dominated by those who held secondary studentships to attend

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university, since the aim of this thesis was to examine the effect of attending university on the lives of the recipients. Small numbers of other interviewees were included for the purpose of comparison. Interviewees comprised 11 female and 11 male interviewees who had accepted secondary studentships to attend university; four female and three male primary teaching studentship holders; two female secondary studentship holders who studied domestic science and arts and crafts, one male and one female secondary studentship holder who undertook training to become an art and craft teacher; and one female who undertook the equivalent of a degree at a secondary teachers college rather than at university. The interviewees also included students from the 1950s to the 1970s, those who came from the country, as well as the city, and private, Catholic and government school students. Thirty-four interviews cannot be used to make definitive generalisations about all studentship holders, but the results can suggest patterns of information.

The one area in which it was difficult to obtain sufficient surveys, and, therefore, interviews, was with those who quit the studentship while at university or who left teaching before completing the bond. Consequently, the interviews can provide information about those who remained teaching or those who left teaching after completing their bonds, but not about those who quit the studentship while at university or before beginning teaching.
As Passerini stated, the point of oral history is not to reveal facts and events directly.\textsuperscript{21} Since interviewees’ memories are influenced by so many personal and social factors, information gained from interviews needed to be checked against, and complemented by, available documentary sources. The official education department history, education department annual reports, public records, and previous research undertaken into the social backgrounds of studentship recipients and university students, as well as student newspapers, have been used for this purpose.

There is also the question of whether there are public legends about university students and teachers and teaching. Conflicts and issues in the memories of studentship holders may not be as intense or as significant as those surrounding Aboriginal history, the Holocaust or the memories of gulag survivors, but there were divisive issues. The 1960s and 1970s were periods of dramatic social change and social conflict. At universities, it was the time of Vietnam War protests, of student activism and of sit-ins. In secondary schools, this was a time when teacher unions began campaigns to improve teachers’ qualifications and their working conditions. Strike action was common. The teaching service, dominated by male teachers at the beginning of this period, saw a rapid increase in the percentage of female teachers and their rise to positions of seniority. The 1970s saw the beginning of affirmative action for women teachers. Are there general public narratives that have influenced how interviewees feel? What issues have interviewees preferred to ignore? Political actions such as demonstrating against the Vietnam War or the university administration (rolling marbles under the hooves of police horses or occupying the university vice-chancellor’s office), considered acceptable by an

\textsuperscript{21} Passerini, p. 194.
interviewee’s peers at the time, may now be an embarrassment—or something of which interviewees may be proud. (See Chapter 4 for an analysis of student teachers’ political and social activism.) Similarly, male teachers who were not active supporters of careers for women may now prefer to see themselves as staunch defenders of affirmative action and equal opportunities.

Interview recordings and transcripts were analysed many times to determine what was said, and not said, what questions were not answered and what answers were given to questions that were not asked, in order to identify the narrator’s view of the events they were describing. The transcriptions included the hesitations, misuse of words, repetition omission that is characteristic of speech. The transcripts are quoted as they were spoken, with ellipses to indicate where words have been omitted. As well, the use of underlining and square brackets to indicate tone of voice has been left. Changes have only been made when the meaning needed to be made clear. This way, as far as possible, interviewees speak with their own voices.

One noticeable element throughout the interviews is how much laughter there was during these interviews, even if it was sometimes wry or even sardonic. For example, in Robert Young’s interview, the transcriber has recorded his laughing over 30 times in an interview lasting less than 40 minutes and Shelley Lavender, nearly 50 in just over 50 minutes.22 Also worth noting was that the majority of those surveyed were willing to be interviewed and that the author was made welcome by all those interviewed.

22 Interview with Robert Young, Bendigo, 26 August 2010; Interview with Shelley Lavender, Pascoe Vale South, 15 July 2010.
Looking at the effect of the interviewer in the oral history process, I needed to consider my own role. Some of my interviewees were former colleagues. They knew that I have been a teacher, a feminist, a left-wing activist, and a unionist. How did this affect the way they described their student years, teacher strikes, affirmative action, or discrimination? Vicki Steer, describing her teaching career, referred to the fact that I had been a more senior member of staff during her first years of teaching: “And, I absolutely loved working at Brunswick High School, I had great mentors, people like yourself.”

Flattering as this was, how did it influence her responses to my questions? As far as I have been able to determine in reviewing the interviews, the knowledge that I was a former teacher made interviewees feel comfortable that I understood the circumstances that they were describing without inhibiting their comments. For example, they were comfortable admitting to a lack of activism at university (see Chapter 4), though this was contrary to my own experience.

**Issues raised by the interview process**

When I started interviewing, I considered that most of my interviewees were not yet old enough to undertake a ‘life review’—a need to make sense of life as it is ending, of ensuring that some meaning and memory of their lives remains after their deaths. The interviewees for this study were aged from their mid-fifties to their late-seventies when interviewed. Physically and intellectually, they were not in decline and though they have lived through a period of great social and technological change, the majority had adapted to this as part of their working and social lives. However, I realised that asking people

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23 Interview with Vicki Steer, Pascoe Vale South, 5 April 2010, p. 10.
near the end of their careers or in retirement to discuss their family background, their education, and their careers and to compare their lives to those of their parents encouraged many interviewees to assess their lives. My research prompted life reviews.

Barry Lay, when asked about the impact of his studentship, said: “I was reflecting on this the other day.” He remarked that he had been undertaking a University of the Third Age (U3A) activity, writing his life story, mainly for his grandchildren. The interview, however, prompted him to analyse those memories more deeply: “until you sit down with somebody like yourself or, and go through things, or you don’t really crystallise in your mind some things that you may not have ever really sat down and thought: ‘Now did I really enjoy what I was doing, or what was good or what was bad?’”

Others had consciously prepared for the interview. Carolyn Woolman said: “I’ve been thinking this week, about, you know, what questions you’re likely to ask …” Many of the interviewees had memorabilia ready to show me: photographs, college year books, reunion records and documents detailing their tertiary years or their careers. Michael Smythe epitomised this life review process when he concluded the interview by saying: “That’s been wonderful to reflect on my life! (laughter) It’s been luxurious.” The interviewees often related considered memories, not spontaneous ones.

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24 Interview with Barry Lay, Wallan, 8 October 2010, p. 21.
25 Ibid., pp. 23–24.
26 Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, p. 1.
27 Interview with Michael Smythe, Bendigo, 26 August 2010, p. 19.
As a group, interviewees seemed aware of the tricks that memory can play and the fact that hindsight can interfere with original perceptions. Asked whether he would have stayed on the farm, rather than accept a place at a teachers college, if he was not granted a studentship to attend university, Bob Twyford commented: “It’s a bit hard to say, at the time I don’t think I thought about it all that deeply, and things just fell into place and, it’s hard to say what I might have done in hindsight.”28 Vicki Steer summed up the problem of oral history when she remarked: “…it’s hard to filter the way you experience your childhood, it’s hard to see it, without filtering it through what happened, in your adult years.”29 Interviewees, aware of the fragility of memory, commented on how long it was since they were granted a studentship or attended university or teachers college. At least four times in his interview, John Arthur referred to how long ago events were: “Heavens! Oh, I almost don’t remember that far back!”30 “You’re going back a long way.”31

Interviewees hesitated over facts such as dates, titles, names, and amounts of time spent on specific subjects at university or teachers college. Judy Wheeler was unsure of the job title and the name of a teachers college staff member, but she was quite clear about her character: “I can’t recall her title, headmistress, whose name was Miss Prudence Haminow (?), who had very strict attitudes …”32 Gwen Arthur could remember being secretary of the union branch, but was unsure exactly when: “I was basically secretary of

28 Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 2.
29 Steer, p. 2.
30 Interview with John Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 3.
31 Ibid., p. 4.
32 Interview with Judy Wheeler, Pascoe Vale South, 7 December 2010, p. 12.
the union branch, for the last five years that I was at Yarram, maybe even it was when John [her husband] left that I took it over, I can’t remember now…”

What interviewees remembered clearly were the emotions and the feelings associated with events or times in their lives. Many of the interviewees recalled their tertiary years as “fun”, talking about the friends that they made, though they often could not recall the names of the subjects that they studied or the people who taught them. Sheenagh Roberts spoke of finding out that she had obtained a studentship and driving to tell her father, a plant operator, at the place where he was working: “I can vividly remember, the delight of jumping in the car, because he, always said: ‘I never ever thought I would ever have a child, bright enough to go to university.’ ” So vivid was this memory that recollecting her father’s joy and his tears, Roberts herself became emotional during the interview: “So, we got in the car, and raced round, found him, and he was on the, on the tractor or some piece of machinery, and he saw us coming so he stopped it, and I showed him the results and he cried, and I’m getting all teary now.” Information obtained from these interviews, therefore, needed to be checked, but the importance of events to the participants did not.

Several interviewees mentioned attending protest marches or participating in strikes or stop-work meetings, but also claimed that they could not remember the causes involved. This may be a memory issue, that is, they genuinely cannot remember, or it may be, as mentioned previously, that they have become more conservative with age and do not

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33 Interview with Gwen Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p.17.
34 Interview with Sheenagh Roberts, Pascoe Vale South, 4 December 2010, p. 13.
wish to remember too clearly what they may now regard as youthful follies (see Chapter 4). Judy Wheeler said: “I certainly supported causes, and there were quite a few, a lot of marches that I went to, but once again I don’t recall what I went to, I just (laugh) thought: ‘Yes, well you know, they need support at the time’, so although I was, I didn’t have any links with various protest groups, I certainly, there were times when I did march”.  

Sometimes interview questions prompted memories. Asked whether she had had to sign a timebook in her early years of teaching, Deidre Knowles said: “Yes, I’d forgotten about that.” Trent McDougall remarked: “You brought back a lot of things that I’d forgotten all about, you know, VSTA, Science Teachers’ Association, seminars, the political things”.  

Several times during interviews, I became aware that interviewees’ memories and the historical records differed and that memories of specific events were inaccurate. May James ascribed the need for more teachers in the 1950s to the Australian immigration program, though it was actually a result of the post-war baby boom, higher school retention rates and migration. Ron Leslie referred to Ian Turner, the Australian historian, as his teacher in Dip. Ed., but Ian Turner was a member of the history department in the Arts faculty, not a member of the Education faculty. However, Leslie was quite certain about his interaction with Turner as a lecturer: “my teacher in Dip Ed was Ian Turner, he’s pretty good. We argued like, like cats and dogs.”  

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36 Wheeler, p. 18.  
38 Interview with Trent McDougall, Horsham, 12 November 2010, p. 42.  
39 Interview with May James, Bundoora, 14 October 2010, p. 11.  
An additional factor noticeable in these interviews is that many interviewees were not just remembering their own lives, but placing them within the context of history and making comparisons, not just with their parents’ generation (as they were asked to do in the interview), but within the historical transitions of the second half of the twentieth century, often by referring to the experiences of their children or of younger teachers.

Relating their experiences to family members and events was not confined to the women interviewed, as might be suggested by Sangster’s examination of how women narrate their memories41, though there were differences. Rather than simply relating their stories within family contexts, both men and women also placed their narratives within historical changes.

Alistair Stirton related his career options and career path to those of his children, and how they reflected the changing employment patterns from one job for life with superannuation and long service leave benefits to the less certain, more casual employment of the current job market: “so she’s waiting to hear from the Police Force, but she just wants a regular job that pays, and has sick leave, and holiday pay, holidays.”42 Other interviewees linked their own lives and careers to life today. Peter Fewster compared his own life to those of his father, children and his grandchildren: “When I look back, at the experiences I had, as a young kid, starting school, and I look at the situations that my grandkids have, entirely different worlds!”43 Fewster saw his children as having an entirely different view of life than he did when younger and than his father did. Of his father and himself, he said that “my father was a typical product of

41 See p. 20 in this chapter.
42 Interview with Alistair Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 33.
43 Interview with Peter Fewster, Ascot Vale, 21 October 2010, p. 6.
kids who’d come through the Depression, that was his age-group, and security was paramount in his mental outlook on life … in the Depression they’d have lost assets, they’d lost a farm … and you know there’d be kids who would rebel and take a different line for, whatever, but that I sort of saw that there was some security in that”. Later in the interview, he remarked about his children that “security’s not a big factor in their lives … it’s not something that they’ve ever seen a time when the world wasn’t good to them”.45

Interviewees also compared their teaching careers to those of teachers who followed later. Janine Rizzetti compared her own teacher training on a studentship with a job guaranteed at the end of it with that of her daughter: “My daughter has only just recently qualified as a teacher, and of course there’s no studentships or anything, so she’s going around doing this emergency teaching which to me seems such a horrible way to start a teaching career, to start off, emergency teaching”. Vicki Steer commented on the way in which the profession had improved since her own entry in the 1970s: “I enjoyed preparing classes, although I found it scary, the lack of a framework … I don’t think young teachers today would be in that position, I think, the profession’s moved a long way from there.”47

Some interviewees saw life as more difficult and more complicated in the present than it had been in their youth. Gwen Arthur reflected on broader social changes when she

44 Ibid., p. 9.
46 Interview with Janine Rizzetti, Bundoora, 2 September 2010, p. 17.
47 Steer, p. 10.
remarked: “I think it was a lot simpler than what it is now, we had a very secure
childhood, particularly as little kids, we didn’t have a lot of money, but Mum was always
at home … we didn’t have TV until 1966, ’66 or ’67 … so we used, used to listen to the
radios, we had cubbyhouses, we had tree houses, we had bikes, we used to ride, I can
remember Nanna lived in Drouin, we lived in Warragul and I … must have only been 10
or 11, maybe 12 at the most, during the holidays we would ride, to Nanna’s, down the
back road, through Warragul West … Which is just something you just wouldn’t do,
these days … the primary school kids, aged kids that I’m teaching now … it’s an awfully
complicated life, they’re busy doing things all the time, that cost a lot of money, we
managed to make our own fun without spending a lot of money.”

Several interviewees commented on the current difficulties that tertiary students
experience. May James was concerned about the Higher Education Contribution Scheme
(HECS) that requires students to enter into debt that will be paid off by future earnings in
order to obtain a tertiary education. “I’m appalled, that students are paying HECS …
They are paying HECS when you’ve got lawyers, or student, student, lawyers, student
doctors, oh student anything else, paying HECS, and those people get very well
reimbursed in their jobs. … but I’m looking at student teachers paying HECS, they’re
going to earn a lot less than she [her daughter, a lawyer] is.” Shelley Lavender too
linked her student experiences to those of students today: “… you didn’t have to do all

48 G Arthur, p. 5.
49 James, p. 32.
that struggling to go, like kids do now, struggling to go to work and do waitressing and do all that sort of stuff.\textsuperscript{50}

As a group, the former studentship holders interviewed for this thesis related their educational and career achievements to both their family structures and to social changes that have occurred in their lifetimes. The comments that they made were frequently the result of reflection prompted by the interviews themselves.

**Secondary sources**

Secondary sources were examined on the history of education, and the teaching profession. Studies of teacher unionism were used to identify possible issues that former studentship recipients may have been concerned with in their time as students and in their later teaching careers. Additionally, further research helped identify the social and political changes that occurred from the 1950s onwards, particularly those affecting women. Rather than include this material as a literature review in a separate chapter, the theories of previous researchers and historians have been included in the relevant chapters that analyse the information from interviews and surveys.

Several issues arose from these secondary sources. A number of the sources such as the Education Department centenary history, \textit{Vision and Realisation}, and histories of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association (VSTA) reflected assumptions or bias on the part of the writers and needed to be balanced against each other. For example, a number of researchers commented on the future ‘problem’ likely to be created by the

\textsuperscript{50} Lavender, p. 19.
predominance of female trainee teachers, believing that women would not continue with their careers after marriage. Though Education Department publications recognised the problems in post-war education, they tend to be more congratulatory about the advances made in building and staffing post-war schools than those actually studying or teaching in schools might have been. For example, JS Gregory’s review of Vision and Realisation was critical of its “suffocatingly official character”, calling it an “exercise in public relations”. 51

Differentiating between the general effects of social change in the second half of the twentieth century and those specific changes in the studentship holders’ lives resulting from their receiving a university education was difficult. Interviewees themselves tended to be philosophical when asked whether their lives would have been different if they had not received a studentship. Peter Fewster remarked : “I find that really hard, because a studentship is part of a package, and it, look, it would probably have been for me a very different arrangement, because if I hadn’t gone into that particular course, anything else that I was looking at would have put me in a very difficult—not difficult, difficult—different situation.” 52 While many interviewees were quite certain that obtaining a studentship was a crucial factor in their lives, others like Stan Bates considered: “That’s a hard question to answer … it’s hard, hard to think back that far”. 53 What can be said is that studentships gave recipients the chance to participate in those social changes.

51 JS Gregory, ‘Vision and Realisation etc.’, Historical Studies, vol. 16 no. 64, ND Harper (ed.), University of Melbourne, Carlton, April 1975, p. 496.
52 Fewster, p. 31.
This thesis contributes to an understanding of the importance of tertiary education in social change. It argues that studentships transformed the lives of recipients, and, this, in turn, became a driver of social transformation. The lives of many of the people interviewed for this thesis were altered immeasurably by their tertiary studies—and, as I will reveal, most of them would not have had that chance without a studentship. The fact that most had lengthy teaching careers meant their shift to a more progressive stance was influential in the lives of countless young Australians. In this sense, studentships helped make and transform modern Australia.
Chapter 1: Social, political and educational changes after World War II

Educational changes

After 1945, the Victorian government struggled to meet the educational needs of the state’s students due to increased school populations and a shortage of teachers. This problem continued till the late 1970s when school populations began to decrease for the first time in the history of Victorian education. As Andrew Spaull commented in his study of teacher union politics: “All the Australian education systems have suffered from significant deviations in resource allocations to offset the Depression, the war of 1939–1945 and the cost of winning that war …. The most obvious scars have been found in the schools’ physical facilities and the recruitment and training of specialist teachers in primary and secondary schools.”

Secondary education

From the 1950s onwards, the number of students undertaking and completing secondary education in Victoria increased dramatically as a result of the higher post-war birthrate (the baby boom), higher school retention rates and migration.

Remembering her first years teaching at Maryborough Technical College in the 1960s, Carolyn Woolman commented on the poor facilities for teaching humanities, and the

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need to compete for money with other faculties. “The facilities were very, very bad…when I started teaching we had huge classes”. Woolman taught humanities in science rooms and domestic science rooms with the students perched on stools. Her Head of Department (HOD) for humanities was teaching in the refreshment room at Maryborough Railway Station. She remembers the then premier Bolte as a politician with little sympathy for, or perhaps concern for, education. “And the classes were huge, you know, 55 etc. … So that was all part of the feeling that, really, more could be done by government.” This view that all state governments were negligent of public education was echoed in the ACER Review of Education in Australia 1955–1962:

There is still too much limitation of opportunity: too many, who should have all the formal education possible to equip them to use their talents in the most fruitful way, either cannot afford full-time education, or grow up in a value system that scorns it.

A shortage of teachers was exacerbated by post-war prosperity, which increased student interest in continuing their education. Whereas previously, the Merit Certificate (completion of two years of secondary schooling) was acceptable in Victoria for most jobs, the 1950s and 1960s saw a huge increase in the number of high and technical schools to meet the demand created by the post-war baby boom and the retention of students beyond Year 8.

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2 Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, p. 11.
3 Ibid., p. 12.
5 Until the late 1960s, primary education levels were labelled Preps to Grade 6 and secondary levels, Forms 1 to 6. For convenience, the current system of labeling levels as K-12 (Kindergarten to Year 12) has been followed.
In 1950, 12,599 students started their secondary school education, but only 1,095 (8.7 per cent)\textsuperscript{6} continued to Year 12. In the Education Department’s 1959–1960 annual report, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools JW Mills reported that in the previous twelve years, secondary school enrolments had increased from 33,000 to 94,000 (184 per cent)\textsuperscript{7} and the number of high schools increased from 47 to 150 (219 per cent), while the number of secondary teachers in training increased from 284 to 1,700 (499 per cent).\textsuperscript{8} By 1973, there were 278 schools in Victoria offering secondary education to 175,688 students.\textsuperscript{9} The retention rate to Year 12 was 39 per cent.\textsuperscript{10} By 1976, when the secondary population began to decline, there were 290 schools offering secondary education to a total of 183,843 students.\textsuperscript{11}

There was an acute shortage of qualified teachers from 1945 until the late 1970s. In 1948, only 46 per cent of teachers in Victorian high schools were fully qualified.\textsuperscript{12} In his report on secondary education in 1950, Charles Scarff, Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools and head of the secondary division of the Education Department, recorded that there were 1360 classified teachers, 295 temporary teachers and 257 primary teachers staffing

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 30.
secondary schools. Over 40 per cent did not have appropriate university qualifications.

(See Table 1.)

<table>
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<th>School division</th>
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<th>Temporary</th>
<th>% Temporary</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1084</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1360</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>79</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(*Since married women, teachers who were part-time, as well as those who were not qualified for promotion, were classified as temporary, not all temporary teachers were unqualified.)

Classified teachers were those who were fully qualified; temporary teachers were usually unqualifed; and primary teachers were able to teach the first two year levels of secondary school, though they frequently taught beyond this. The Education Department’s initial solution was to accept unqualified teachers as temporary teachers, while offering increasing numbers of teaching studentships to recruit and train qualified teachers.

The Ramsay report 1949

Alan Ramsay was appointed Director of Education in late 1948. Before taking up his post, he embarked on a fact-finding mission to the United Kingdom to study the administration of the 1944 Education Act. On his return, Ramsay presented the Minister for Public Instruction, Brigadier Lovell, with a 15-page report. It was made available to

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politicians through the parliamentary library and to teachers through extracts\textsuperscript{16} in \textit{The Teachers' Journal}.\textsuperscript{17} It was also made available to the media.

Ramsay discussed the provision of school buildings and the organisation of secondary education, teacher training, and educational administration and organisation in his report. As an insight into the thinking of educational authorities, Ramsay’s report is as interesting for what it does not include as for what it does. Nothing in the version of the report published in \textit{The Teachers' Journal} refers to educational philosophy or research-based findings. His principal concerns were practical and he regularly used words such as ‘wastage’ and ‘uneconomical’ to refer to past practices. Ramsay confined his fact-finding visits to England and Scotland, ignoring Wales, Cornwall and Northern Ireland and apparently never considered extending his visit to the United States or Canada.

Through his recommendations, Ramsay aimed to create schools that provided a general education for students up to 15 years, whether they attended technical, high, higher elementary or consolidated schools. This aim required the extension of the school leaving age\textsuperscript{18}, at that stage 14 years of age.

Raising the status of Victorian teachers was a concern for Ramsay. In his introductory comments on teacher training, Ramsay made two points that reflected his thinking on

\textsuperscript{16} Though the report in \textit{The Teachers' Journal} refers to it as being extracts from the report, as the extract was eight pages of small print and Ramsay’s original report is described as being 15 pages long (presumably of typescript), it is difficult to tell what, if anything, has been omitted. Neither the parliamentary library, nor what remains of the Education Department library, has a copy. Nor has the Public Records Office of Victoria.

\textsuperscript{17} ‘Director reports on his visit to England’, \textit{The Teachers’ Journal}, vol. XXXII, no. 1, Victorian Teachers Union, The Ruskin Press, Melbourne, 20 January 1949, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 13.
this. Firstly, he commented on the high status of teachers in Scotland where the educational requirements for teachers was considerably higher than in either England or Australia. All male Scottish teachers were graduates with a year’s teacher training, as were female secondary teachers. All secondary teachers were, moreover, required to have a first or second class Honours degree.\textsuperscript{19} This was in sharp contrast to Victoria.

Secondly, Ramsay reported that both English and Scottish educational authorities believed that teacher training should require trainee teachers to spend time with those trainees who would be working in other school types beyond the ones for which they were training.\textsuperscript{20} A product of the Victorian education system himself, this may have been Ramsay’s response to the fact that the “Victorian education system was in fact ‘three separate empires which … were often oblivious to each other and lacking in any strong direction or co-ordination from above …’ ”.\textsuperscript{21} In the specific recommendations he made regarding secondary teacher training, Ramsay considered that secondary trainees should be members of Melbourne Teachers College and mix with those doing other courses (for example, primary or technical teacher training). However, he recognised that this was not feasible because of the pressure of numbers at Melbourne Teachers College, which needed to train sufficient primary teachers. Ramsay’s suggested alternative was that The University of Melbourne School of Education serve as headquarters for secondary trainees. Staff providing training in teaching methods would supervise courses, provide tutorials for first year students and supervise teaching practice. To achieve this,

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\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 13.
University High School staff, who also acted as university teaching method staff (staff who instructed trainee teachers in methods of teaching), would need to be freed from teaching duties at the school.\textsuperscript{22} Even though secondary trainee teachers would be attending university, Ramsay’s comments suggest that he still saw them as needing supervision to ensure that they undertook their training satisfactorily.

Discussing secondary teacher training, Ramsay was concerned about the existing system which extended the training of student primary teachers to allow them to undertake university subjects. He argued that the two years of training (one year spent as a student teacher and the other at teachers college) discouraged entry to the secondary service and that Senior Teaching Scholarship holders were inadequately supervised during their university education and that contact with schools and with those responsible for their teacher training was also inadequate.\textsuperscript{23} Again, Ramsay’s concerns were practical, concerned with what would make secondary teaching more appealing and make training more effective. Again, he saw secondary trainees as needing supervision.

Secondary studentships had been offered until the 1930s, but were discontinued during the Depression. Ramsay recommended that a return be made to a modified version of the original, pre-Depression plan for training secondary teachers. Students would be selected straight from school for a degree course and would then complete the first year of a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), a Diploma of Education (Dip. Ed.). Students would be paid the normal allowance during training and sign a bond that required them to repay the

\textsuperscript{22} *The Teachers’ Journal*, vol. XXXII no.1, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
allowance and fees if they defaulted. Drawing on his own experience as a headmaster, Ramsay argued that this would increase both recruitment quality and numbers. Ramsay recommended that the headquarters for secondary training be switched to the university from the teachers college and that no extensions to undertake master’s degrees be granted as this “was the main factor in our losing a number of students in the past”. Ramsay’s desire to provide secondary teachers as quickly as possible overcame his admiration for Scotland’s well-qualified teachers.

Speaking of the re-introduction of secondary teaching studentships, Ramsay talked of 50 recipients a year, an indication that, in 1949, he had no idea how strong the demand for secondary education would become nor how many secondary teachers would be required.

**Union, media and political views on the Ramsay report and on Victorian education**

The response of the Victorian Teachers Union (VTU), the Victorian Secondary Masters Professional Association (VSMPA), the media and Victorian politicians was supportive of Ramsay’s recommendations, though again the emphasis was on practicality, rather than on educational philosophy. *The Argus* reported the approval of DP Schubert, general secretary of the VTU, for the changes. *The Age* compared Victorian education to that of the UK, before covering Ramsay’s recommendations, including those to all levels of

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26 ‘Teachers are pleased by reforms’, *The Argus*, 3 February 1949, p. 5.
teacher training. The *Sun News-Pictorial* concentrated on Ramsay’s suggestion that prefabricated buildings could overcome the delay in providing new school accommodation. *The Herald* led with the Premier’s statement that Ramsay’s suggestions were “merely recommendations, followed by Tovell’s statement that the teacher training system would be organised and that teaching would be made more attractive for young people.” The VSMPA, founded in August 1948, produced its first edition of its magazine, *The Secondary Teacher*, in March 1949. Though the journal had had comments in its early editions about the problems of adequately staffing secondary schools, Ramsay’s report is not mentioned at all in 1949, and nor was the re-introduction of secondary teaching studentships. Secondary school masters were preoccupied with having their additional qualifications recognised, and being reimbursed appropriately.

Ramsay’s report was submitted to Cabinet, but not debated in Parliament, although education issues and, occasionally, Ramsay’s report, were mentioned in passing in parliamentary debates. Though politicians spoke eloquently of the importance of education, they saw its value in practical terms. ERT Reynolds, the member for the Legislative Assembly (MLA) for Toorak, said in his maiden speech on 29 March 1949 that “education is the great and vital condition of democracy,” while WR Dawnay-Mould, MLA for Dandenong, argued on 13 April that “The State would be moving backwards if it did not insist on the education of children being regarded as the most

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important function of any Government”. 32 But a more common attitude was that of HS Bailey, MLA for Warrnambool, who, speaking about raising the school leaving age to 15, said on 7 April: “The Government had not the slightest idea when schools and teachers will be provided. There are not sufficient schools or teachers for the children who are compelled to attend schools.” 33 Politicians raised practical concerns: the closure of schools in their electorates, the lack of teachers that had forced those closures, the poor condition of schools, and the difficulties that country students had getting to school. The closest approach to a philosophical statement on education came from the member for Doutta Galla, P Jones, who stated on 6 April: “entrance to university should be free … Ability should be the main test irrespective of the financial position of the home”. 34 Again on 28 September, Mr Jones argued that the existing education system was stratified and that a new system should be opened for the children of all classes. Later in the same speech, however, he returned to the practical concerns of his colleagues: “The nation that cultivates the best brains in the community and sees that they are properly developed is the nation that will be in the van.” 35 WJ Beckett of Melbourne Province, speaking in the Legislative Council, stated that a great many Australians, like those in other countries, did not have the “mental capacity to take advantage of all the opportunities for education available to them”. 36

32 Ibid., p. 372.
33 Ibid., p. 258.
34 Ibid., p. 181.
36 Ibid., p. 2007.
Members of parliament were aware of the parlous state of Victorian education, though what they considered to be appropriate reforms would have seemed inadequate to those teaching in the system. AE Shepherd, member for Sunshine (and later Minister of Education, December 1952–June 1955), argued the need to reduce class sizes “to reasonable proportions—say about 40 pupils”. Politicians lauded the teaching profession, but were also aware how unattractive a job it could be. Mr Reynolds spoke of teachers “giving their services in a true public spirit in the high task of educating the young … moulding the characters of the coming generation … doing valuable work for rewards which are lower in many cases than those received by other persons who perform the least skilled functions.”

Lt-Colonel Hipworth, Swan Hill, attributed the shortage of teachers to young people not wishing to join the teaching service: “Many of them cannot afford to do so when they see that there are better opportunities in other vocations.”

The teacher training system is rarely mentioned. In the Lieutenant-Governor’s outline of the government’s program at the opening of Parliament, he referred to the system of teacher training being overhauled. In August, while discussing the Budget, the Premier, TT Hollway, mentioned an increase in allowances to student teachers and an increase in the number of students at teachers colleges. No reference was made in Parliament to the re-introduction of secondary studentships. The decision to reintroduce secondary teaching studentships was taken by the Premier and the Cabinet. Though this change in

39 Ibid., p. 262–3
40 Ibid., p. 5.
41 Ibid., p. 1447.
42 Ibid., p. 1459.
government policy had far-reaching social implications because it made a university education available to a broader spectrum of Victorian society, in 1949, neither the Director of Education, the Government, nor the media seemed aware of its potential implications.

Ramsay had recommended that secondary teaching studentships be reintroduced. In 1950, 290 secondary studentships were awarded: 139 to new entrants, mainly those who had just completed their secondary education, the rest to those already on other forms of studentship. By 1955, 3047 studentship holders were in training, 859 of them on secondary studentships. The number peaked in 1974 with 6648 primary, 9020 secondary and 2190 technical trainee teachers. Of 3716 student teachers attending universities in 1975, 51 per cent were enrolled in Arts degrees and 72 per cent of those Arts student teachers were women. Studentships were no longer offered after 1978, because the Education Department now had teachers in ‘excess’ of the number required. By 1977-78, the last year in which teaching studentships were offered, Victoria had 400 schools with 17,602 teachers, offering secondary education to 239,487 students. (See Table 2.)

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Table 2: Teacher numbers 1977–78

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<td>% Temporary</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The high percentage of temporary female teachers is largely a result of the high number of part-time female teachers.)

One of the questions examined in this thesis is whether the provision of teaching studentships over a 28-year period gave those who would previously have been unable to do so—because of the cost—the opportunity to obtain tertiary qualifications. Did studentships open up the possibility of careers outside trades, banks or office work? At a time when female work was largely confined to homemaking, retailing, office work, teaching and nursing, did having a university qualification enable women to establish a professional career even if they did not stay in teaching?

Tertiary education
Along with the increase in post-war secondary school numbers, Australian university student numbers also increased. In 1950, 2278 students sat for the Matriculation examination and 1346 (59 per cent) passed. At The University of Melbourne, then Victoria’s only university, there were 1460 new undergraduate entrants. Over 9000 students altogether were enrolled, 5212 of whom were full-time. In 1983, Anderson and Vervoorn stated that, between 1945 and 1975, the number of students in Australian universities increased almost tenfold, though the Australian population did not even
However, still only a small percentage of those who started secondary school commenced tertiary studies. Out of 100 students starting secondary school in 1983, only 36 completed Year 12, 18 began a tertiary course, and 12 graduated to become professionals. A contributing factor in financing these students’ studies was the re-introduction of secondary studentships. For example, Rowlands and Fary stated that, in 1967, a quarter of all first-year students at Monash University were on a teaching studentship, including one-third of the Arts faculty.

The expansion of the primary and secondary school system was paralleled by an increase in the number of tertiary institutions. From 1854 until 1961, when Monash University opened, Victoria had only one university, The University of Melbourne. By 1985, Victoria had four universities with a total enrolment of 38,485 students, with Monash accepting students in 1961, La Trobe in 1967 and Deakin in 1977.

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48 Ibid., p. 2.
Female university enrolments

Table 3: University undergraduate numbers* at Victorian universities 1950–1985\(^{50}\)

(*Includes part-time and full-time students)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Melbourne</th>
<th>Monash</th>
<th>La Trobe</th>
<th>Deakin</th>
<th>Total M/F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>7032</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>7032</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>7032</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>5420</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>5420</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>5420</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4988</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>4988</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>4988</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9734</td>
<td>3971</td>
<td>2951</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>12685</td>
<td>5269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>10147</td>
<td>4579</td>
<td>7051</td>
<td>3333</td>
<td>17198</td>
<td>7912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>10154</td>
<td>5525</td>
<td>8248</td>
<td>5001</td>
<td>4390</td>
<td>3356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>8167</td>
<td>5192</td>
<td>6635</td>
<td>4994</td>
<td>4136</td>
<td>3923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8074</td>
<td>5530</td>
<td>6459</td>
<td>5370</td>
<td>7455</td>
<td>4482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the time of the University of Melbourne’s establishment until 1950, only 21 per cent of its total number of 22,086 graduates were women. As detailed in Table 3, in 1950, less than a quarter of its undergraduates were women.\(^{51}\) The newer universities had slightly higher percentages of women students than Melbourne. By 1965, 29 per cent of

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Melbourne’s 52 and 31 per cent of Monash’s students were female 53, and by 1978, the last year in which studentships were offered, 38.9 per cent of Melbourne’s graduate population was female 54, 42.9 per cent of Monash’s 55, and 48.7 of La Trobe’s 56. However, despite this rise, women were still under-represented in the Victorian university undergraduate population, their total well below 48.8 per cent, the percentage of females in the 15- to 19-year-old age group according to the 1976 census. 57 Chapter 2 examines whether women were as under-represented as studentship recipients as they were as university students.

The post-war years were a period of great change in secondary and tertiary education. The introduction of secondary studentships enabled large numbers of school leavers to obtain a free university education and a salary while training to be teachers. Chapter 2 will examine whether this increased the likelihood of working class and middle class students gaining a tertiary education, particularly a university degree.

53 Ibid.
Social and political changes in Australia in the second half of the twentieth century

The changes in education to 1980 reflected the enormous changes in Australian society since 1945. Geoffrey Bolton stated that Australians still saw themselves as part of the British Empire in the early post-war period.\(^{58}\) The population was predominantly Anglo-Saxon-Celtic in ancestry and the White Australia policy (WAP) was designed to keep out non-white migrants. Australian citizenship was only introduced in the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*—until then Australians were British subjects. Only 14 per cent of Australians had been born overseas. Except for soldiers, the majority of Australians had not been overseas, and even politicians seldom travelled.\(^{59}\) The country generally looked to the United Kingdom for its history, its culture and its traditions.

From 1949 till 1972, the Australian government was dominated by a conservative Liberal-Country Party coalition. In Victoria, a Liberal government was in power from 1955 to 1982. However, the Menzies government and its Liberal-Country Party successors continued the policy pursued in World War II of a close defensive alliance with the United States of America.\(^{60}\) The gradual abolition of the WAP occurred between 1949, when Harold Holt as Immigration Minister allowed 800 non-European refugees to stay in Australia and Japanese war brides to enter the country, and 1973, when the


\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 5.

\(^{60}\) Ibid., pp. 79–80.
Whitlam Labor government removed race as a consideration in Australian immigration policy.\textsuperscript{61}

Describing the Australian cultural and intellectual climate, Bolton claimed that universities were not “expected to provide new or disturbing stimulation. Many of Australia’s finest scholars left the country.”\textsuperscript{62} Those who remained, like John Anderson, sceptical professor of philosophy at Sydney University and RM Crawford, teaching history at Melbourne University, were often “vilified by ignorant politicians if they upset conventional thinking”.\textsuperscript{63} “The new radical analysts of Australian society, such as Brian Fitzpatrick and PR Stephenson, mostly operated outside the universities.” The ABC was disseminating Australian culture, but was not allowed to broadcast controversial opinions.\textsuperscript{64} In contrast to this intellectual poverty, the war ushered in an economic boom period with high commodity prices and full employment.\textsuperscript{65} For 30 years, Australia had an unemployment rate of less than three per cent.\textsuperscript{66}

However, from the 1960s onwards, social and political transformations occurred. Particularly with opposition to the Vietnam War, Australians saw many challenges to the status quo and campaigns to improve life and human rights for Indigenous Australians, migrants, women, and gays and lesbians, and to protect and improve the environment.

Interviews with former studentship holders examined how much they were involved in

\textsuperscript{61} Department of Immigration and Citizenship, \textit{Fact Sheet 8 – Abolition of the ‘White Australia’ policy}, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, 2008, para. 16–29, viewed 18 June 2012.
\textsuperscript{62} Bolton, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., p. 30.
student activism or other social and political causes and how their political and social attitudes were affected by their tertiary education, or whether they in turn may have influenced social and political change.

The greatest of these social changes was arguably in the status of women. Certainly, it is the most germane to this thesis given the large number of women who gained studentships. As BM Solomon remarked:

Although an education does not guarantee feminism (any more than its absence precludes it), education offers a process by which women can learn to value their own thinking and themselves.67

Feminist historians have argued that traditional schooling for women educated them to become homemakers and that social class determined that working class girls gained more domestic education than their middle class contemporaries.68 Though this gradually changed post-war, was a brother’s education seen as more important in the families of female studentship holders? If women did receive a tertiary education, Kaplan argued that women received fewer postgraduate scholarships in the 1970s than men did.69 I will investigate the percentage of postgraduate qualifications amongst former studentship holders.

After World War II, women were marrying younger and living longer, so they had more opportunity to return to the workforce after their children started school. Use of birth control increased from two-thirds of married women in 1945–1949 to 90 per cent by 1971. Though Caro and Fox commented that, in the 1950s, “dads had a job and mums looked after the house and kids, most of the time…”\textsuperscript{70}, this picture was not completely true as more women were staying at school longer and married women were more likely to work than their predecessors, though women’s jobs were still regarded by many as supplementing the family income and were not to interfere with a woman’s main role as a mother and homemaker.\textsuperscript{71}

Though more women were receiving university educations and entering the workforce in the 1960s and 1970s, most of them saw a marriage and family in their future whatever other goals they had.\textsuperscript{72} The Borrie Report (the First Report of the National Population Enquiry) noted an increase in the participation in the workforce of women aged 25 to 34 (the childbearing years) from about 25 per cent in 1964 to 39 per cent in 1973, with approximately a quarter of the married women being mothers.\textsuperscript{73} Did the majority of female studentship holders surveyed re-enter the work force after maternity leave?

For women in the decades from 1950 to 1970, a limited range of career options existed: the nursing and teaching professions or retail, clerical or secretarial positions. Few

\textsuperscript{71} M Allen et al, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{72} Caro & Fox, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{73} M Sawer & M Simms, \textit{A Woman’s Place: women and politics in Australia}, George Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1984, p. 36.
women reached senior management roles. Caro and Fox claimed that from 1970 onwards “a whole generation of young women were emerging from higher education armed with degrees their mothers could never have dreamed of attaining (at the same youthful age, anyway) … For women of our generation there was a strongly-held belief that the process that began with access to education, and gained momentum by allowing us to control our fertility, would obviously continue to fall into place as we entered the workforce.”74 For women in the 1960s and 1970s, the workplace that they entered was male-dominated, particularly in management, and sexism and discrimination were rife. Sawer and Simms wrote in 1984 that “For many women the price of success has been the acceptance of male priorities.”75 Did female teachers encounter discrimination and sexism in the workplace? Do they see women having careers as the norm?

Until 1969, when the Commonwealth Arbitration Court called for equal pay for equal work to be phased in by 197276, lower wages for women were justified on the grounds that men were the breadwinners, so their wages had to support a family. In Victoria, however, the Teachers’ Tribunal awarded equal pay to female teachers in December 1967, nine years after it was achieved in NSW. Equal pay was phased in for all classes of teachers by January 1971.77 Sawer and Simms noted that, in 1980, women workers still earned only 78 cents to the male dollar, blaming trade unions for trying to preserve relative male-female positions in the workforce despite the Equal Pay Act. They also noted that though women made up one-third of trade unionists, they held only 12 out of

74 Caro & Fox, p. 27.
75 Sawer & Simms, p. 18.
489 official positions.\textsuperscript{78} An area to explore with both male and female teachers would be their degree of union participation and whether they held official positions.

According to Caro and Fox, “Nearly 65 per cent of working-age women are now in paid work … In Australia, 76 per cent of women in the 45–54 age group are in paid work, compared with 52 per cent 20 years ago (ABS – 6105.0 – Australian Labour Market Statistics, January 2005).” However, they also noted that the gap between male and female graduates’ salaries after a year in the workforce is six per cent and that female executives earn only 58 per cent of the salary of male colleagues.\textsuperscript{79} Comparatively, how have male and female studentship holders fared in their careers? Have those women who continued as teachers advanced as much as their male colleagues in the education hierarchy?

Whatever women’s career achievements, the care of children and the house continued to be inequitably divided, even when both partners are working full-time. “Women still do around 80 per cent of the home chores and caring tasks, despite their increasing workforce participation.”\textsuperscript{80} Nor has the workplace adjusted to meet the demands of employees with family responsibilities, rather it is the female employees by and large who have adjusted their lives to suit the demands of the workplace, using holiday leave to care for sick children or just to look after children during school holidays or else working

\textsuperscript{78} Sawer & Simms, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{79} Caro & Fox, pp. 95–99.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 43.
part-time in what is increasingly a workforce based on part-time casual labour. Does teaching as a career enable women teachers to achieve a more reasonable work–life balance and do they see themselves as having a more equitable distribution of household and family responsibilities?

Lake, and Sawer and Simms saw the movement against conscription and the Vietnam War as politicising many feminists. Lake argued that women’s liberation meetings and groups grew out of left-wing women’s dissatisfaction with the ‘chauvinism’ of their left-wing male ‘comrades’. This dissatisfaction was reinforced by the publication in 1969 of Sexual Politics and of The Female Eunuch in 1970, which gave a language and an ideology to the feminist movement. From a small group of women who formed the Women’s Action Committee in 1970 (Women’s Liberation from March 1972), membership grew to thousands in less than two years.

The women’s liberation movement of the 1970s was very diverse. On the one hand, liberal feminist groups such as the Women’s Electoral Lobby (WEL) were formally organised and committed to working through the political structure to achieve specific goals for women in the workforce, in education and in politics. Radical feminists wanted to challenge the social status quo entirely, avoid replicating male organisational structures and work in an egalitarian manner. Action groups and collectives established

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82 Lake, p. 220.
83 Sawer & Simms, p. 176.
84 Lake, p. 221.
85 Kaplan, p. 33.
consciousness-raising sessions, women’s learning networks, rape crisis centres, health collectives, and halfway houses and women’s shelters. Early women’s liberation campaigns were for abortion law reform, the abolition of the luxury tax on the pill and for “government sponsored, free, day-care centres”. Feminists campaigned against the many forms that discrimination took in the early 1970s, whether it was in the granting of bank loans to women, sexist or stereotypical advertising, pay differences, or workplace hiring practices. More fundamental changes were advocated by those feminists who wanted to overthrow both capitalism and the patriarchy, including the nuclear family, who believed that change had to begin with women changing themselves and overcoming their own sex role conditioning. Were trainee teachers and career teachers involved in these movements?

Sawer and Simms argued that women who were politically active at university became feminist activists in teaching. What was the degree of political involvement of studentship holders both in their university days and afterwards in teaching? Did a university education give studentship holders who went to university in the 1960s and 1970s experience in political activism, a capacity to debate that was utilised in after-university careers and personal lives? Did it give them a sense of social justice that they applied to their careers and their personal lives?

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86 Sawer & Simms, pp. 177–193.
87 Lake, p. 224.
89 Sawer & Simms, p. 176.
Radical educational, social and political changes occurred in Australia in the second half of the twentieth century. This thesis then is about those changes and how studentships facilitated those changes.
Chapter 2 Leaving school; leaving home

An overview of teaching studentships

Between 1950 and 1978, over 22,000 teaching studentships were provided to enable trainee teachers to study at universities and secondary teachers colleges in Victoria. Trainee secondary teachers could attend university to obtain a degree and a year’s teacher training (Diploma of Education), undertake a combination of teachers college and university subjects if they failed at university, or enrol directly for a Trained Secondary Teacher’s Certificate (TSTC, the equivalent of a degree and Diploma of Education).

Other recipients were training to be librarians, arts and crafts teachers, physical education, or domestic science/home economics teachers. Studentships were also offered for teacher training at primary teachers colleges in Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong, Frankston, Coburg, Toorak and Burwood. (These Education Department colleges qualified the recipients solely for work in schools, unlike a university degree.) Course lengths varied from two years for the original Trained Primary Teacher’s Certificate (TPTC), three years for a Trained Infant Teacher’s Certificate (TITC), and later three years for a Diploma of Teaching (Primary), and three or four years for domestic science, and for arts and crafts. The original prerequisite for TPTC, Leaving Certificate (Year 11), was later raised to Year 12.
Previous research about trainee teacher socio-economic backgrounds

The creation of studentships attracted the attention of social and educational researchers. Rowlands and Fary in 1967 and Anderson and Western in 1970 examined the socio-economic backgrounds of trainee teachers and university students. Both studies concluded that teaching studentships gave lower middle class and working class students the opportunity to undertake tertiary studies. Their results suggested that those who completed the surveys for this thesis would come from similar backgrounds. The survey results bear this out. While this thesis focuses on those who received studentships to attend university, primary and secondary teachers college trainees were surveyed for comparison.

EJ Rowlands and NG Fary in 1967 researched the backgrounds of first-year secondary studentship holders at Monash Teachers College.\(^1\) Their research included trainee teachers undertaking a degree at Monash University and those at Monash Teachers College undertaking TSTC. Rowlands and Fary used a six-point scale to categorise the occupations of the student teachers’ fathers. The scale ranged from professional and high administrative positions (1) to unskilled manual labour (6). The majority of students’ fathers were in categories 4 and 5, the lower middle class and working class categories.\(^2\)

Fary undertook a similar survey of the 1969 education year (final year) students at Monash Teachers College, again investigating the students’ fathers’ occupations, using

\(^1\) As studentship holders were employees of the Education Department, a teachers college was designated as their workplace while they studied at university, so that both studentship holders at Monash University and at Monash Teachers College were listed as being at Monash Teachers College.

the same six occupational categories with some additional occupations listed in each.\textsuperscript{3} This data showed a large increase in those trainee teachers whose fathers were in the first category (nearly five times as many men and nearly twice as many women as in 1967). Similar increases occurred in the first four categories and there was a corresponding decline in the numbers from category 5. However, Fary’s data presented difficulties in interpretation: only 80 questionnaires were returned, and the survey was confined to those studying at Monash Teachers College and did not include those studying full-time at Monash University as had the 1967 survey.\textsuperscript{4} It is impossible to determine whether this was a statistical blip caused by small numbers of survey participants, whether more middle class students were now on studentships, or whether more of those from middle class homes failed university subjects and were then forced by the terms of their bond to undertake teachers college subjects.\textsuperscript{5} However, this trend of an increasing number of teacher trainees drawn from the higher socio-economic groups is also confirmed by Bassett in 1972 in his examination of NSW teaching students. Bassett found that the percentage of those in the first three groups remained the same for university students.\textsuperscript{6}

DS Anderson and colleagues completed further studies in the 1970s and early 1980s. Anderson and JS Western examined the socio-economic backgrounds of 3,146 first-year Australian university students who were studying to be engineers, lawyers, doctors and

\textsuperscript{3} Students who did not pass subjects at Monash University were required to undertake studies at the Teachers College. They may have studied both university and teachers college subjects. Other students, who gained studentships, but not places at university, were offered places at a secondary teachers college and did not attend university.


\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, p. 4.

teachers in 1965 and 1967. Included in the study were student teachers enrolled in arts, science (including agriculture) and economics from Melbourne and Monash Universities. Anderson and Western examined three indicators of socio-economic status: father’s occupation, father’s income and father’s education. Unlike Fary and Rowlands, Anderson and Western asked students to estimate their fathers’ income. The income scale used was from less than $2000 per annum to over $8000, rising by increments of $2000. One-fifth of students in medicine and law assessed their fathers’ income as over $8000 compared to only six per cent of teaching students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Engineering 1965</th>
<th>Law 1966</th>
<th>Medicine 1967</th>
<th>Teaching 1967</th>
<th>All students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=652</td>
<td>N=645</td>
<td>N=572</td>
<td>N=1,277</td>
<td>N=3,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $4000</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4001–8000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $8000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( *Based on Anderson and Western. *)

Summarising the results of their research, Anderson and Western concluded:

Students destined for teaching or engineering tend to come from families with lower incomes, the parents have had less education, and the father is

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7 DS Anderson, JS Western & BC Horne, ‘Social profiles of students in four professions’, Quarterly Review of Australian Education, vol. 3 no. 4, (ed. RT Fitzgerald), Australian Council for Educational Research, Hawthorn, December 1970, p. 6. (The main article was written by Anderson and Western with a supplement on engineering students by Horne.)

8 Ibid., p. 12.
less likely to be a self-employed professional or large-scale employer or manager.\textsuperscript{9}

In 1983, DS Anderson and AE Vervoorn reviewed previous studies of the socio-economic backgrounds of Australian university students, concluding that Australian tertiary education was dominated by the upper class\textsuperscript{10} from the 1930s to the 1980s.\textsuperscript{11} They wrote:

True, there are many female students, working class students, students who have attended public or Catholic schools, students from ethnic minorities or mature age students, but in almost all cases they are under-represented in relation to their numbers in the general population, while those who have … [an upper class background] are over-represented—and remain over-represented, despite all the massive changes which have occurred in Australian society since 1945 … Where change has occurred—as in the participation by women, for example—it is because social attitudes have changed.\textsuperscript{12}

They added that while trainee teachers were “less likely than university students to have fathers in professional occupations, they still tended to have a larger proportion with such backgrounds than the population generally, and while the children of small businessmen, tradesmen and other ‘middle’ occupational groups are well represented, those [children] of unskilled workers seldom make it to teachers college.”\textsuperscript{13} Quoting GW Bassett’s studies

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid. p. 25
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 10.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 2.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 7.
of trainee teachers undertaken from the 1950s to the 1970s, Anderson and Vervoorn asserted that when students with fathers in the lower socio-economic groups completed secondary schooling, they were more likely to enter teachers college than university, and that the socio-economic status of education students at university, though more likely to be from lower socio-economic groups than those of other faculties, were slightly higher than those of teachers college students.14 Those from workers’ homes were more likely to choose senior technical or teachers colleges.15 Anderson and Vervoorn also cited annual student entrant surveys carried out at Melbourne and Monash Universities during the 1960s and 1970s, which confirm the stability of higher socio-economic dominance of university education.16

**Socio-economic backgrounds of those surveyed for this thesis**

Previous research, therefore, suggested that those on teaching studentships were more likely to be from lower middle class and working class backgrounds than from higher social classes and that students at teachers colleges were more likely to be from a lower socio-economic background than would those on teaching studentships at a university.

At this distance in time, those who were surveyed or interviewed for this thesis were unlikely to be able to estimate their father’s income accurately as students did in Anderson and Western’s study. So Fary and Rowlands’ six-point scale was used as a guide to rank fathers’ occupations in the 168 surveys completed by former studentship holders. In addition, extra categories were included for those whose fathers were deceased,

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14 Ibid., p. 141.
15 Ibid., p. 143.
16 Ibid., p. 10.
unemployed, retired or on a pension on the assumption that this would limit family income. (See Table 5.) Over half of the survey group had fathers who were either in the lower middle class or working class categories (4, 5 and 6). Nearly half were in category 4 (small business, trades, agricultural and pastoral). Less than a third had fathers who were in a professional or higher administrative role, in business, educational or ecclesiastical positions or in the higher levels of bureaucracy. The surveys support the conclusions of earlier researchers that teaching studentships gave lower middle and working class students the opportunity for a tertiary education.

Table 5: Fathers’ occupations of those surveyed*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Professional and higher administration</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Business, higher educational, ecclesiastical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teachers and higher clerical</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Small business, trades, agricultural and pastoral</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Semi-skilled, manual, minor clerical, minor commercial</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>162</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NB. Some respondents left this question unanswered.

However, the analysis of data for specific groups revealed some differences within the studentship survey population. A much higher percentage, over a third, of teachers college students came from the three upper social levels, with only two-thirds of the fathers in lower middle class and working class occupations. This contrasted with the university students where three-quarters of the students were lower middle class or working class. In the group surveyed for this thesis, those undertaking tertiary studies at university were less likely to have fathers in upper socio-economic occupations than did those at teachers.
colleges. Part of the reason for this figure being skewed was the number of female primary studentship holders whose fathers fell into the three upper occupational levels.

This finding contradicts the conclusion that Anderson and Vervoorn reached in their 1983 review when they concluded that while education students at universities had a lower socio-economic background than those in other faculties, they had a slightly higher one than teachers college students.\(^{17}\) The survey data also fits with Fary’s 1969 results where there was a rise in the percentage of teachers college students whose fathers were in higher socio-economic backgrounds. Whether this reversal of the expected pattern was an anomaly pertaining only to this specific survey group or whether it indicated that primary teaching was seen as a suitable job for women by the middle class is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, Judy Wheeler, when speaking about the lack of interaction between Melbourne Teachers College students and those at the adjacent Melbourne University, did refer ironically to the teacher college administration’s view of their students as ‘ladies’ as compared to the university students.\(^{18}\)

**Male-female socio-economic backgrounds**

Looking at female participation in higher education, Anderson and Vervoorn determined that like university students as a whole, female university students were more likely to come from higher socio-economic groups, have a private school education and come from a city rather than the country.\(^ {19}\) Anderson and Vervoorn cited a 1965 study of women graduates by M Dawson, which concluded that, since the beginning of the

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\(^{17}\) Anderson & Vervoorn, p. 141.  
\(^{19}\) Anderson & Vervoorn, p. 59.
twentieth century, the percentage of female graduates from upper socio-economic groups had increased.\textsuperscript{20} The question is whether this held true for female trainee teachers: were more of them from higher socio-economic groups than their male counterparts?

Fary and Rowlands’ 1967 study suggested that this was true. When the educational backgrounds of male and female trainee teachers were analysed, there were noticeable differences. A higher percentage of female students had attended private schools and were more likely to be from higher socio-economic families. Of male student teachers, 67.5 were from government schools, 10.3 per cent from private schools and 17.9 per cent from Catholic schools. Of female student teachers, 62.7 were from government schools, 22.5 per cent from private schools and 14.5 per cent from Catholic schools.\textsuperscript{21}

In 1967, when Rowlands and Fary examined the occupational classifications of the fathers of male and female studentship holders, they concluded that the women’s fathers had higher occupational classifications than the men’s.\textsuperscript{22} However, 59.4 per cent of female students’ fathers were still in categories 4 and 5: small business, trades, agricultural and pastoral, semiskilled manual, minor clerical and minor commercial positions. On their six-point scale of occupations, while 35.8 of women students’ fathers were in the first three categories, only 23.9 per cent of male students’ fathers were. Fifteen per cent of male student teachers’ fathers held teaching or higher clerical positions (category 3); 37.6 were in small business, trades or agricultural or pastoral work (category 4); and 27.8 were in semi-skilled manual, minor clerical or minor commercial positions.

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 6 & p. 60.
\item\textsuperscript{21} Rowlands & Fary, p. 7.
\item\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p. 2.
\end{itemize}
jobs (category 5). For the women’s fathers, 19.3 per cent were in teaching or higher clerical; 41.4 per cent in the small business trades, agricultural or pastoral category and 18.1 per cent in semi-skilled, minor clerical or commercial group.\textsuperscript{23}

An analysis of the survey data agreed with previous researchers’ conclusions that female education students were from higher socio-economic backgrounds than male student teachers. Over 40 per cent of female teachers college students were from the first three socio-economic categories compared to 16 per cent of the males. The numbers of male primary and secondary teachers college survey respondents (five and eight respectively) are considerably smaller than those of their female counterparts, making any conclusive statements difficult. With university studentship holders, slightly more female students came from the three upper socio-economic categories (29 per cent) compared to male recipients (25 per cent). Nonetheless, the majority of both female teachers college and female university studentship holders were from the lower socio-economic categories.

**Educational backgrounds**

In Rowlands and Fary’s study, nearly two-thirds of studentship holders at Monash had completed their education at government schools, and 16 per cent each from Catholic and private schools.\textsuperscript{24} Anderson and Western found a similar percentage of teacher trainees in Australia came from state schools, with 17 per cent from Catholic and 15 per cent from independent schools.\textsuperscript{25} Of those surveyed, in Year 12, 72 per cent attended government schools, 18 per cent, private schools, and 10 per cent, Catholic schools. Both previous

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 15.  
\textsuperscript{24} Rowlands & Fary, p. 7.  
\textsuperscript{25} Anderson & Western, p. 18.
research and the data from those surveyed revealed that the majority of those who accepted studentships were from government schools.

**Perceived ability to undertake tertiary studies**

One clear indication of the importance of teaching studentships in providing tertiary educations for students from lower socio-economic groups are the responses to the survey question: “Would you have been able to attend university/undertake tertiary studies if you were not offered a teaching studentship?” Forty-one per cent of all respondents were quite definite that they would not have been able to, and another 13 per cent thought that it was unlikely. When figures are included for those who thought that they might have been able to undertake tertiary education, though it would have been financially difficult for their families, nearly two-thirds saw the studentship as important to their ability to go beyond secondary schooling. It was not just those who attended a university who saw the studentship as crucial. Those who trained at primary and secondary teachers colleges concurred.

Nor was there any difference in male and female responses. The percentage of those attending universities (rather than teachers colleges) who were certain that they would have had no likelihood of undertaking their studies without a studentship is virtually identical for males and females, 41 and 40 per cent respectively. The only difference in the survey results was that a higher percentage of female university studentship holders felt that they could have gone to university, but only with financial difficulty.
Studentship recipients who were certain that they needed the studentship assistance often added comments to reinforce their responses to the survey. John Hennessey, who trained as a primary teacher at Burwood Teachers College and worked for 35 years in government primary schools, ending his career as a western suburbs principal, wrote: “Without the teaching studentship I definitely would not have been able to do any tertiary studies. I came from a working class family where education was not really valued or expected to achieve success. My mother was a home carer and my father had only spasmodic work due to illness. He was placed on a TPI [Totally and Permanently Incapacitated] pension around 1962. I had to work part time to help pay for my Secondary education.”26 His wife, Deborah Hennessey, said that education was not valued in her family either. Offered a social work placement in the 1970s at La Trobe University, and faced with two and a half hours travel to Bundoora, at the time when “La Trobe University was being built and public transport was non-existent”27, she was told by her parents that “they would not be able to fully financially support me in becoming a social worker. When my studentship arrived in the mail it was truly a blessing to assist me with my endeavours in receiving a tertiary education.”28 Deborah Hennessey completed a Diploma of Teaching at Melbourne College of Education and taught in government primary schools for over 27 years from 1976, with time out for family leave.

Several of the women who completed surveys or were interviewed commented that a studentship was the only way that they could gain an education as their parents did not

26 John Hennessey, Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders, 21 November 2009, p. 3.
27 Deborah Hennessey, Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders, 19 November 2009, p. 3.
28 Ibid., p. 3.
believe in education for girls: Helen McMillan, one of four sisters who all qualified at teachers colleges, remarked: “Our father did not believe in educating girls i.e. he was a chauvanist [sic]. This was not only our means of further education but gave us financial independence.” She added in a letter attached to her survey that her father’s attitude was: “after all, we would only get married & have children.” Helen qualified at Larnook Teachers College (for domestic science teachers), taught for five years in Victorian government high schools, studied at the Le Cordon Bleu cookery school in London and worked as a freelance chef “in country estates and castles” in the United Kingdom, before returning to teach in New South Wales private schools for 21 years. In late 2009, she was working in her own graphic and website design business. Janine Rizzetti, who gained an Arts degree and Diploma of Education at La Trobe University, commented in both her survey and interview: “My parents put little emphasis on education for girls.” Rizzetti worked in government secondary schools for six years before working in Institutes of Technical and Further Education (TAFEs) where she moved from classroom teaching to educational and curriculum development.

Whether it provided the fees, a weekly income or the means to live away from home while studying, teaching studentships enabled lower middle class and working class students to gain a tertiary education and become upwardly mobile. For some women, teaching

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31 Ibid., p. 2.
32 Janine Rizzetti, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, 27 September 2009, p. 3.
studentships offered a chance for a tertiary education when their families would not have supported them otherwise.

**Male and female participation in teaching training**

Anderson and Vervoorn’s analysis of the ACER study of 1971–2 school leavers revealed differences in the percentages of female students at specific types of tertiary institutions: women made up 42 per cent of students at universities, but 73 per cent at teachers colleges. This predominance of females in teacher education was also noted by several other studies. During the 1970s, teachers colleges ceased to be controlled by state education departments and became part of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). Women made up nearly three-quarters of the students enrolled in education courses at CAEs, compared to 53 per cent of students in university education faculties. At this time, CAEs provided primary teacher training, and women students outnumbered men in primary teacher training. In Australian primary schools, in the early 1980s, 68 per cent of teachers were women, but only 44 per cent in secondary schools. The 1959–60 ACER school leaver study showed that while those from professional homes preferred a university to a technical or teachers college education, for women, teachers colleges were attractive even when compared to university.\(^{35}\)

\(^{33}\) Anderson & Vervoorn, p. 47.  
\(^{34}\) Ibid., p. 57.  
\(^{35}\) Ibid., p. 143.
Interestingly, the male-female ratio of studentship holders, according to Rowlands and Fary in 1967, was 1:1 compared to 2:1 in the first year university population.\textsuperscript{36} They were concerned that “Loss through marriage is a large potential drop in available teachers”\textsuperscript{37} and argued that more male teachers needed to be recruited, particularly in Science, where 42 per cent of the men did not intend to teach beyond their three-year bond. In the Monash Arts faculty, over 37 per cent of the female students were on a studentship.\textsuperscript{38}

In Australian universities at the time of the Anderson and Western 1970 study, two-thirds of first year students from four faculties (law, medicine, engineering and teaching) were men, but in teaching, 57 per cent were women.\textsuperscript{39} The authors regarded this as a disadvantage in education because teacher changes would disrupt the learning process.\textsuperscript{40} They also argued that women’s lower participation rate in university study reflected social attitudes about the value of education for women and, therefore, about attitudes to the role of women in Australian society, where it was expected that disrupted service due to childbearing and lower salaries meant that education was considered a less worthwhile investment. This attitude, they asserted, hardened during times of economic hardship, when priority is given to men as the breadwinners, and that more liberal attitudes to female education only prevailed when it was economically viable. They argued that this meant that if girls went to university at all, they “are directed to courses where scholarships and living allowances are available, principally teaching”.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{36} Rowlands & Fary, p. 4.  
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 4.  
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 4.  
\textsuperscript{39} Anderson et al, ‘Social profiles of students in four professions, p. 8.  
\textsuperscript{40} Anderson., p. 28.  
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
In his 1972 study, Anderson found female student teachers to be more conservative on professional issues such as student–teacher relations and co-education and less opposed to bonding, nor as likely to intend to break the bond. Of course, as Anderson observed, the bond for women in 1972 was only one year if they married. Anderson also observed that this difference in attitude developed during students’ university years, when men’s commitment to teaching declined. He also saw different attitudes to future education careers, men looking beyond the classroom to administration or research. A question for this thesis to examine is whether these attitudes prevailed once women entered the teaching profession. Did more women than men remain in teaching, neither breaking their bond agreements nor seeking careers outside teaching? Were female teachers more supportive of the education department or were they just as likely to criticise the status quo and take industrial action? (See Chapters 5 and 6.)

Women were under-represented as students at universities. (See Table 6.) Did this hold true for studentship holders? A comparison of statistics for university undergraduate populations and studentship holders at university and teachers colleges indicated a noticeable difference: women were more highly represented amongst studentship holders than they were at universities as a whole. (See Tables 7 and 8.)

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Table 6: Female undergraduates as a percentage of the total Victorian university undergraduate population\(^\text{43}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Melbourne</th>
<th>Monash</th>
<th>La Trobe</th>
<th>Deakin</th>
<th>Total Vic. u/grads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>unavailable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Female studentship numbers and percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Specialist</th>
<th>TSTC</th>
<th>All sec. s’ships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>58.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Women as a percentage of Victorian university undergraduates and studentship holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Studentship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, an examination of the types of degrees that female studentship holders were undertaking (during the years for which statistics are available) reveals that nearly three-quarters of the female secondary studentship holders undertook Arts degrees, compared

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to just over a third of male studentship holders (see Appendix 3). And while nearly a quarter of all male university studentship holders undertook Commerce/Economics degrees and over a third, Science degrees, by comparison, less than a tenth of female studentship holders qualified in Commerce/Economics and slightly less than a fifth in Science. Chapter 6 will examine whether this impeded female graduate teachers if they wished to leave teaching and undertake other careers.

**Place of origin**

Of those surveyed, fewer had migrant parents or were born overseas than previous research had shown were in the university teacher student population. Anderson and Western noted in 1970 that 13 per cent of university students were born overseas, but only five per cent of those surveyed were, most of whom were female. Countries of family origin included England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Croatia and Italy. Teaching may not have appealed to migrant families as a career for males, given the larger numbers of females with migrant backgrounds. Again, however, the small size of the sample made generalisations about all student teachers impossible.

Rowlands and Fary’s research showed that one-third of studentship holders at Monash University and Monash Teachers College came from the country. Anderson and Western’s 1970 study concluded that two-fifths of the teacher students were from country schools, about double the proportion in each of the other three faculties studied.

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45 Anderson & Western, p. 22.
47 Anderson and Western, p. 25.
studies examined by Anderson and Vervoorn confirmed that country students were less likely to gain tertiary entrance than metropolitan students.\textsuperscript{48} 

Though these prior studies suggested that between 33 and 40 per cent of studentship recipients came from the country, in my survey, approximately half came from rural Victoria and half from metropolitan Melbourne. However, the high percentage of country students was inflated by the circulation of the survey to a male hostel student reunion list. But 35 per cent of female university-trained teachers were originally from the country. Obtaining a teaching studentship enabled country students to attend university in larger numbers than they otherwise would have done, because it paid university fees and a weekly salary, and provided cheaper accommodation.

**Teachers hostels**

For country students, the cost of accommodation in Melbourne was an additional barrier to tertiary education. The Victorian Education Department set up a network of student teacher hostels throughout Victoria. These provided a shared room, breakfast and dinner on weekdays, and three meals on weekends, laundry facilities, and cleaning staff. Accommodation charges, deducted from salaries, were cheaper than private board or sharing the costs of an apartment. The studentship and cheap hostels enabled country students to stay in Melbourne, the only site of universities and secondary teachers colleges until Deakin opened in 1977, a year before studentships ceased. Hostels also enabled

\textsuperscript{48} Anderson & Vervoorn, pp. 10–11.
country students to move to regional centres such as Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong to attend primary teachers colleges.

The survey revealed the importance of hostels in enabling country student teachers to obtain a tertiary education. Country students were asked: “Was the provision of hostel accommodation important in enabling you to undertake tertiary education?” Over 80 per cent of those who lived in hostels considered it important, including nearly two-thirds of female students and over 90 per cent of the males. (See Table 9.) As Barry Leslie commented, he would not have been able to undertake his training both because of his parents’ financial problems and the “distance from home”.49 Similarly, James Gordon, who completed a Science honours degree and Diploma of Education at the University of Melbourne in 1966, added that his studentship was vital “because my family could not afford to provide me with a living allowance whilst living away from home”.50 Gordon became a teaching fellow in Monash University’s Physics department and never worked in government schools. After seven years in academia, he became a research scientist and consultant.51

For Helen McMillan, whose father did not believe in education for girls, both the studentship and hostel accommodation were important: “Absolutely, I don’t think that our father would have supported me.”52 But male teachers college students for whom hostel accommodation was relevant, and who were not part of the hostel reunion group,

49 Barry Leslie, Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders, 12 September 2009, p. 3.
50 James Gordon, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, p. 3. November 2009, p. 3.
51 Ibid., pp. 5–7.
52 McMillan, p. 3.
also rated the accommodation as important. Hostel accommodation was significant for country students whether they were attending university or teachers colleges in Melbourne or teachers colleges in rural towns.

Table 9: Importance of hostels to studentship holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Other college</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hostels also provided social networks to students from similar backgrounds—working class and lower middle class rural students who were all training for the same future careers. Because hostel residents could be from any year level at university or college, recent arrivals mixed with and learned from older students, who had completed subjects or had learned to handle life in Melbourne. Malcolm Campbell’s father was a Presbyterian minister and his mother managed their home. After six years at Benalla High School, Campbell completed a Bachelor of Arts and a Diploma of Arts at the University of Melbourne in 1957. In his survey, he wrote that “I spent several months in private accommodation, but it was a great help to my studies etc when living with the other students in a hostel for 2½ years. We shared ideas, advised each other on courses, essay topics, football, social activities (dances, church, etc)”.

Barry Curtis too remarked that hostel accommodation enabled him to socialise, to share transport and to study together with his fellow trainees.

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53 Malcolm Campbell, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, p. 3.
54 Barry Curtis, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, p. 4.
Hostel accommodation also allowed the parents of country students to feel more comfortable about their children attending university in the city. In the 1950s and 1960s, country life was more isolated than it is now. Studentship recipients may have had little experience or even understanding of city life. Both the Education Department and the students’ parents viewed 17-year-olds as children in need of protection.\(^{55}\) Ramsay’s report that led to the re-introduction of secondary studentships indicated clearly that student teachers needed supervision.\(^{56}\) Val Gaskell commented: “Most 3\(^{rd}\) years went out into flats in groups, but my father would not allow me to do so. I lived three years in hostel accommodation.”\(^{57}\) Sheenagh Roberts thought that it was important for her parents that “I was living in a safe affordable environment”.\(^{58}\) Lionel Waterson, who went to secondary school in Murtoa, Yallourn and Kyneton (his father was a high school principal), commented that for his family “staying in a hostel was important for them from the point of view of security for their kids.”\(^{59}\) Similarly, his wife, Denise Waterson, who attended Camperdown High School, added in her survey: “It was vital as I had no contacts in Melbourne and it offered security.”\(^{60}\)

Looking back, many of those surveyed saw themselves as too young to cope with life away from home. Valrie Finch was in the first intake of studentship holders at Melbourne University in 1950. Coming from a very small farming community 40 kilometres outside Nhill, Finch had to board there to complete her secondary education. In Melbourne, she

\(^{55}\) The age of adulthood was 21 years until the Whitlam government lowered it to 18 in 1973.
\(^{56}\) See Chapter 1.
\(^{57}\) Valma Gaskell, Preliminary survey for secondary teachers college studentship holders, p. 3.
\(^{58}\) Sheenagh Roberts, Preliminary survey for secondary teachers college studentship holders, p. 3.
\(^{59}\) Lionel Waterson, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, p. 4.
\(^{60}\) Denise Waterson, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, p. 3.
lived at Frank Tate House, a hostel for female trainees. Shy and somewhat daunted by the university environment, she found that the hostel provided her with a support group of friends:

… there was a whole group of us would do things together … and because we had those readymade friends, … it was much easier, going into a lecture … I found tutorials were quite daunting, because I was an 18-year-old country kid, and the class was full of ex-servicemen, who knew a bit about the world, and knew a bit about what they were talking about (laugh).  

Carolyn Roscholler, who attended Yallourn High School and completed a Diploma of Teaching (Primary) at Burwood Teachers College in 1974, remarked that hostel accommodation was most definitely important as “I was very young, still only 16 at the end of HSC, start of Teachers College”.  

Nor was this confined to female students. James Gordon commented: “As a 17yo 1st child, the thought of leaving home in the country to live in the city was a daunting prospect.” Bob Twyford remarked: “It was, helpful financially, and in hindsight it was indispensable to me, because it gave me social contacts, that I really hadn’t had as an only child on, living in a, on a farm, with no kids my own age around, so getting put into a hostel, with a whole lot of other young fellows from the country, all of whom were fairly green, was a great experience, and a much easier learning curve.” Twyford also found the hostel provided academic help, either from hostel supervisors or other students:

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61 Interview with Valrie Finch, Carlton, 21 October 2009, pp. 4–5.  
62 Carolyn Roscholler, Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders, p. 3.  
63 Gordon, p. 4.  
64 Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 3.
… we would get together and try to nut out some of the mathematical and scientific things, that were just not being communicated to us … So, that was excellent, I didn’t avail myself of the supervisors that we had at the hostel, because they weren’t necessarily in your subject area, but that was another avenue that was open to some students.\textsuperscript{65}

While hostel life could be supportive, it could also be restrictive. The Education Department treated its teachers college students as if they were still in high school and in ways that often restricted their participation in non-teacher training activities. (See Chapter 3.) Some of these restrictions were imposed through hostel regulations. Terri Edwards considered hostels “very strict, actually stricter than at home”.\textsuperscript{66} Students’ movements were restricted by having to sign in and sign out. Other limitations were the result of hostel students socialising together rather than participating in university activities. Ruth Christian was raised on a family farm outside Geelong, attended Geelong High School and, from 1959 to 1962, while undertaking a Bachelor of Science/TSTC at the University of Melbourne, lived in a hostel at 481 St Kilda Road. When interviewed, she summed up some of the advantages and disadvantages of hostel life:

> And in the hostel, of course you met, you know a whole range of people with a whole range of diverse interests, and so you sampled with them the things … and then there was the lass who was so into theatre, so we went to, you know, the university theatre, to Union Theatre, for every one of her

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., pp. 7–8.  
\textsuperscript{66} Terri Edwards, \textit{Preliminary survey for secondary teachers college studentship holders}, p. 3.
productions … you even had to sign out if you were going to be out for the three minutes, well not quite, but no, no-no, but, you know?67

Restriction in women’s hostels did not ease over the period when studentships were available. Sheenagh Roberts was the daughter of a State Electricity Commission plant operator. She attended Mt Beauty High School before completing a four-year Higher Diploma of Teaching (Secondary Arts and Crafts) from 1972 to 1975. Originally, she lived in a small hostel in Marne Street, South Yarra, with 23 other girls and a matron, taking their meals in the larger, nearby Walsh Street hostel. Of Marne Street hostel, Roberts said: “That was lovely, that was like just living in a house with a big family, that was terrific.”68 Like Ruth Christian 20 years earlier:

We had to sign in, and sign out … I can remember the curfew, of a weeknight, was 10.30, and on a weekend was midnight, and I had a (laugh) ground floor room, so as a favour … I would sneak out and sign somebody as being in, and leave my bedroom window up, so they could get in whenever they liked … We were never caught, I don’t know how we were [n]ever caught … 69

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Both previous research and the research for this thesis confirmed that studentships provided access to tertiary education, especially to women and country students. In fact, women were more highly represented on university teaching studentships than in the general university population. Provision of fees, a living allowance and cheap

68 Interview with Sheenagh Roberts, Pascoe Vale South, 4 December 2010, p. 4.
69 Ibid., p. 4.
accommodation were vital to helping those from lower socio-economic backgrounds achieve a tertiary education. Hostel accommodation, though restrictive, helped students make the transition from country to city.
Chapter 3: Tertiary years—academic studies and broadening horizons

Student teachers knew from the beginning of their tertiary education that they were committed to teaching for three years after the completion of their training; otherwise, they or their parents were required to repay the money expended by the Education Department on their university courses and their salaries. One question raised at the time and indirectly in interviews for this thesis was whether this interfered with their ability to participate in university life. Anderson, in his study of studentships, argued that “The university experience itself is supposed to be a period when undergraduates explore new ideas and new frontiers, and the idea of starting that experience already committed to a particular employer is contrary to this tradition”.¹ He also suggested that those who accepted the bond as a teaching recruitment method were “least affected by the university experience”.² In his investigation of bonded and ‘free’ university students, Anderson ranked them on seven variables: intellectual interests, academic and research interest, social liberalism, political-economic liberalism, pragmatism, dogmatism and cynicism. Australian teaching students ranked highest for intellectual interests and political-economic liberalism, and lowest for academic interests and social liberalism.³

Contrary to Anderson’s conclusions, most interviewees saw their university years as broadening their knowledge in specific disciplines, as well as being a source of

² Ibid., p. 8.
³ Ibid., p. 11.
intellectual and cultural development, and a broadening of their awareness and knowledge of the world. But, for others, their years at university were difficult.

During interviews, I asked what interviewees recollected about their university or teachers college years; what activities beyond their academic studies they were involved in; and whether they were political or social activists. I also inquired about what they saw themselves as having gained from their tertiary experiences.

**Expanding horizons**

Former studentship holders remembered their university years as broadening their outlook and experience socially, politically, intellectually or culturally. Anne Williams migrated from London with her family when she was five-years-old. Her mother was a secretary and then a homemaker after marriage. Her father was a shipbroker. After finishing secondary studies at Mount Waverley High School, Williams enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts at Monash University in 1974. Her first-year sociology and psychology subjects provided a “broadening of understanding of what life was about”, because “I had a very sheltered upbringing” and “my family were fairly straight-laced”. Other influences at Monash broadened her outlook. “I was gobsmacked, by what I saw at uni, you know, the first day I went to the orientation day someone offered me a joint, and the next three steps I took someone offered me a packet of condoms, and (laugh) it freaked me right out!”

University exposed her to a “broader spectrum of society that I hadn’t recognised” and changed her attitude to learning itself: “that shift from just doing things in education

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4 Interview with Anne Williams, Mansfield, 18 June 2010, p. 10.
because you can and you can get them all right, to engaging in learning, really important”.  

Many of those interviewed echoed Williams’ belief that university provided intellectual development. Carolyn Woolman saw herself as privileged, because university “opened out a much wider world, oh, introduced me to writers, because I majored in English, and Philosophy, so … seriously opened up ideas to me”. Pat Monahan spoke of the great passion of the university year, which was “what I learnt, getting books out of the library, and reading and going to lectures and being sort of filled with that excitement that this is what a university education does for you, teaches you to think, and to see a whole world beyond what you’d ever imagined the world might be, but what you hoped it might be and that there might be a future for you, doing all sorts of interesting things, and being involved in all sorts of interesting things … a very happy time in terms of friendships and social life and that kind of thing”.  

Those at teachers colleges experienced similar enrichment. Gwen Arthur was the daughter of a weights and measures inspector and a homemaker who had worked as an assistant secretary before her marriage. After completing secondary schooling at Warragul and Kyneton high schools, she completed her Diploma of Teaching (Primary) at Bendigo Teachers College between 1971 and 1974. She taught in rural primary schools, settling at Yarram Primary School and working there until her retirement in 2008, after which she served as a casual relief teacher in the Yarram District. Like many

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5 Ibid., pp. 13–14.
6 Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, p. 10.
7 Interview with Pat Monahan, Camberwell, 18 November 2010, p. 19.
married women teachers, she interrupted teaching to raise her family and undertook part-time casual teaching, before returning full-time. Of her teachers college, she recalled: “the SRC organised meetings, and to me, it was a bit um, radical, I’d been brought up in a very um, middleclass, probably lower middleclass … but, you didn’t argue with authority, and you didn’t question a lot of things”.

Margaret Grant thought her years at Larnook Teachers College broadened her outlook: “I think going away, from home, as a teenager and living, with other students, and living in Melbourne, it, in many ways broadens your outlook, and your experience, just naturally, and you’re heading off, teaching, I was senior mistress at Mount Beauty High School when I was 20.”

Joan Adams, the only child of a supervisor at Ford Motor Company and a homemaker, who had been a secretary before her marriage, attended Morongo Girls School in Geelong, and then completed her Bachelor of Arts and Dip. Ed. at the University of Melbourne from 1965 to 1968. Adams spent eight years teaching, mainly in Melbourne high schools, travelled overseas, then undertook casual relief teaching while her family was young. After several years as a night school English teacher and a migrant English teacher, she moved on to the Federation of State Schools Parents’ Clubs; then the road safety division of VicRoads as a consultant and project officer for twenty years until her retirement. Discussing her university years, Adams stated: “I found myself getting interested in lots of things, and I met lots of interesting people, mostly students I found interesting, and just broadened my horizons enormously from being, you know, a

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8 Interview with Gwen Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 11.
9 Interview with Margaret Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 17.
provincial, clumsy, inarticulate sort of person.” Adams recollected play readings, directing an Albee play, attending music performances at the Conservatorium, and watching films. University gave her a rich understanding “of all the different ways that the world has of looking at things, I guess, whether they are current affairs, current issues, political issues, social issues, yeah.” Ian Grant, who attended Nhill High School, before undertaking a Bachelor of Commerce at Melbourne University from 1959 to 1962, thought university and hostel life “gave me a great opportunity to experience life beyond the local commun[ity], you know farming or local country town, and yes, I’m quite happy with the opportunities that it provided me now, on reflection, I think, mm.”

Barry Lay, who completed primary training at Ballarat Teachers College before attending Melbourne University, saw one of the advantages of university as being: “I (pause) played intervarsity football, and you got to meet another group of people who weren’t future teachers, so they were, there was doctors, or you know trainee doctors, trainee solicitors, trainees this and trainees that, and you got a much broader outlook on what people were going to do.”

All these experiences were grounded in the social conservatism at the time, especially in rural areas. As a young Methodist from the country, Bob Twyford had never been in a

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10 Interview with Joan Adams, Yarraville, 6 May 2010. p. 7.
11 Ibid., p. 10.
12 Interview with Ian Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 15.
13 Interview with Barry Lay, Wallan, 8 October 2010, p. 9.
pub and “was always supposed to cross to the other side of the street, and I found out that, you know, they were … rather grotty, but they weren’t all that dangerous.”

**Beyond formal studies**

When asked about their involvement in social clubs, political clubs or activist groups, the student newspaper, the SRC or in political protests at university or outside, the majority of interviewees recollected few such involvements (see Chapter 4). Most recalled their sporting activities, their social lives, cultural activities and membership of clubs, some with an academic focus, others purely social.

Some joined university social clubs that had an ostensible ‘academic’ base. Kerry Lewis joined the Geography club at Melbourne University, though she described its activities as ‘really just drinking’¹⁵, and Ron Leslie was involved with the Ecops Society.¹⁶ Michael Smythe, disillusioned with what he saw as the English faculty’s love of literary criticism rather than literature, joined a Shakespeare reading group: “Gus Henry, who was never actually one of my lecturers, but he gathered a group of students together to put on Shakespeare readings, and I got very involved in that, and he came to Shakespeare with a really different point of view, I’d been brought up with a, a classical literature point of view and he had a very modern view, which I found really interesting, and resisted too,

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¹⁴ Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 9.
¹⁵ Interview with Kerry Lewis, Williamstown, 7 May 10, p. 12.
but eventually absorbed … I also got involved in the university Student Theatre Group, and the staff-student group.”

Both university and teachers college students expanded their cultural horizons—even in country towns where teachers colleges were situated. Some were introduced to theatre. At Ballarat Teachers College, Barry Lay was “part of the Yarrandoo Players, which was a theatrical company, I was on the stage there a couple of times…” Judy Wheeler at Melbourne Teachers College, Trent McDougall at Melbourne University, and Margaret Grant at Larnook were involved in Gilbert and Sullivan productions. John Arthur was the set designer and builder for the annual college production at Bendigo Teachers College. Others like Ruth Christian and Trent McDougall saw ballet, theatre or musical productions at either the university or at Melbourne theatres. Several mentioned Union nights at university, including Robert Young, who remembered seeing: “all the classic films, and the student revues, put on by the med students, the engineering students, they were all excellent, were good fun”. Both Deidre Knowles and Diane Stirton recalled madrigal groups at Larnook and Coburg teachers colleges respectively, though Stirton was unimpressed.

Whether at teachers college or university, more than three-quarters of the male interviewees remembered their involvement in sport, including football, cricket, tennis,
volleyball, athletics or swimming. Indeed, many students from the country returned home to play sport on the weekend. At Toorak Teachers College, Alistair Stirton played football and basketball and took part in athletics. Barry Lay played football for a local Ballarat football team while at teachers college and ran with the local Harriers Club. At Melbourne University, he played intervarsity football. Others participated in sports that were not generally available in high schools: Bob Twyford took bushwalking trips; Trent McDougall played baseball; and Rod Watson played squash. Only a third of the female interviewees mentioned sport amongst their non-academic activities. Deidre Knowles and Margaret Grant played hockey for Larnook; Gwen Arthur went ten-pin bowling at Bendigo; Tanya Trengrove returned to sport in her second year to play intervarsity netball; and Kerry Lewis found that the basketball club made a huge difference to her enjoyment of third and fourth year university—although drinking may have been what appealed to her.

Drinking was recalled by male interviewees. Bob Twyford found pubs were not as bad as he had been led to believe by his Methodist upbringing. David Holland mentioned having a beer; Gary Bourke saw ‘the Nott’, the Notting Hill Hotel, as one of the advantages of university life at Monash. Robert Young enjoyed Jimmy Watson’s wine bar. Perhaps reflecting the period, of the women, only Kerry Lewis alluded to drinking as a non-academic activity.

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25 Interview with Alistair Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p.20.
26 Lay, p.9.
27 Interview with Deidre Knowles, Port Arlington, 29 October 2010, p.9; & M Grant, p. 11.
28 G Arthur, p. 10.
29 Interview with Tanya Trengrove, Eltham, 28 May 2010, p. 9.
30 Lewis, p. 12.
31 Interview with David Holland, Pascoe Vale South, 27 August 2010, p. 10.
32 Interview with Gary Bourke, Rupanyup, 10 November 2010, p. 11.
Women, however, referred to a number of other social activities not recollected by their male counterparts. Deidre Knowles and Margaret Grant referred to dances, and Margaret Grant was involved in social service, though this seemed a requirement of her training, rather than a leisure activity: “that didn’t mean you could just donate money, you’d physically had to go and do something. I, with a few other girls we used to go out into Winlaton [a Correctional facility for young females], and teach … made the disastrous mistake of playing hockey against them one day, I don’t think my shins ever recovered! (laughter) … maybe helping them with some sewing, or make-up, hair”. This too expanded her knowledge of the world and aided her future teaching: “I think if anything you [it] probably helped us a lot, when we were going out to teach, because you never know who you’re going to cop in the teaching area.”

Social life, lifelong friendships and even spouses were mentioned by many of the interviewees as things they gained from their tertiary years. Diane Stirton said: “I did have a good social life in college”. Gwen Arthur commented that she “met the love of her life”, her husband, John. Rod Watson and Vicki Steer also met their spouses while at university. Gary Bourke still keeps in touch with friends from university: “because we used to go away a lot together and ride together [as a member of the Monash University Motorcycle Club]”. Michael Smythe suggested perhaps the social life was too prominent: “I was a very sporting person when I went to university, and that all fell away,

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33 M Grant, p. 12.
34 Interview with Diane Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 9.
35 G Arthur, p. 10.
36 Bourke, p. 10.
um, the social life took over completely, I was drinking too much like most students, and occasionally skipping lectures, and tutes, that was, it was a very active social life for me, and it did interfere with academic life to some extent”.\textsuperscript{37} It was little wonder the Education Department exercised control over studentship holders through teachers colleges and hostels.

**Intellectual interests or teacher training?**

Despite all the extra-curricular enrichment, studentship holders were funded to train as teachers. Those who went to university or secondary teachers college enrolled in specific faculties (usually Science, Economics/Commerce/Politics, Arts, Agricultural Science, Music, Physical Education, Arts and Crafts or Domestic Science/Home Economics) and studied specific subjects within those faculties (Biology, Physics, Chemistry, History, English, French, Geography, Politics, Painting, Dressmaking, Cookery etc.). However, apart from teaching subjects, many university trainees were free to study other subjects, for example, psychology and philosophy. Since they shared university lectures and tutorials with the general university population, their studies were not directed solely towards what was required in the classroom.

Only half of those who went to university provided any teacher training reminiscences, concentrating their remarks on their academic subjects, their social lives or sporting activities or the broadening of their outlook on life. Anne Williams intended becoming a Mathematics and English teacher, but discovered that she could not cope with Mathematics beyond first year. “I really discovered a real love for English, which is what

\textsuperscript{37} Smythe, pp. 5–6.
I ended up teaching”.38 Not only did Williams realise what she had missed by not studying literature at school, but she also studied Middle English, “more a linguistics study … it was a really enjoyable course”.39 Barry Lay developed a lifelong interest in economic history: “an area in which I still pick up books and read and enjoy the whole economic history”.40 Joan Adams “enjoyed my English studies, but then found also that, um, I quite liked History, and I really loved Fine Arts, and I really loved, oh, I didn’t love psychology at all, I hated psychology. … the subject matter was interesting but the methodology was hammered and hammered and hammered … But I enjoyed, enjoyed most of my studies”.41 Despite hating her early university years, Kerry Lewis said: “I always liked History and Geography, I mean that’s what I ended up teaching, I’m trying to think though, I hated first year History, British History, oh, aw, boring. Australian History was all right; the American History was quite good, I did a couple of bizarre subjects, Middle Eastern Studies and Middle Eastern Syrian Christianity, because I’ve always had this interest in religion, as all good atheists should”.42 Michael Smythe remembered being inspired by Susan Hancock in English tutorials, “very thought-provoking, very interesting”, and Israel Getzler in History.43 Pat Monahan’s mother inspired her with a passion for history and she found university “everything I dreamt it would be in terms of the lectures”. Similarly, she remembers the passion of a Politics lecturer who introduced her to third world issues.44 At Larnook, Margaret Grant recalled: “I’ve always been interested in dietetics, nutrition, and also in textiles. I love oh sewing,

38 Williams, p. 11.
39 Ibid., p. 12.
40 Lay, p. 9.
41 Adams, p. 7.
42 Lewis, p. 11.
43 Smythe, p. 4.
44 Monahan, pp. 14 & 16.
making different things, designing them, and none of those real interests of mine were available at university then".45

Entering university contracted to an employer did not hinder teaching studentship holders from benefitting from their university experiences as Anderson predicted. University graduates saw their tertiary years as ones that broadened their horizons, fostered their intellectual interests and gave them new academic interests, confirming Anderson’s research which scored them high on intellectual interests, but contradicting his idea that they scored low on academic interests.

**Difficulties at university**

One issue unexplored by previous educational and historical researchers, who were largely concerned with the efficacy of studentships as a recruitment method, was how well teacher trainees coped with university and how well universities coped with a more socially diverse student population. Ivan Turner examined the effect of the high failure rate at university on recruitment of graduate teachers, but did not examine why they failed.46

For some studentship recipients, adjusting to university life was difficult, and those difficulties came from social differences. Kerry Lewis, who was at the University of Melbourne from 1970 to 1974, found her self-confidence destroyed in her early years,

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45 M Grant, p.3.
because of the snobbery of her fellow students: “I’ve often wondered would I have coped better with uni, because I hated uni when I went there … had I been better prepared, not intellectually but more understanding of differences in society, I was very, very naïve about that.”47 Kerry Lewis came from the working class suburb of Bonbeach, but had no idea of the relative poverty of her family after her father deserted them when she was eight. “I had no concept of working-class … just no idea.”48 Offered a Commonwealth Scholarship, Lewis declined it as she wanted to teach and the Commonwealth Scholarship provided $11 a week and the studentship $20. “I knew I could live away from home on a studentship and I couldn’t on a Commonwealth”.49 A clear indication of the social gaps that existed between studentship holders and university students from the traditional higher socio-economic backgrounds is given in Lewis’s response when asked what she remembered of her university years:

Oh, fuck, I hated it. … I hated first and second year uni … I had no idea, as I said, about class, or the fact that Bonbeach High School was any different to any other school, and I can just remember that, starting, I was a very confident kid at school, I debated, you know I was a school leader, I did the school newspaper … and I got to uni and all these people were going: ‘And what school did you go to?’ and I’d go [in a voice of innocent confidence]: ‘Oh, Bonbeach High School,’ and they’d sort of go: ‘Ooh [in an unpleasant tone]’, and then they’d say: ‘Are you on a studentship or a Commonwealth?’ and I’d go [innocent confidence]: ‘Oh, a studentship,’ and they’d go: ‘Ooh!’. You know and I learned to say, quite quickly: ‘Oh, a

47 Lewis, p. 7.
48 Ibid., p. 5.
49 Ibid., p. 2.
studentship, but I got a Commonwealth’, so then at least they knew I was smart but poor, rather than, you know, average. I found it the most intimidating environment. … I was very naïve; … and I felt like a—I get quite upset talking about it, like an absolute fish out of water, I was dreadfully, dreadfully unhappy, I hated it, I absolutely hated it.50

As previous researchers and an analysis of the surveys conducted for this thesis have identified, many, like Kerry Lewis, were the first family members to attend a tertiary institution. (See Chapter 2.) No one in their families could prepare them. As Carolyn Woolman commented: “I really had so little idea of what a university was”.51

For ten of the 23 university student teachers interviewed, one of the problems encountered was the academic staff, their perceived remoteness from the student body and the university’s failure to adapt to a new element within their intake. Barry Lay commented on the difference between his teachers college and university experiences:

I could just about go through all the people who were at Ballarat Teachers’ College, and give you their names and a thumbnail sketch. University different, I got to know a chap called Keith Frearson, very well, Keith was a lecturer in Statistical Method, and oh he was a, a character I guess, Keith, but apart from Keith I really didn’t have much oh (pause) relationship with your lecturers, or even your tutors sort of thing, they were just the people who appeared, some good, some bad, some terrible!52

50 Ibid., p. 9.
51 Woolman, p. 5.
52 Lay, p. 11.
Lay’s comment on the remoteness and the often inadequate teaching skills of university staff is echoed by Bob Twyford, though he contrasted this with the teachers he had known at school:

I always enjoyed the challenges of learning … having come from schools, where most people actually in those days knew how to teach … going to uni I came across a variety of lecturers, many of whom had no concept of how to communicate what was no doubt a great store of knowledge … and that was very difficult. It wasn’t just something I found, it was something we all found, that we’d go away from some of the lectures and say: ‘What was that all about?’

Carolyn Woolman also commented on Melbourne University staff: “the strongest memory probably of the early years, was my first university lecturer … English, with, Vincent Buckley, who lectured on Gerard Manley Hopkins, and I did not understand a word. … I don’t think then, we’re looking at now ’61, there were too many concessions made, for people who had got there. I suppose the university attitude was: ‘Right, we’ve let them in, let them go (laughter), they’re on their own’” Whether or not this was really the university’s attitude to students, it is how Woolman perceived it. In her interview, she contrasted this to the Secondary Teachers College, where studentship holders, unlike other university students, were required to attend additional tutorials: “this is where the Secondary Teachers College was, helpful, because the lecturers there probably were a bit more accessible”.

53 Twyford, p. 8.
54 Woolman, p. 9.
55 Ibid., p. 5.
Comments on the poor performance of some academic staff were ubiquitous. For Michael Smythe at La Trobe in the early 1970s, dissatisfaction with university teaching resulted in his rejecting an academic career to remain as a school teacher: “by the end of the first year of Honours I had got really disillusioned, with people who didn’t seem, who seemed to be more interested in literary critics than literature itself”. 56 Tanya Trengrove at Monash University remembered “some very poor teachers, and probably more so in Dip. Ed.” 57 Simon Frazer encountered Melbourne lecturers, who: “you could see that they had their lecture notes, from the same course for 10 years, and they would start on page one of the lecture notes and they would write it on the board and you would sit there and copy it out frantically, and you know they weren’t all that interested in the teaching and they weren’t very good, and that it was just a bit of a chore for them I think.” 58

For students at La Trobe and Monash, a further problem was the remoteness of the campuses. As Ron Leslie commented about Monash in the early 1960s, “Monash is probably central today but it was very isolated then. I mean it was a fringe, and Clayton was virtually the end of the suburbs … it’d sometimes take you an hour or more, to get to uni or, particularly to get home from uni, so you couldn’t, you couldn’t enjoy sporting clubs, because it’s just too late, you know, it was difficult enough to get home from training from local sporting grounds. But, so that was an inhibiting factor”. 59 The ability of students to participate in university life beyond the 9 to 5 of university lectures,

56 Smythe, p. 6.
57 Trengrove, p. 8.
58 Interview with Simon Frazer, Mentone, 7 October 2010, p. 8.
59 Leslie, p. 13.
tutorials and practical sessions was limited by the distance to what were then remote campuses.

With little or no family background in tertiary education, trainee teachers, undoubtedly in common with other lower middle and working class students, experienced difficulties at university either through student snobbery or through the remoteness or incompetence of academic staff. Despite this, and the physical remoteness of new universities, they found universities provided academic, intellectual and cultural stimulation. Nor were university students alone in considering that tertiary education expanded their horizons; so did teachers’ college students.

**Differences between universities and teachers colleges**

Universities and teachers colleges were very different in terms of resources, facilities, staffing qualifications and even size. Universities, which had populations at least five times those of colleges, placed more emphasis on self-discipline and less on imposed discipline than teachers colleges. University students had fewer rostered classes and no attendance rolls for lectures. They had to discipline themselves to attend lectures and tutorials, go beyond the basics through research and reading, and complete assignments on time. Teachers colleges marked rolls and filled the majority of their students’ week with classes. At university, political clubs and student newspapers discussed current affairs. The magazines produced by teachers colleges tended to look more like annual school magazines.
For those trainee teachers who went to teachers colleges, the problems were different from those described previously by university trainees. Researchers during the teaching studentship period were concerned about the inadequacy of teachers college curriculum and facilities. Eight years after the Ramsay Report had led to increased studentship availability, Turner described Victorian teachers colleges as generally small with limited courses, lacking halls, gyms, proper laboratories and as frequently housed in poor accommodation. He considered that political decisions led to them being placed in towns with inadequate cultural facilities and limited teaching practice schools. The 1965 Australian College of Education report worried that state educational authorities were both employers and teacher training providers. It described teacher training as targeting only what was taught in state schools and providing only a career path where trainee teachers went from being state school students to become state education trainees and then state school teachers. In 1954, George Mills, Principal of Melbourne Teachers College, wrote that “the consensus of opinion is that the course is too scrappy with too many subjects”.

Even the Victorian Education Department’s own history, Vision and Realisation, recorded concerns. In the early 1950s, Director of Education Alan Ramsay argued that the new two-year course for primary teachers should not be overloaded and that “each teachers college should … be free to evolve a plan of teacher-preparation which reflects the interests of the principal and the staff and the needs of the students”. Yet the 1973 centenary history stated

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60 Turner, p. 106.
63 Ibid., p. 913.
that teachers colleges found this too difficult and followed regulations, rather than reform, when establishing their new courses. Efforts were made to rectify this when the three-year primary qualification was introduced. 64

Did teachers college trainees view their training as undertaken in inadequate facilities with an overloaded curriculum? Did they share the concerns of researchers and educationalists that colleges were dominated by the Education Department? Alistair Stirton certainly had concerns, but not the ones mentioned by researchers. The eldest of four children, Alistair Stirton was raised in Wonthaggi, the son of a coal miner and a mother who had worked as a shop assistant before marrying. His family were pleased that he had gained a studentship: “They were happy, because they, Dad, Dad said (laugh): ‘You’ll go down the mine over my bloody dead body’ … Dad wanted me to take a career.” 65 Stirton’s first career preference was not teaching, but working in a bank; however, he failed the medical and returned to school to complete Year 11 and qualify for a teaching studentship. Completing his initial training in 1957, Stirton taught in 13 government primary schools, the majority in rural areas. He retired as the principal of Orbost Primary School in 1992.

Asked his opinion of Toorak Teachers College in the 1950s, Stirton remarked:

It was purely and simply a glorified high school, we had a (laugh), if you were late you had to front the boss to explain the reason for your lateness …

We had to wear a collar and tie and a jacket, irrespective of the temperature,

64 Ibid., pp. 913–4.
65 A Stirton, p. 17.
and the only time, on very hot days we were allowed to remove the jackets, with the permission of the ladies [fellow female students], at assembly, and there was an assembly once a week, in the Gardiner Theatre on a Wednesday, all the lecturers wore gowns, and we wore our jackets … I’ve sat, in the Gardiner Theatre, saturated in perspiration, but we weren’t allowed to remove our jackets during assembly.66

Though teachers colleges seemed to have relaxed their rules over the years in which studentships were offered, life for a teachers college trainee was much more regimented than for university students. Initially, teachers college students had a college uniform, complete with blazer.67 Whereas university students such as Michael Smythe struggled with the “undisciplined nature of academic life at university”68, those at teachers college complained about being treated like school children. Judy Wheeler, who attended University High School before training at Melbourne Teachers College in the late 1950s, remarked: “quite a few of us probably felt that we’d been treated as adults at school, and we were treated as children (laugh), at teachers college”.69

For female trainees, teachers colleges had conservative standards of dress and behaviour. A foreshadowing of the expectations of the girls at Larnook occurred when Deidre Knowles went to be interviewed for a studentship: “you had to front Miss Pollock70 and

66 Ibid., pp. 3–4.
67 Ibid., p. 16.
68 Smythe, p. 4.
69 Wheeler, p. 11.
70 Jean Pollock was the founding principal of Larnook Domestic Science Teachers College in 1952. In 1957, she became an inspector of domestic science for the Education Department, retiring in 1974. D Towns ‘... our own sphere ... ’ Women Teachers and the Victorian Education Department, Ph.D. thesis, La...
have an interview and my auntie told me I must sit there with my legs together, and be very prim and proper for Miss Pollock.”

Deidre Knowles undertook a four-year Domestic Science course at Larnook Teachers College between 1953 and 1956. She taught in country schools from 1957 until 1993, when she retired as a Senior Teacher at Norlane High School in Geelong. Female trainee teachers studying domestic science were rostered for cleaning and cooking duties at the hostels where they lived.

Remembering her years at Larnook, she said:

the residential training that we had, in housekeeping duties, you know, cleaning the whole place, out and, as rostered, in the morning, every morning before we went, to lectures, or in second year, a couple of weeks a year we had to stay back and do meals, and then in third, you had to come in and organise the whole kitchen, for the, provision of the, about 50 meals, every, you know, three times a day.

Margaret Grant, who also trained at Larnook, but ten years later, underwent similar housekeeping training. Grant emphasised how useful this training proved to be. Domestic science teachers, often first year out of college, had to organise all the food supplies and do the bookkeeping for secondary school domestic science courses. Their work at Larnook had prepared them for this.

Since Melbourne Teachers College was adjacent to the University of Melbourne, I asked Judy Wheeler whether there was much interaction between the college and the university.

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Trobe University, August 2010; & Ch. 4 passim; Vision and Realisation, LJ Blake (ed.), Education Department of Victoria, 1973, p. 1453.

71 Knowles, pp. 5–6.

72 Ibid., pp. 2–3.

73 M Grant, pp. 3 & 13–14.
Her comment was that the principal, Miss Haminow (?) 74 “didn’t like us mixing with those people who were actually young women who were actually wearing jeans … how could ladies, mix with those people?” 75 Diane Stirton, who undertook a three-year Diploma of Primary Teaching at Coburg Teachers College between 1972 and 1974, believed that she might not have loved it so much “if I’d gone at a different time and I’d had to do compulsory sport and all that sort of thing (laugh), I wouldn’t have liked it.” 76 Though there was a dress code for Physical Education and though she thought that they were kept on a “pretty tight rein”, Diane Stirton believed that it was not as restrictive as it had been during her husband Alistair’s time at Toorak in the 1950s. 77

Secondary teachers colleges, while not as restrictive as primary ones, nonetheless attempted to exert control over their students. As Carolyn Woolman commented, when secondary studentships were first offered, the Secondary Teachers College provided additional assistance through extra tutorials with the aim of improving studentship holder pass rates. The Education Department also attempted to exercise control over the students through the college. As Rod Watson also said: “when we went to pick up our fortnightly cheque, you were supposed to record any absences you’d had from lectures, now of course that was a bit of bluff, because, there was no way in which they would have known whether we’d missed lectures or tutorials or anything like that”. 78

74 J Wheeler was unable to remember the spelling of the principal’s name and I have been unable to find it in Education Department publications.
76 D Stirton, pp. 5–6.
77 Ibid., p. 7.
78 Interview with Rod Watson, South Melbourne, 27 August 2010, p. 12.
Even towards the end of the studentship period, teachers colleges were more conservative in attitude than universities. Gary Bourke undertook both university studies and teachers college training, completing a Bachelor of Economics and Politics degree at Monash University in 1975 and teacher training at the Western Australia Secondary Teachers College in 1976, because no places were available in the Diploma of Education course at Monash.

Illustrating the attitude of teachers college staff in both states, Bourke said:

… when we left Monash, we had a meeting at Rusden [originally Monash Teachers College], and their comments were: ‘Don’t take your politics into Western Australia’, and when we got into Western Australia the first meeting was: ‘Don’t bring your politics from Victoria into Western Australia.’ And the teachers’ college was run more like a high school, rolls were marked, lecturers and tutors would be at the end of the doors, shutting the doors if you weren’t there on time … This is 197 … 6. Going from a free, flowing, university like Monash going to that was a bit of a culture shock.79

Ken Marriott, a lecturer at Monash Teachers College in the 1970s, confirmed teacher college conservatism and control—even for the staff. Marriott studied at Monash University from 1964 to 1968, gaining an Arts honours degree and Dip. Ed., before being posted to Bell Park High. After a year, he transferred to the Geography department at Monash Teachers College. Marriott remembers the principal of the teachers college:

“Meeting and greeting staff at the front steps each morning … to check we were all

79 Bourke, p. 3.
looking neat and we were on time”.

Unlike university staff who regularly contributed to local and campus newspapers, Marriott was abused by the principal for “writing to the Age complaining that as the government wasn’t giving us enough funds, we had to charge students for field trip expenses. He said: ‘I hope your geography is better than your maths!!’ It nearly cost me a promotion.”

Marriott also commented on the lack of staff with advanced qualifications in his academic subject of geography compared to those of the Monash University faculty. Even the Education Department undervalued its own TSTC qualification, as secondary teachers with TSTCs were paid less than graduate teachers and placed lower on the classification roll.

Former primary teachers college students saw a major advantage in their training: it equipped them well for teaching. Barry Lay, who completed primary training before attending university, compared the two: “you did a lot of teaching in the primary thing, more so than the secondary, and I guess in primary teaching they taught you how to teach, and so you did a lot more teaching rounds, a lot more interaction with the kids.”

However, he also thought that “the teachers’ college years were pretty easy, because they weren’t very demanding.” Judy Wheeler echoed this view of teachers college standards when she said: “the general feeling was, that if you wanted to get high marks, then, rather than put your report on a foolscap sheet in pen and ink, or I think we had biros then, but if you did it that

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80 Email from Ken Marriott, 8 May 2011, para. 3.
81 Ibid., para. 8.
82 Ibid., para. 16.
83 Lay, p. 8.
84 Ibid., p. 9.
way, you were … less likely to get good marks than if you did it on, in white ink, on red cardboard. (laugh)”.

Those undertaking studies at secondary and particularly at primary teachers colleges had lecturers and tutors who were ex-teachers and who were still employees of the Education Department. And since primary teachers at that period were expected to teach all subjects to their grades, primary trainees were taught a wide range of subjects. And the focus of their studies was teaching, not the particular academic discipline itself. As Alistair Stirton said:

but the subjects we did were method subjects, like we did Method of Maths, and in that, we were shown how to teach addition, how to teach subtraction, how to teach long division, how to teach multiplication … I’ve always been interested in Maths and I quite enjoyed the Maths, I didn’t like Education, Education was, (pause), it was the real academic subject, supposedly that was university level. It was the history and theory of education, but everything else was pretty much method, on how to teach, like group work was coming in then, so Social Studies we used to get together in groups and work on projects, the way you’d have a grade of kids working … Oh music, I had to learn to play the recorder, and but also, what we did was we made charts of all the different keys on, you know. Sing C, CBAG, G, and Do, Do, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La, how to pitch keys, how to teach singing. Oh, English, was a bit of both, it was sort of university but also basic grammar. We did chalkboard, writing, and we actually had a period a week of chalkboard writing. And we had Speech (laugh)—well I was a boy from the

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85 Wheeler, p. 8.
bush and [twangily] “Ya-know?” (laughter), but it was preparing us to be teachers …

Primary teachers college subjects were very specifically targeted to what would be taught in schools. As May James remarked: “it was really good … when you went out, into a school … you knew the likely range, of what ability they might be at, what you could reasonably expect them to have achieved, and you know we had sample program, work programs … and we had to gather up things like songs, poetry, oh sample lessons”.

Primary teachers college students had more teaching rounds throughout their years of training than university or secondary teachers college trainees, who completed three years of academic studies before completing a year of teacher training. Asked about teaching rounds in his primary training, John Arthur commented on the first teaching round six weeks into his first year, when a Grade 5 teacher became ill, and he became the supervising teacher. On the other hand, a typical Dip. Ed. year included Educational Psychology, History of Educational Thought, Education in Society, Principles of Teaching and only two practical subjects, Methods of Teaching and Teaching Practice (the latter consisting of three teaching rounds each three-weeks long.)

Teachers college students had more positive memories of staff than did their university counterparts. Diane Stirton recalled:

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87 Interview with May James, Bundoora, 14 October 2010, pp. 12–13.
Don’t remember many, remember the principal, because she was very imposing, and she was very much a career, woman. Remember, remember my oh Infant, Infant Method lecturer because she was, very imposing, … but I also learnt so much, in her, lectures, that was when we were doing our specialisation … I can’t remember names, … I don’t think … there was anyone I wasn’t impressed with. I don’t think, I think they were, I just wanted to learn everything, yes, so.\textsuperscript{89}

Though Alistair Stirton was critical of his teachers college, he could nonetheless remember four of his college lecturers.\textsuperscript{90} Mary Pavlovic remarked of her Secondary Teachers College lecturers: “I was very fortunate with all my lecturers actually, they were all extremely capable, very approachable”.\textsuperscript{91}

Previous research suggested that former studentship holders should have been concerned about the quality of teachers college facilities and curriculum limitations, but this is not how teachers college students remembered their tertiary experiences.

Those undertaking secondary training in arts and crafts seemed to have existed somewhere between the discipline of the Education Department and the freedom of university. Peter Fewster completed a four-year Secondary Art Teachers Certificate (SATC) in 1967. The Trained Secondary Teachers Certificate (Arts and Crafts) was a three-year course, “but because it was a three-year, post-Year 11 course, there were cut-off points as to how far you could go with it [how far you could promote within the

\textsuperscript{89} D Stirton, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{90} A Stirton, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{91} Interview with Mary Pavlovic, Geelong, 29 October 2010, p. 5.
Education Department], and it meant if you wanted to go beyond classroom teaching you had to do some further study, or for a small group, and, look, it was about eight or nine per cent … they offered what was called an SATC, a Secondary Art Teachers’ Certificate, which gave it in the eyes of the Classifiers, and the Teachers’ Tribunal like the equivalent of a degree”.

As described by Fewster, it was a “cobbled-together course”. Originally, Art and Craft training was run by the primary Melbourne Teachers College, but because of lack of facilities:

… secondary arts they’d start one year at Caulfield, the next year they’d start at Prahran Institute, and after that … we did two years in those institutions, doing basically Certificate of Art. One day a week we attended Melbourne Teachers College, and on that day we picked up (laugh) all sorts of things. I could have been required to have taught Phys. Ed., because they’ve put some of that into our courses, on their morning at Melbourne Teachers College, and we did a bit of Fine Arts, at Melbourne University. So at the end of it you had this very strange certificate that, yes, you could teach your Art and Craft, you could be made to teach Phys. Ed if that was at a shortfall, because it often was in country.

Bizarre as this arrangement was, for Peter Fewster, it had its advantages:

for me the positive stuff was, you were being trained by practising artists, in a non-educational setting, you were mixing with a whole range of people who were heading for all sorts of different outcomes in life, and so it wasn’t as teaching qualifications later became, a sort of a fitting people, into a

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92 Interview with Peter Fewster, Ascot Vale, 21 October 2010, p. 3.
93 Ibid., p. 4.
mould, because it was a bigger mould than that. And so we had some terrific lecturers, I mean we had Stuart Devlin, taught us for a while, in gold and silver smithing. Stuart was the bloke who, you know, designed Australia’s currency … and you’d never have got access to that sort of training, from Melbourne Teachers College, just because it’s a smaller institution.94

In the third year of their course, art students spent one day a week undertaking a major art study and the rest of the time doing teacher training. When Fewster completed the fourth year of study, he undertook it at RMIT where the focus was once again on art: “so you’re back into an organisation that’s training people for a career in the arts, and so (laugh) you go from this arts focus, to a teaching, learning, component, and then you put all that behind you while you go full-time back to university, and you’re just embedded in people who are going to see themselves as manufacturing jewellers, gold- and silversmiths, painters, potters, sculptors, whatever, and at the end of that, off you go, Numurkah.”95

Sheenagh Roberts completed a similar course, the Higher Diploma of Teaching (Secondary Art and Craft), in 1975. In this course, however, Roberts undertook both teacher training and art education at the same time.96

Deidre Knowles’ studies at Larnook followed a similar pattern to Fewster’s: two years of lectures at Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy, one day a week residential training in housekeeping duties, and a third year of teacher training with lectures at Melbourne Teachers College. If a trainee then successfully applied, she was able to

94 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
95 Ibid., p. 13.
96 Interview with Sheenagh Roberts, Pascoe Vale South, 4 December 2010, p. 5.
undertake a Diploma of Domestic Arts with studies in Science subjects such as Biology and Dietetics, as well as further studies in subjects like cookery or tailoring.  

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Contrary to Anderson’s conclusions, the comments of former studentship holders indicated that they were profoundly affected by their tertiary experiences, which expanded their horizons, whether they went to university or trained at teachers college. For many, in particular those from rural backgrounds, their education took them beyond sheltered upbringings and broadened their knowledge of society. For some, such as Kerry Lewis, this was also an introduction to social snobbery. As well, those at university expanded their academic knowledge; university taught them to think and gave them different ways of looking at the world. It opened up their ideas and gave them a love of learning. Their tertiary years also broadened their cultural experiences, whether they were at teachers college or university, introducing them to theatre, music, musicals, and films, interests which continued in adult life. Student teachers enjoyed active social lives, participating in sport, in dances and drinking (generally only the men), and often making lifelong friendships or even marriages.

University years, however, were not without difficulties for trainee teachers. The failure of universities to change their approach to education, to improve teaching standards and to allow for new social groups was perceived as a problem by students at all universities throughout the whole period of studentships. The remoteness of the new campuses of Monash and La Trobe Universities limited student ability to participate fully in all university had to offer.

97 Knowles, pp. 2–4.
Teachers colleges presented a different set of advantages and disadvantages for trainees. Particularly in the early years, the Education Department endeavoured to control student teacher attendance, dress and behaviour, especially for its female trainees. Even staff were controlled. And while staff were likely to be good former teachers, academically, they did not compare to university staff. Primary teachers college subjects were oriented towards teaching, not to academic learning. Teachers college trainees were, therefore, less likely to be challenged academically than university trainees. However, while university graduate teachers recalled little of their teacher training, those who attended primary teachers colleges and Larnook believed that they were well-prepared for their future careers as teachers.
Chapter 4: Student teacher attitudes to social and political activism

Political activism at university

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Anderson, in his comparison of bonded and ‘free’ university students, ranked them on seven variables, including social liberalism and political-economic liberalism. Teaching students across all three universities ranked highest for political-economic liberalism and lowest for social liberalism.1 Anderson considered that the differences in attitudes between students in the different disciplines of Law, Medicine, Engineering and Teaching reflected the socio-economic status of the students. For example, 61 per cent of teacher trainees, who were more likely to be of lower socio-economic background, supported the Labor Party. Interestingly though, both social and political liberalism increased during the students’ university years.2

The historian Geoffrey Bolton argued that one of the contributing factors making social issues more important in Australian politics in the 1970s may have been “the increasing number of university graduates in the community”.3 Universities influence students not just through the academic courses they provide, but also through opportunities to develop ideas about the societies in which they live. Students may form their ideas from the subjects they study; they may join campus political groups, attend campus debates, listen to lunchtime speakers, read student newspapers and other campus publications, vote for

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2 Ibid.
motions at general student meetings and student referendums, or sign petitions. But student involvement varies enormously. They may speak in meetings, join committees of student groups or the Student Representative Council or take part in marches, demonstrations or sit-ins either on or off campus. Or they may do none of these things and just get on with their studies. And, since studentships were offered at three universities and for nearly three decades, the level of student activism varied across campuses and across time.

Given that studentships were offered for over 28 years, with recipients attending universities and teachers colleges from 1950 until at least 1982 (assuming that the last recipients completed their courses within four years), the 168 people who completed surveys or provided further information via emails and the 34 people who were interviewed, cannot adequately represent three decades of trainees at three universities and eight primary and two secondary teachers colleges, as well as in the Larnook and the Arts and Craft training courses. All that the information from these sources can suggest is how those people remembered their development of ideas and their political and social involvement at university.

In order to have a clear idea of how university affected these student teachers’ political and social ideas and their degree of involvement in contemporary university issues, I have compared their comments with what I can deduce was being discussed on campuses from the relevant student newspapers. However, it was not possible to achieve my second aim—to identify any studentship holders who were active in student politics or other
protest activities from student newspapers. While letter writers to *Farrago*, *Lot’s Wife* or *Rabelais* occasionally ended their letters with ‘Dip. Ed.’, indicating they were most likely on studentships, during their undergraduate years, letter writers were more likely to use ‘Arts II’ or ‘Commerce III’, which made it impossible to establish whether they were on a studentship.

As discussed in the introduction, additional questions about the effect of attending university on their social and political attitudes were emailed to as many as possible of those who had completed surveys, but whom I had not interviewed. Summaries of the issues from articles in *Farrago*, *Lot’s Wife* and *Rabelais* for the years that studentship holders attended university were attached. This may have prompted memories that would not otherwise have been forthcoming, as Ken Marriott suggested in his response discussed later in this chapter, but it also enabled me to determine what issues concerned student teachers during their university years.

**1950s**

Geoffrey Bolton claimed that the conservative Menzies government (1949–1966) remained in power for 16 years because of the “economic buoyancy of the 1950s and the 1960s when political change came seldom”⁴ and there was little incentive for reform.⁵ Bolton argued that fear of an over-populated Asia led to hostility towards non-British immigrants, particularly those who failed to assimilate.⁶ According to Bolton,

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⁴ Ibid., p. 89.
⁵ Ibid., p. 85.
⁶ Ibid., pp. 54–5.
post-war political debate was dominated by the fear of communism.⁷ Despite the economic prosperity, social welfare spending based on GDP was lower than that of the USA, the UK and New Zealand. Migrants, women and Aborigines were disadvantaged, and, in 1966, the Henderson Report established that four per cent of Melbourne families lived below the poverty line.⁸ If university students were more socially and politically aware than the average Australian, then student newspapers might be expected to feature articles on migrant, Aboriginal and female disadvantage, and reflect the political debate about communism.

Both James Walter in his Master of Arts (Politics) thesis, and Brian Pola in his thesis studying La Trobe University radical student politics, characterised students of the fifties as the “silent generation”⁹ and the period as one of “relative quietude”¹⁰. However, analysis of student newspapers reveals some issues concerned students. Though the fifties saw the emergence of the teenager as a cult figure and a marketing opportunity, Walter considered any rebellion to be confined to teenage idols and antiheroes such as James Dean in Rebel without a cause (1955) and Marlon Brando in The wild one (1953). Walter observed that the rebellion in both films was ultimately meaningless, ending badly, for “what cause could there be for rebellion in the good society?”¹¹ He added that politics may not have mattered to the young, because of their

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⁷ Ibid., pp. 59 & 68.
⁸ Ibid., pp. 90, 103, 105–6.
¹¹ Walter, pp. 8–10.
comfortable economic circumstances, and—as the first generation to be exposed to the threat of nuclear annihilation—they may have felt involvement to be at best useless, at worst dangerous.\(^{12}\)

In 1950, the year that secondary studentships were first offered, *Farrago*, the Melbourne University student newspaper, contained articles on the Menzies government’s attempt to ban the Communist Party. During the 1950s, the White Australia Policy, National Service and its effects on university studies\(^{13}\), capital punishment, and Aboriginal issues were also covered. In her study of the White Australia policy, Gwenda Tavan argued that, in the post-war period, “increased opportunities for education would help change the attitudes of Australians towards issues such as race relations and their country’s place in the world.”\(^{14}\) Tavan referred to activity on campus led by the Australian Student Christian Movement, the National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS) and the Immigration Reform Group initiated by Melbourne University academics, James Mackie and Kenneth Rivett.\(^ {15}\) This was certainly reflected in *Farrago* which also reported student referendums condemning the White Australia Policy in 1955 and 1956. Regular articles appeared in *Farrago* about ABSCHOL (the provision of tertiary scholarships for Aboriginal students) in which Melbourne University students were actively involved, and apartheid and South African politics were debated. Internal issues such as Student Representative Council elections, academic freedom, free speech at university (including

\(^{12}\) Ibid., pp. 8–9.
\(^{13}\) This was not national service as introduced by the Menzies government in 1964, but a system that required all 18-year-old Australian males to register for short periods of training followed by several years in the Citizen Military Forces (CMF). University students were concerned that the periods of training at the beginning of the year disadvantaged them by delaying their university start. The system ended in 1959.
\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 114 and pp. 121–2.
freedom of the student press), university finances and the introduction of university quotas were also debated. After the dismissal in 1955 of Professor Sydney Orr by the University of Tasmania, his case featured several times over the following years. International issues such as nuclear testing and disarmament and peace conferences were repeatedly deliberated. Religion was another frequent topic of discussion. Social issues such as abortion, contraception and homosexual law reform were pondered. Apart from the annual coverage of the Miss University contest and occasional articles such as “What is woman’s place in this university?”16—a frivolous piece about, amongst other things, commencement ball partners—women’s issues were not discussed as women’s issues per se. Though mention was made of media reporting of student misbehaviour, this related to student ‘rags’, not student protests.

A review of Farrago articles for the 1950s indicated that university students—or those who wrote for or read Farrago—were aware of Australia’s social problems that Bolton described, except perhaps women’s issues. They were also not a completely ‘silent generation’ as Walter and Pola suggested. However, compared to the activism of succeeding generations, the 1950s’ university population might be described as the ‘dormant’ generation.

What do those studentship holders who were at university in the 1950s remember about those years? Five interviewees, and three of those who answered additional survey questions, attended the University of Melbourne in the 1950s. Valrie Finch began on a

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secondary studentship in 1950. She recalled friendships, academic subjects, campus debates, the choral society and the dominance of ex-servicemen in university tutorials. She did not recall any specific political or social issues.\textsuperscript{17} Trent McDougall, an Agriculture Science trainee teacher also living in a student hostel, stated: “I was never a political body. I took no interest in any of the things that were on.”\textsuperscript{18} McDougall did not change his political or social attitudes at university or later: “Dad was very anti-union … they were Liberal, and I’ve been Liberal ever since too.”\textsuperscript{19} Bob Twyford commented: “I wasn’t into student politics or anything like that … Oh, totally, politically ignorant.”\textsuperscript{20} Rod Watson remarked: “I wasn’t involved in any of the political clubs or anything like that and I suppose, as things have turned out, it was probably a pity that I didn’t join any of the political clubs.”\textsuperscript{21} Watson believed university made him veer from his Labor-voting background. He thought: “there was almost a self-esteem thing, you know: ‘I’m a grown-up educated person now, I’m not going to work with those workers over there; they’re going to vote Labor; I’ll vote oh Liberal as … the upper crust people’ ”. Initially he voted either Liberal or DLP, but, influenced by the Vietnam War, “I think by the 1963 election I might have been voting Labor, and then ever since then well it’s either Labor or Green.”\textsuperscript{22}

Of the three from the 1950s who emailed additional information, only Dale Vagg reported any involvement in social and political activities. She was a member of the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[17] Interview with Valrie Finch, Carlton, 21 October 2009, pp. 4–7.
\item[18] Interview with Trent McDougall, Horsham, 12 November 2010, p. 26.
\item[19] Ibid., p. 39.
\item[20] Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, pp. 9–10.
\item[21] Interview with Rod Watson, South Melbourne, 27 August 2010, p. 13.
\item[22] Ibid., p. 20.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Student Representative Council (SRC), national secretary for ABSCHOL, an occasional writer for *Farrago*, and part of a deputation to the Professor of Education “expressing concerns about the quality of the Diploma of Education course as an adequate preparation for teaching”. Vagg was also the only one who reported reading publications other than *Farrago: Meanjin* and the *Current Affairs Bulletin*. Dale Vagg came from “a very left-wing family background”, but had kept this hidden at her private school. “It was only when I went to a lecture by Prof McMahon Ball on international relations and he ridiculed the notion of ‘reds under the bed’ that I realised that there were other people, who had the same ideas as my family.” Discussing her relationship with a homosexual friend, Vagg also considered that university “taught me a lot about tolerance and acceptance of people of different persuasions.” Graham Willis described himself as a regular *Farrago* reader of reviews and political and social commentary, but as a non-participant in any other student political activities. However, he believed that university had influenced his social and political ideas and attitudes as “I started university as a conservative and left as a laborite.” In his email, Graham Willis suggested another reason for student teachers not being involved in student activities: “my opportunities to participate in many campus activities was limited by the fact that I went home to Kyneton for the first 3 years of my studies …” Since about a third of studentship holders came from the country, this may well have been an important deterrent to participation in

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23 Email from Dale Vagg to Marilyn Bowler, 28 October 2011, para. 10.
24 Ibid. para. 7.
26 Email from Graham Willis to Marilyn Bowler, 15 November 2011, para. 2.
27 Ibid., para. 1.
campus activities. Of the rest, Ray Welsford thought that he probably read *Farrago*, but little beyond the sports news.\(^{28}\)

If student teachers became more left-wing at university, why were they not more activist? A key factor was the degree of control that the Education Department exercised over them, particularly those living in hostels. Ruth Christian, at the University of Melbourne from 1959 till 1962, commented: “we, with the studentship, didn’t have the same sort of lifestyle that the rest of the university students did because we were owned, body and soul. They were paying the piper, I guess, so they could call the tune”.\(^{29}\) In her email, Dale Vagg also provided a clue to why so few student teachers were active in advocating or promoting political or social change: “we were aware that if we failed more than one subject we would be shunted off to do TSTC—at the Secondary Teachers College, where we would be qualified to teach, but would not receive a full degree … So for the first year at least I put my head down and worked bloody hard … as the first member of my family to attend University, I had no idea what was expected of me”.\(^{30}\)

While those surveyed and interviewed were not politically and socially active, did they differ from their contemporaries? Dale Vagg remembered talking to an older student who claimed “we were an apathetic lot and student politics was boring compared with the returned servicemen who had been at Uni after the war”.\(^{31}\) Judging from *Farrago*, it seems unlikely that they did differ much. Student apathy is lamented a number of times in

\(^{28}\) Email from Ray Welsford to Marilyn Bowler, 31 October 2011, paras. 6–9.
\(^{29}\) Interview with Ruth Christian, Newtown, 23 April 2010, p. 9.
\(^{30}\) Vagg, Email, paras. 4 & 5.
\(^{31}\) Ibid., para. 8.
the 1950s. In 1958, *Farrago* reported that only half the full-time student population voted in a referendum on the White Australia Policy. However, despite this, trainees’ attitudes often shifted. Graham Willis entered university as a conservative, but left as a Laborite. Robert Young discussed the problems of the world in the ‘caf’, and despite not belonging to social or political clubs, believed he gained a broader outlook from university.33

Ultimately, did a university education cause graduates to develop different political and social ideas and attitudes from their parents’ or their siblings’? Most described themselves as uninterested in political and social ideas at university, though this was not necessarily an indication of their later attitudes or involvement. Some indicated that they became more left-wing, and one, Dale Vagg, was actively involved in student politics. The overall conservatism of student teachers reflected the era as described by Bolton, Walter and Pola—though issues were discussed in *Farrago*, political involvement was confined to a few. But the conservatism also reflected the degree of control exercised by the Education Department. Failure meant a lower paid qualification or bond repayment. Nor were student teachers of the 1950s necessarily more conservative than their university contemporaries, since *Farrago*’s content indicated most students were apathetic, and ‘rags’, rather than demonstrations, were the norm.

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32 ‘Students condemn White Australia Policy’, *Farrago*, vol. 34 no. 12, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 1 July 1958, p. 1.
33 Interview with Robert Young, Bendigo, 26 August 2010; p. 9.
1960 to early 1970s

Studentship holders, like all university students, experienced the fervour of this period.

Many of the 1950s issues from *Farrago* continued into the 1960s and new issues emerged. Student action overseas was reported, for example, the arrest of French students supporting the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale (FLN).34 The significance of Anzac Day was debated.35 Equal pay was a topic in 1961 and 1962.36 As a result of the Bolte government’s determination to hang Peter Tait, in 1962, *Farrago* reported the establishment of a Student Anti-Hanging Committee.37 Student protests, such as the march by 350 students against the Menzies government’s attitude to South African apartheid, were featured.38 The Orientation Week issue of *Farrago* in 1963 contained a report of a Secondary Teachers College (STC) protest against Premier Bolte at the official opening of the new STC building.39 An educational reform campaign by Australian university students began, as well as the development of Student Action, described by Tavan as “a large and very vocal Melbourne-based student movement formulated specifically to agitate against the policy [White Australia Policy] in the run-up to the 1961 federal election.” Its members employed “flamboyant protest tactics such as chanting, placard waving, and heckling political leaders at public meetings”.40 Young

34 ‘Student arrests’, *Farrago*, vol. 37 no. 1, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 6 March 1961, p. 2.
36 G Seyforth, ‘Equal pay for the weaker sex’, *Farrago*, vol. 37 no. 18 or 19, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 22 September 1964, p. 5; & J Smith ‘Equal pay week now’, *Farrago*, vol. 38 no. 5, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 6 April 1962, p. 4.
39 S Cook, ‘Demo’s, marches, rags and so forth: V-C reveals all’, *Farrago*, vol. 39 no. 1, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 4 March 1963, p. 3.
40 Tavan, p. 116.
people reassessed older Australian values that reinforced the White Australia policy, with the emergence of the ‘New Left’ and its critiques of “Western capitalist societies like Australia”.

Monash University had its first student intake in 1961 and La Trobe in 1967. Early issues of *Chaos*, the first Monash student newspaper, and *Lot’s Wife* and *Rabelais* at La Trobe University, covered similar issues to those in *Farrago*. As well, they featured topics of concern to a newly established university: the creation of political clubs, university facilities, and the Union Council. Reports also appeared on Monash student ‘larks’ similar to the ‘rags’ at Melbourne University, though Monash student participation in a demonstration against Chinese deportations was reported. In the early 1970s, articles on women’s issues and the women’s liberation movement appeared.

A critical new issue emerged after the Federal government’s introduction of selective conscription in November 1964 and the decision to send troops to Vietnam in April 1965. This form of conscription was unlike the 1950s national service. Conscription for 20-year-old males in 1964 was selective: only those whose birthdates were pulled from a barrel were drafted. And, after April 1965, tertiary students knew that, though they might

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41 Ibid., p. 168.
42 Monash University’s student newspaper was called *Chaos* until 24 June 1962, when it became *Lot’s Wife*.
defer their army enrolment until their studies were completed, once conscripted, they might have to serve in Vietnam.

According to Bolton, the anti-Vietnam War protest movement grew beyond resistance to conscription to create a “gap between the governing classes and the protestors”.46 In his thesis examining La Trobe student politics in the early 1970s, James Walter charted the rise of student dissent from its beginnings at Melbourne University in the early 1960s. Walter characterised this dissent as originally being confined to single issues and largely non-violent civil disobedience.47 Walter too saw selective conscription and the decision to send troops to Vietnam in April 1965 as a key factor in the development of radicalism. The failure of the peace movement in turn caused the breakaway of younger members, particularly after experiencing ‘police brutality’ at demonstrations, and led to greater militancy.48 This viewpoint is also taken by Richard Gordon and Warren Osmond in their study of the Australian New Left. ‘Radicalisation’, they argued, moved from single issue campaigns to educative campaigns, from working within the system to opposition to the system, to uncritical acceptance of society and its political structure to rejection of capitalism and imperialism.49 They saw radicalisation manifesting itself in illegal and non-compliant attitudes to civil and military authorities and the adoption of a Marxist-Leninist ideology.50

46 Bolton, p. 168.
47 Walter, pp. 44–5.
48 Ibid., p. 45–6.
50 Ibid., p. 5.
In 1967 and 1968, Monash University activists became prominent. In July 1967, the Monash Labor Club voted to collect aid for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, triggering anger from authorities and the general public. The annual July 4 demonstration outside the United States consulate was more confrontational than before.\(^{51}\) Warren Osmond argued that this polarised the Left and that a gap developed between radicals and liberals.\(^{52}\) In his account of his student activism, *All along the Watchtower*, Michael Hyde commented that a division existed within the anti-war movement over the burning of draft registration cards at rallies. He realised that people might not be prepared to break laws, but they would oppose the war. Hyde believed that radical actions caused others to think more radically and shift to the left.\(^{53}\)

Michael Smythe recollected the student political scene at La Trobe University in the early 1970s as

> the most left-wing of the universities … the place where all the protests happened, and I came as quite a conservative young man, from Liberal-voting parents, oh (pause) and so I was a bit dismissive of … the Maoists and the Communists and the Trotskyists, but I read everything that came along and there were enormous amounts of paper on political viewpoints, and it was educational because I started to understand the left wing and the

\(^{51}\) S Amaterstein, ‘Two’s company, three’s a riot’, *Lot’s Wife*, vol. 8 no. 9, Student Representative Council, Monash University, Clayton, 23 July 1968, p. 2.


far left-wing points of view, and it took a while but eventually embraced, many of those viewpoints.54

However, while Smythe believed that university influenced his political ideas, he was not actively involved.

[Looking back I kick myself, I really should have been part of the Moratorium and the protest movement, and I wasn’t in favour of the War because I was a pacifist, and I was opposed to all wars, but ah, I was wary of getting involved in, mass demonstrations, with large numbers of left-wing people who I disagreed with even though I might have agreed with the, that particular issue, so I kept out of it for a long time.55

Smythe’s recollections reflect the gap that Osmond observed as having developed within the anti-war movement. Perhaps too Smythe is an example of what Hyde saw as the move to the left by liberals as a result of the actions of more radical protestors.

Bolton argued that “the Vietnam dispute was taking on something of a conflict between the generations”56, a conflict in which university students were active as both participants and leaders. Attitudes to protestors can be illustrated by comments made by authority figures: in 1966, during protests over President Johnson’s visit, Askin, the NSW premier, suggested, “Drive over the bastards”; and Inspector Platfuss, the police officer in charge when La Trobe University students were assaulted during an anti-Vietnam march, told the media, “They got some baton today and they’ll get a lot more in the future.”57

54 Interview with Michael Smythe, Bendigo, 26 August 2010, p. 3.
55 Ibid., p. 6.
56 Bolton, p. 170.
57 Pola, p. 78.
Student newspapers bear out these views that the questioning of specific issues led to the questioning of authorities. In its 24 May 1965 edition, *Farrago* reported a debate “that we are right in Vietnam”, where a majority voted in favour of the war.58 By August, an article entitled “Dodging the draft” appeared.59 A teach-in on the Vietnam War was held at Monash in 1967. In its first three issues, *Rabelais* included three items on Vietnam and conscription.60 Several issues of *Farrago* in 1969 featured signatories opposing the National Service Act. Occupations of Administration Buildings or University Council meetings at all three universities were reported, which in turn led to discussion about university discipline regulations, and articles on power sharing within the universities. Eventually, student newspaper articles covered changes to the universities’ admissions policies which enabled them to exclude students already excluded from other Australian universities and the resulting sit-ins directed against the university administrations.

At La Trobe University, the university responded to the occupation of the Administration Building by taking out Supreme Court injunctions to prevent four students—Brian Pola, Barry York, Fergus Robinson and Rod Taylor—from entering campus. When they continued to do so, they were found to be in contempt of court and, ultimately, Pola, York and Robinson were jailed in early 1972.61

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58 ‘The Great Debate on Vietnam’, *Farrago*, vol. 42 no. 9, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 24 May 1965, p. 3.
59 ‘Dodging the draft’. *Farrago*, vol. 43 no. 18, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 16 August 1965, p. 9.
60 *Rabelais*, vol. 1 nos 1, 2, 3 passim, Bundoora, 1967.
Did studentship interviewees’ participation in student politics in the 1960s and early 1970s differ from that of the 1950s? Some, particularly those at university in the early 1960s, mirrored the earlier group’s lack of involvement. Stan Bates reflected a similar lack of interest to that of Trent McDougall, when he said that he was not involved as “I couldn’t stand politics”.62 Ruth Christian, when asked if she were involved in any political or social causes, responded: “I, don’t know that I was that interested, to be perfectly honest”.63 But even those who described themselves as uninvolved were influenced by discussion in the ‘caf’ or around the table of an evening in the teachers hostel or in university classes. Ian Grant was “certainly not actively involved, oh maybe in discussions around … the hostel … or the university classes perhaps in tutes”.64

Student teachers were definitely amongst the leaders of protests at La Trobe and Monash universities. Barry York65, Fergus Robinson66 and Brian Pola67, at La Trobe University, and Michael Hyde at Monash University, were all on studentships. In a telephone conversation with Dr Dave Nadel of Monash University’s National Centre for Australian Studies, who was the president of the Monash Labor Club for 1966–67, he identified another ten students involved in the Labor Club in the second half of the 1960s, who were on studentships.68

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63 Interview with Ruth Christian, Newtown, 23 April 2010, p. 11.
64 Interview with Ian Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 11.
65 Email from Barry York to Marilyn Bowler, 31 March 2012, para. 3.
66 Telephone conversation with Fergus Robinson, 13 April 2012.
68 Telephone conversation with Dr Dave Nadel, 28 September 2011.
How did the 22 students who emailed answers to additional questions describe their political and social involvement? Seventeen of them were regular readers of their campus newspaper and four read it occasionally. Nine read either all of the paper or everything but the sports section. Campus news and social and political commentary were also remembered as areas of interest. Robert Johnstone said: “I did read Farrago regularly and enjoyed it”\(^{69}\), while Keith Black read it “Regularly but usually quickly over lunch. Most of the articles were far from memorable. I always read the letters to the editor.”\(^{70}\) John Horwood was both a reader and a contributor to Farrago and one of those who read “All of it”.\(^{71}\) Ken Marriott was both a regular reader of and a contributor to Lot’s Wife.\(^{72}\)

However, when it came to other campus publications, less than half mentioned reading them, though a few were occasional readers. Surprisingly, seven read political club publications regularly with a further eight reading them occasionally. One noticeable difference from the 1950s students was the greater number who recalled attending debates or student meetings: eleven regularly and four occasionally. Fewer respondents mentioned voting in referendums (six), but seven were definite that they signed petitions and five may have. Topics recalled ranged from the White Australia Policy, Aboriginal issues, sexual morality, Germaine Greer on feminist issues, sexism, politics, with Vietnam War issues being mentioned more than any other topic. Robert Johnstone recalled that “Articles about war certainly affected me greatly. Especially Vietnam. From a Country Party background I found that increasingly I moved to the political left as I

\(^{69}\) Email from Robert Johnstone to Marilyn Bowler, 2 November 2011, para. 3.  
\(^{70}\) Email from Keith Black to Marilyn Bowler, 28 October 2011, para. 2 of attachment.  
\(^{71}\) Email from John Horwood to Marilyn Bowler, 30 October 2011, para. 21.  
\(^{72}\) Email from Ken Marriott to Marilyn Bowler, paras. 27 & 29.
progressed through university”.\textsuperscript{73} Even Black, who was critical of the quality of student publications, remembered being influenced by articles on “the Anzac myth and the brainwashing of Australians for militarism”.\textsuperscript{74} Margaret Vines recalled that she “loved reading Bea Faust in Farrago. Remember reading Frank Knopfelmacher\textsuperscript{75} too—he was discussed in the caf a lot”.\textsuperscript{76} La Trobe University student Ray Richardson remembered University Council policy and Glenn College\textsuperscript{77} issues. Ken Marriott recalled meetings and debates at Monash, on the “Vietnam War in particular; I think also higher education, economic development in Australia, US bases, Pres Johnson visit to Aust; hanging/capital punishment; apartheid. Going through your lists extracted from Lots Wife also suggests quite a few other issues that were debated either widely on campus or in the Labor Club or between Labor, Liberal and DLP clubs.”\textsuperscript{78} At Melbourne, Joan Adams attended “lunchtime lectures by Frank Knopfelmacher and the Communist students club so that I could compare their central tenets”.\textsuperscript{79} Topics of petitions signed included calls for peace, anti-hanging, the White Australia Policy, and the Baillieu Library opening hours, conscription, the Vietnam War and police action taken at marches.

\textsuperscript{73} Johnstone, Email, para. 5.
\textsuperscript{74} Black, Email, para. 7 of attachment.
\textsuperscript{75} Beatrice Faust is a feminist author, co-founder of the Victorian Civil Liberties Union and a founder of the Women’s Electoral Lobby. Frank Knopfelmacher was a Melbourne University academic in the Psychology department, a frequent, controversial speaker at student meetings, and a prolific author in both academic and campus publications, and in local newspapers, from an anti-communist perspective.
\textsuperscript{76} Email from Margaret Vines to Marilyn Bowler, 25 March 2012, p. 1 of attachment
\textsuperscript{77} Glenn College was the first college at La Trobe University and students were assigned to colleges rather than there being a central student union. This led to criticism of the provision of facilities and of the college system.
\textsuperscript{78} Marriott, Email, para. 2.
\textsuperscript{79} Email from Joan Adams to Marilyn Bowler, para. 16.
One noticeable difference from the 1950s respondents was that nine of those who answered additional questions added comments about their involvement in campus and off-campus demonstrations, even though this was not a question asked. As did eight of the interviewees. At Melbourne in the early 1970s, Kerry Lewis “used to go to … the Vietnam Moratoriums, and the rallies on campus and in the city … but not as a part of the organising”.

At Monash, Shelley Lavender also recalled: “of course it’s all the Vietnam Moratorium … it was very heady political days, so there was … lots to either participate in or watch, I think I was probably more of a watcher than an active participant at the beginning, although then, … I mean I wasn’t one of those who stormed the Admin building, or anything, but I found it quite exciting that it was all happening.”

Lavender also remembered: “Aboriginal land rights, that was another thing I can remember walking through the streets over. But I also remember avoiding television cameras, because I thought my grandfather would have a fit if he saw me (laugh) walking through the streets, holding up the placards! (laugh) … but women, no I don’t remember, a lot about Women’s Rights stuff, no.”

Several responses revealed intense memories about political feelings. Robert Hillier joined the Labor Party while at La Trobe University and was a marshal in a Moratorium. Hillier commented: “I have been a Labor voter all my life. I once voted for an independent but would never vote Liberal [t]his was partly because I never forgave Holt and Menzies for getting us involved in Vietnam”. Ron Leslie, who started at Monash in

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80 Interview with Kerry Lewis, Williamstown, 7 May 10, p. 13.
81 Interview with Shelley Lavender, Pascoe Vale South, 15 July 2010, p. 7.
82 Ibid., p. 8.
83 Email from Robert Hillier to Marilyn Bowler, 22 March 2012, paras 1–2.
1962, said: “I used to go on demonstrations … we signed petitions and particularly against Menzies bringing back, that obnoxious system for conscription, totally against Australian principles … I didn’t believe it was fair that they could conscript people who were too young to vote or were supposed to fight for their bloody country, and to fight in a war which I believe was, (pause), ridiculous”.84

Asked if their political or social ideas were influenced by what they read, by meetings or debates they attended or referendums or petitions, more than half of those who answered additional questions believed they were. Some were unsure of exactly how they were influenced; others saw it as part of a larger process; and others saw it as broadening or clarifying existing ideas.

How did those interviewed see their involvement in social and political issues? At Melbourne University in the late 1960s, Joan Adams attended political lectures and was annoyed that she “couldn’t join a protest against, oh the protest about LBJ, because I had an exam the next day”.85 And though Adams did not belong to any feminist groups, the issues were discussed: “it was more personal, it was about … the arrival of the Pill, and sexual liberation, and … a lot of my friends in Janet Clarke Hall were probably feminists but didn’t call themselves feminists. There used to have a lot of discussion about double standards and what were expected of women”.86 Adams listed over 30 topics from *Farrago* that she considered influenced her. Adams remarked that she felt that, as a result, “I became much more left-wing than my parents and friends who did not go to

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84 Interview with Ron Leslie, Pascoe Vale South, 29 August 2010, p. 13.
85 Interview with Joan Adams, Yarraville, 6 May 2010, p. 9.
86 Ibid., p. 10.
university”. However, she concluded that “apart from marching in a Vietnam Moratorium demo [after she left university], I was not active, though I was always interested—more of a bystander”.88

Once again, living in an Education Department hostel or coming from the country may have restricted some students’ participation in university activities. John Nielson said: “I was a country kid who was still very much involved in the happenings at home—and especially various sports, and so my level of interaction with on-campus activities was probably less than the more active political animals on campus.” But hostel living did not always restrict the development of ideas and attitudes for, despite this, Nielson also considered that his “appreciation of political ideas and activities was significantly broadened by my time at Uni as before that I was very politically naïve”.90 Robert Johnstone lived for three of his four years at a teachers hostel. He remarked that male student teachers were encouraged to form a “student teacher brotherhood”. “On reflection we lived a relatively closed, protected and sheltered existence. I remember my tutors at the Secondary Teachers College actively encouraging me to concentrate on my university studies and to not get too involved in the activities of the student union or university clubs.” But Johnstone also said that his social and political ideas and attitudes were heavily influenced by his four years at university and his three years in the hostel.92

87 Adams, Email, para. 21.
88 Ibid.
89 Email from John Nielson to Marilyn Bowler, 27 October 2011, para. 2.
90 Ibid., para. 11.
91 Johnstone, para. 1.
92 Ibid., para. 10.
An influence not considered by writers about student protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s was the influence of friends. Alan Heard commented: “I tended to take in information from friends and colleagues about political and social issues”. Sarah Scanlon expanded on this point when she stated: “From memory most of my friends who were on studentships were country / state school kids who lacked confidence in taking leadership roles in a lot of uni clubs etc.” Ken Marriott, who started at Monash in 1964, actually suggested that through the writer of this thesis he became involved in political issues: “I think prior to meeting you, my involvement in Uni issues/events was very much more on the writing/literature side whereas you introduced me to all the political stuff”.

Again, did student teachers’ involvement in university political and social issues differ greatly from that of the general student population? As with the 1950s generation, given Farrago and Chaos/Lot’s Wife articles and letters criticising student apathy, or disinterest in politics or anything academic beyond how to pass well, it is probable that the majority were more likely to read about political issues than they were to participate. Walter stated that “never on any Australian campus has a radical student movement achieved sustained mass support”, that at La Trobe University, for example, only 10 to 12 per cent of students actively protested and approximately 40 per cent voted in the main.

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93 Email from Alan Heard to Marilyn Bowler, 27 October 2011, para. 5.
94 Email from Sarah Scanlon to Marilyn Bowler, 8 November 2011, para. 2.
95 Marriott, Email, para. 2.
referendums.\(^98\) While significant student numbers supported radical action about specific issues, according to Walter, few advocated or supported the need for sweeping social change.\(^99\)

When the first Vietnam Moratorium was held on 8 May 1970, a debate ensued at Melbourne University about whether the university should close for the day, with a general meeting of students rejecting the idea with 899 for and 946 against.\(^100\) Two things can be observed from this: how close the vote was and the fact that less than 2000 students attended the debate out of a university student population of nearly 15,000. The membership of the Monash Labor Club was never more than 250 people during its most radical period.\(^101\) When radical students acted against defence officials on the La Trobe campus, 70 students were involved.\(^102\) Peter Cochrane is quoted by Pola as stating that “halfway through 1970 we had a hard core of students who were interested in Marx, Mao and Guevara, about 20 or 30 of us”.\(^103\) Few students at the three universities, even during the times of greatest student militancy, were radical activists, so trainee teachers differed little from their fellow students.

However, these radicals were the centre of a larger group. After the vicious police attack on approximately 270 La Trobe demonstrators in September 1970, about 1000

\(^98\) Walter, p. 48.
\(^99\) Ibid., pp. 48–9.
\(^100\) *Farrago*, vol. 48 no. 9, Student Representative Council, University of Melbourne, Carlton, 8 May 1970, p. 2.
\(^101\) Telephone conversation with Dr Dave Nadel, 28 September 2011.
\(^102\) Pola, p. 72.
\(^103\) Ibid., p. 205.
demonstrators took part in a subsequent march.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 77–8. La Trobe’s enrolment in 1970 was 2519: VH Arnold, \textit{Victorian Year Book 1971}, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Melbourne, 1971, p. 365.} Dr Nadel suggested that, while students may not have been active in campaigns such as Aid for the NLF, nor participants in July 4 demonstrations or in occupations of administration buildings, they were exposed to arguments about the Vietnam War in student newspapers and pamphlets by the Students for a Democratic Society, the Worker-Student Alliance and the political clubs.\footnote{Nadel, op cit.} Some also attended general student meetings, debates and teach-ins.

Tavan, Bolton and Walter argued that the Vietnam War generation of students had reassessed the values of the older generation. Though the majority of those interviewed or surveyed for this thesis were not activists in that they were not radical student leaders, they did see themselves as more liberal or left-wing than their parents’ generation. Unlike earlier generations of students, they were more regular readers of student newspapers, attended debates and meetings and were involved in protests. Research into student newspapers indicated that Walter was right in that articles moved from considering single issues to an examination of society. However, this is not reflected in the memories of teacher trainees. They were aware of, and influenced by, debate about specific issues, but there was no indication that they were dissatisfied with Australian society as a whole.

An explanation for this may be found in research undertaken into the backgrounds of radical students at Monash University, which indicated that student activists were more likely to be enrolled in Arts (particularly Politics) than in any other faculty, that they frequently came from libertarian family backgrounds, that they were more interested in
education for personal, rather than vocational development, and proceeded from moral beliefs to action.\textsuperscript{106} They were also more likely to be middle class.\textsuperscript{107} This is not the typical background of a studentship holder.

Michael Hyde stated: “I’d had a burning passion to right wrongs since I was a teenager. I had a natural empathy for the underdog—in the playground, out in the street, in the classroom.”\textsuperscript{108} Michael Hyde was the son of a Methodist minister and had studied at a Pasadena college, when his father held a position in California. He returned to Australia and enrolled at Monash University on a teaching studentship in 1967. Confirming the theories of Walter and Pola, Hyde said: “When I walked into Monash Uni that morning in 1967, I didn’t feel as though I was entering a world of academia where my main purpose was to study, get a degree and get a job. Rather, I felt I was entering the world, stepping out into a universe where everything was up for consideration and a multitude of experiences was just around the corner.”\textsuperscript{109}

Using data available for 1972, the year of the crisis at La Trobe, Walter stated “[T]he State school background and the (relatively) disadvantaged socio-economic origins of La Trobe students, with the likelihood that they are the least academically talented of University students, may be predictive of a relative lack of sophistication in their politics when they do become active. La Trobe students may be more urban, but they have been less privileged, so they may be more likely political, but less

\textsuperscript{106} Walter, p. 54.  
\textsuperscript{107} Pola, p. 208.  
\textsuperscript{108} Hyde, p. 15.  
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., p. 18.
sophisticated."\textsuperscript{110} In describing activists as from poorer socio-economic backgrounds and government schools, Walter might have been describing the backgrounds of many studentship holders. Three of the leading activists, Pola, York and Robinson, were trainee teachers, but the interviews and surveys undertaken for this thesis suggest that they were atypical, rather than typical, of student teachers’ involvement in university politics. However, Fergus Robinson suggested that in providing trainees with the money to survive, studentships were facilitators of radical politics.\textsuperscript{111}

University activism could be described as involving a small minority who were leaders, a slightly larger group of participants, and a larger group of student supporters, who attended meetings, read the publications, voted in SRC referendums and sometimes attended demonstrations.

Previous researchers into the student activism of the 1960s and early 1970s, such as Pola and Walter, suggested that there was an increasing radicalisation, a reassessment of values and the development of a generation gap between student protestors and authorities. Certainly, the emailed responses and the interviewees’ answers indicated that student teachers were profoundly aware of political issues. But they did not see themselves as student activists or radicals. They did not go beyond specific issues to a critique of Australian society, nor did they undertake militant or illegal actions. However, with over 22,000 studentship holders at university between 1950 and the early 1980s, it would be surprising if such a small group of interviewees contained the more radical

\textsuperscript{110} Walter, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{111} Robinson, op cit.
students. Nor do they describe a generation gap in political views though they saw themselves as becoming more left-wing or liberal than their parents. This may have been because they are now themselves the older generation, or a reluctance to remember more radical actions in a more conservative time. But an examination of interviews did not suggest any reluctance or embarrassment in interviewees’ recollections, except occasionally an embarrassment that they were not more active. Perhaps this is a reflection of a public legend about radical students in the 1960s and 1970s that some interviewees thought that they should have lived up to.

**Early 1970s to early 1980s**

With the election of the Whitlam government in late 1972 and its rapid ending of conscription and withdrawal of the few remaining troops from Vietnam, many writers considered that student radical political action also began to decline. While conscription was no longer an issue, other issues became prominent: the Fretilin-Indonesia conflict in East Timor, drugs, the ‘adoption/abduction’ of Vietnamese children, gay and lesbian rights, women’s issues, child care on campus, prison reform, Bertram Wainer, abortion and Victoria Police corruption, the military coups in Chile and later in Argentina, the environment, and the dismissal of the Whitlam government. And earlier issues such as sexuality, apartheid, Aboriginal rights and the Israeli-Palestinian issue remained current.

Like previous university generations, some teacher trainees of the post-Vietnam War era were involved in student politics, while others were not. At university, Simon Frazer was

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a member of the Liberal Club and its president for a year. He remembers the period as being “the end of the time of universities being great … ideological um battlefields … where you’d have all these intense arguments which never resolved anything about, all sorts of things like the Middle East and Palestine and the, there was also all the stuff that was going on at the time about the Australian Union of Students and um it was when in the 1970s the Whitlam Government was dismissed by the Governor-General, so it was a very emotional, political time…

At Melbourne University at the same time, Vicki Steer, who had wanted to be a journalist originally, rather than a teacher, was also heavily involved in Farrago.

   Farrago and my experiences there loom large, … oh student politics fascinated me so there was a lot, and because of the location of the Farrago office next to the SRC, there was lots of activity there, there was still the vestiges of the protests movement, against, about Vietnam, even though I started uni in ’74, but there was a very active student movement at Melbourne University, there, I remember every morning rushing into the Union building at Melbourne Uni and picking up the daily activities sheet, to see what was on that day, who was speaking in the public lecture theatre”.

Though she wrote extensively for Farrago on women’s issues, she did not, however, join any women’s organisations on campus.

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113 Interview with Simon Frazer, Mentone, 7 October 2010, p. 8.
114 Ibid., pp. 7–8.
115 Interview with Vicki Steer, Pascoe Vale South, 5 April 2010, p. 6.
[I]n O-week I remember deliberately looking for the Women’s Liberation group … and attended a few of their meetings but that they were so dominated by lesbian activists that I didn’t feel particularly at home in the group, but in my second year of working on *Farrago*, so in 1975 … we set up a thing called the Women’s Writers’ Collective, for *Farrago*, so in that year we were given two pages per issue … I did go to lots of protests, I mean I did have to question myself at one time was, whether or not I was just, mindlessly turning up at the City Square because I’d heard there was something on … 1975 was International Women’s Year, and so I remember filming the International Women’s Day march that year … I participated in, there were demonstrations when I was in, first, or second year, about wanting childcare facilities for students, on campus, and there was a huge protest and an occupation of the administration building, I protested, I joined that. When Whitlam was sacked in ’75 … I participated in that so, in those protests … I went, so, I participated but I didn’t organise…¹¹⁶

While Frazer and Steer were actively involved in student issues, Tanya Trengrove and Pam Monahan at Monash University and Janine Rizzetti at La Trobe University were interested in ideas, but not active. Like Vicki Steer at Melbourne, Monahan remembers a “lot of feminist activity which was very exciting, I remember … arriving and seeing the girl who’d been head prefect of my school when I was in about Form 1 or 2, being very, oh she was a Maoist, Trotskyist, whatever, very active in political things but also feminist

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 7–9.
things”. Monahan saw the Palestinian issue, the conflict in East Timor, feminism and the Whitlam dismissal as the “biggest issues on campus”. “I was up in the library on the top floor with some friends … and someone, one of my friends came running up the stairs and said: ‘Guess what, the government’s been dismissed.’ I said: ‘Don’t be stupid … you can’t do that, that’s, that won’t have happened.’ … and we ran downstairs and everyone was pouring out of the, out of the library and the dining room … we all sat there listening to the news, of the dismissal, and so that was a very exciting, times.” She also remembered as “very muted any gay activism, I think”. But despite her memories of the political activities of her time at Monash, Monahan was not involved in protests, either at university or in later life. Tanya Trengrove, also at Monash in this period, stated that she “wasn’t very politically active” nor involved in feminism on campus. Rizzetti at La Trobe commented: “I didn’t, particularly get involved in any of the social or political things here, at all, although I remember I was here, the day that Whitlam got sacked, it was during the exams, and I was sitting in the Agora, and I had this feeling of: ‘Wow, you know, the revolution’s going to happen!’, like I was very much aware that it was really, really big, and important … of course everyone was so fired up about it in the Agora”. Rizzetti also remarked that “I think all that sort of Barry York stuff had finished, by then (pause), oh, although I think I remember people storming the Vice Chancellor’s office, as people tended to do, in those days, but I don’t

117 Interview with Pam Monahan, Camberwell, 18 November 2010, p. 17.
118 Ibid., pp. 17–18.
119 Ibid., p. 18.
120 Ibid., p. 18.
121 Interview with Tanya Trengrove, Eltham, 28 May 2010, p. 9–10.
122 Interview with Janine Rizzetti, Bundoora, 2 September 2010, p. 8.
know why they were storming the Vice Chancellor’s office … that was something other people did.”

Gary Bourke’s and Anne Williams’s memories were more ambiguous. Bourke described his years at Monash University as a time of student activism: “I was there started, in ’72, so the Vietnam War was still on, a lot of overrunning of the Vice Chancellor’s office, and the Administration Building, and demonstrations, and a few other things, but mm, yes, not by me, I was focussed on my, studies, yes.” But despite saying this, Bourke mentioned that he was involved with the Monash Association of Labor Students: “I was in that for a while, just general political interest. When I was in WA we marched, for student rights, in the main street, oh the main street of Perth, but yes down, just to identify the rights of students, and no great, just attended the meetings at Monash of the Union, in the Union Building”. He admitted going in to the Vice Chancellor’s office once it was occupied, but only to “see what they had done”. He also “used to go to a few Liberal Party meetings in Caulfield, at the Caulfield Town Hall, just to put up an alternative point of view.” One of his strongest memories was the Six-Day War, because the Hillel Society, the Monash Jewish Students Society, met in the same corridor as the Monash Motorcycle Club, of which Bourke was a member. “I reckon there were two or three Palestinians, at uni in those days, and … I used to feel sort of a bit sorry for

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123 Ibid., p. 11.  
124 Interview with Gary Bourke, Rupanyup, 10 November 2010, p. 2.  
125 Ibid., p. 12.  
126 Ibid., p. 13.
them because they were well and truly outnumbered … but attending, demonstrations at the uni just showing support but nothing, nothing, extreme.”¹²⁷

Anne Williams considered that

I wasn’t apolitical, and I was certainly feminist … I didn’t go and join the hippies but I was there in spirit … I didn’t believe in the fighting, I was thrilled when Whitlam got in and got rid of conscription, you know, half an hour later sort of thing, and all of that, so, and I knew that that activity was on campus, I read the treatises that came around and, I probably signed petitions and, … I would have had conversations with people who were in lectures and tutes and that, but no I didn’t join any of those clubs, because I really had no time, once I’d left home … I had to get a part-time job because the studentship wasn’t enough to, to rent…¹²⁸

Again, were studentship holders different from other university students of the period? Student apathy was still criticised in student newspapers from time to time.¹²⁹ Though only two of those interviewed for this thesis were actively involved in student political activities, did university influence the ideas of teacher trainees in this period? Anne Williams grew beyond her family’s conservative political ideas: “I, (pause) well once voted Liberal, because my parents threatened to throw me out of the house if I didn’t, but thereafter I’ve been a Labor voter…”¹³⁰ Simon Frazer’s political ideas altered little

¹²⁸ Interview with Anne Williams, Mansfield, 26 June 2010, p. 13.
¹³⁰ Williams, p. 13.
during his years at the University of Melbourne. His parents were “pretty conservative. They would have been Liberal, Liberal Party voters, you know, all their lives”\(^{131}\).

However, he described his social and political attitudes as having changed in his adult life as the result of his experiences: “working in a government school … and seeing … everything that goes on, your social, my social perspective has changed very much, over the years, and so I would take a much more … social justice point of view, of when I’m thinking about what my political allegiance would be.”\(^{132}\)

Vicki Steer believed that she was more influenced by her parents’ views, particularly those of her minister father, whose “whole attitude to his ministry, I’m sure shaped my political views a lot, too, because he didn’t want to get a cosy spot in a church in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne in the Bible Belt, that was his idea of hell, and so his positions as a minister, in his early years, were always in developing areas with lots of social need”.\(^{133}\) Steer had not only been influenced by her parents’ political ideas, but, unlike many studentship recipients of earlier periods, arrived at university with political knowledge and feminist ideas. “Mum went back to study, and it became obvious she couldn’t do it [all the household chores] any more, and we three girls, … launching into our teens, and starting to think about women’s rights issues, working with Mum (laugh) trained our father to be, oh more sharing”.\(^{134}\) University provided her with the opportunity to develop her ideas and to participate in trying to bring about change. Gary Bourke too was influenced by his family political values, mentioning that his grandfather

\(^{131}\) Frazer, p. 14.
\(^{132}\) Ibid., p. 15.
\(^{133}\) Steer, p16.
\(^{134}\) Ibid., pp. 14–15.
was a member of the Communist Party and that, as a result, his family had “very strong political discussions”.

Political activism at teachers colleges

One of the clear distinctions between teachers college trainees and university teacher trainees was the teachers college students’ lack of involvement in political and social activism during their tertiary years. One of the reasons for this was simply that many teachers colleges were in the country (Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong), while most political and social activism was occurring in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Secondly, university students had considerable free time and greater freedom to attend or not attend classes, while teachers college students, as discussed earlier, were much more tightly controlled and had their days filled with classes where their absences would be noticed. Few on-campus activities seem to have existed apart from the SRC, the annual college magazine, and cultural and sporting activities.

Even the SRC was not always taken seriously and seemed to have more responsibilities than rights in former teacher college trainees’ eyes. As Alistair Stirton commented of Toorak Teachers College in the 1950s: “The SRC comprised of the elected group leaders. The first year our group leader was the shortest, nerdiest one in the group, we felt that (laugh), well none of us wanted the, none of us wanted to take on the, responsibility, you know you had to mark the roll and yes be on the SRC and I just wasn’t into those things

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135 Bourke, p. 2.
in those days”.  

Judy Wheeler, also at Melbourne Teachers College in the 1950s, was unaware of any social or political activities. 

Diane Stirton, attending Coburg Teachers College in the early 1970s, believed that the political and social issues of the period “didn’t impact on teachers college, I can’t remember there being any radical, anything. … No, I don’t remember any discussion, but, we used to go, our days were completely structured, like you would go a, your first lecture was at 8.30, and your last one was at 4.30, … you’d go from one, lecture to, to the other, so I can’t remember ever having time to, do anything else.” 

However, because teachers colleges were run by the student teachers’ employer, the Education Department, unions were present on campus. Alistair Stirton also remarked: “I was union rep, and did sit on the union council as a student rep (laugh), because I’d grown up with unions and with unionism …” 

Though teachers colleges did not possess student organisations such as political clubs nor have regular public speakers, student teachers studying at them were not necessarily ignorant of current political issues, particularly conscription, which also affected male students there. Both Gwen and John Arthur recalled listening to the drawing of the draft ballot. Gwen Arthur said: “I can still remember clearly the day, we were sitting in the common room, and they were drawing the numbers, and the 2nd of July came out and the 4th of July came out, and John missed, now by that, and that must have been ’72, because at the end of the year Whitlam came to power, on the day we were married, and he

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\begin{align*}
\text{136 Interview with Alistair Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 20.} \\
\text{137 Interview with Judy Wheeler, Pascoe Vale South, 7 December, 2010, p. 15.} \\
\text{138 Interview with Diane Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November, 2010, pp. 9–10.} \\
\text{139 A Stirton, p. 20.} \\
\end{align*}
\]
abolished it all … the Moratoriums I can remember being on, not being involved in them, the city students would have been involved, more so than what we were.”

If former teacher studentship holders’ memories are correct, not only was there little political activity at primary teachers college, but little political activity occurred at secondary colleges either. Mary Pavlovic considered that “not a great deal” of the political discussion and activities at the University of Melbourne impacted on the Secondary Teachers College in the early 1960s, despite the college virtually being on the university grounds.

At Larnook, Margaret Grant, on the other hand, was active in both union and political protests: “there was Student Representative Councils … and a chapter of the VSTA, which was quite active. We got ourselves into trouble over striking on those, as students, (laugh), and yes a quite a lot of us were, obviously because of our age group, was our friends that were being conscripted, for Vietnam, they were the first lot.” Grant also recognised a family influence, when she laughed and reminded me that her family name was originally Hawke: “a bit of our family background anyway, you know my father was quite active, with his beliefs, and I suppose … I grew up, with what I’d call a social conscience, about things”. Grant also saw the principal of Larnook as being unhappy that staff and students took stop-work action.

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140 Interview with Gwen Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, pp. 10–11.
141 Interview with Mary Pavlovic, Geelong, 29 October 2010, p. 6.
142 Interview with Margaret Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, pp. 11–12.
143 Ibid., p. 12.
144 Ibid., p. 13.
Although teachers college greatly restricted students’ opportunities for political discussion and participation, it did not completely control them.

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When the interviewees as a whole compared themselves to their parents or siblings, they saw themselves as more liberal or more left-wing, more thoughtful, more involved and less party-political. Even those whose views had remained similar to Labor-voting parents saw themselves as more discriminating. Carolyn Woolman, usually a Labor voter, believed she had developed a more nuanced approach to politics than her Labor-voting parents, because she had studied Politics and Philosophy. “I can perhaps understand the difficulties of being in power, and trying to run the country … I suppose it was partly due to going to university, I can understand that things aren’t black and white, in political terms perhaps.”\textsuperscript{145} Gary Bourke was still “Labor Party supporting, voting”, but defined himself by the less party-political term “social democrat”.\textsuperscript{146} Ruth Christian, daughter of a Labor Party-voting farmer, said that “you get cross with them … but don’t go for the alternative too much …”\textsuperscript{147} Only Trent McDougall, as mentioned previously, continued to hold the same views as his Liberal-voting, anti-union parents.

Those who considered their political attitudes to have changed saw themselves as more small ‘l’ liberal or left-wing than their parents, more involved in politics or less committed to a specific political party. Initially coerced to vote Liberal by her parents, Anne Williams has since voted Labor and described herself as “the left-est, pinkest,

\textsuperscript{145} Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, pp. 13–14.
\textsuperscript{146} Bourke, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{147} Christian, p. 28.
dreadfullest, member of my family”. 148 Janine Rizzetti remarked: “I think it [university] made me qualitatively different to my parents … they have always been people who read The Sun, and watched the Channel 9 news, and that was enough, whereas I, I started getting The Age.” She added that she had begun to read widely and discuss issues. Therefore, “I have never voted Liberal, in my life, and whereas I know all of, everybody else in the rest of my family does.”149 Bob Twyford felt that he had moved from the apolitical stance of his parents: “I became much more aware of why things happened”.150

Other former studentship recipients who came from Labor-voting families continued to support liberal or left-wing political causes such as unionism, but were more actively involved. As mentioned in the introduction, Judy Wheeler recalled: “although I may not actually [be], actively involved, I certainly supported causes, and there were quite a few, a lot of marches that I went to …”151 Michael Smythe, who described his parents as “very firmly middle class, very much Robert Menzies people”,152, worked for the Labor Party Leader of the Opposition in the Northern Territory.153 Shelley Lavender was a Richmond councillor.154

Others moved from backgrounds where politics were defined on two-party political lines to supporting minority parties or becoming swinging voters. Stan Bates thought that both his parents and his siblings “they’ve probably all voted Liberal all their life, … Yes, and

148 Williams, pp. 13 & 22.
149 Rizzetti, pp. 11–12.
150 Twyford, p. 16.
151 Wheeler, p. 18.
152 Smythe, p. 15.
154 Lavender, p. 16.
oh I’ve voted Labor a bit.”\textsuperscript{155} Gwen Arthur described her parents as “staunch Liberal voters, always Liberal voters, I would class myself as a swinging voter, for a long time we voted for the Democrats, I thought they had something to offer and they no longer exist, so now, each time the elections come around it’s a bit of a (laugh): ‘Heavens above, who are we going to vote for?’ ”\textsuperscript{156} In a separate interview, her husband, John Arthur, a local councillor, who hinted that his blue collar parents were likely to have voted Labor, remarked: “Oh, I’m not party political for a start, but, I’m a swinging voter…”\textsuperscript{157}

Whether their tertiary years were spent at university or at a teachers college, for the majority of studentship recipients, receiving a tertiary education made them more likely to take different political stances to those of their parents. Similarly, these changes in political attitudes occurred right across the time period studentships were offered. Nor were there any noticeable differences in the changes that men or women made.

**Social attitude changes**

Examining the interviews and emails overall, one potential theme is noticeable by the limited responses received. Participants were prompted to examine whether their social and political attitudes had changed as a result of their university education. While political changes were frequently discussed, fewer people mentioned social attitude changes. Indeed, some actually mentioned that they were not involved in feminism or gay rights. Apart from these issues, Barry Lay mentioned that his experience playing

\begin{footnotes}
\item[155] Bates, p. 12.
\item[156] G Arthur, p. 20–21.
\item[157] Interview with John Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 19.
\end{footnotes}
university football “was a change of Catholics and Protestants getting along together …

That seemed to be an issue when I was growing up in high school, you’d hear the parents saying: ‘I believe he’s going to marry a Catholic— mm,’ 158 When comparing his social and political attitudes to those of his parents, David Holland mentioned being supportive of affirmative action both in his teaching career and in his later career in industrial relations in the Education Department, though not when he was at university. 159

Several of those who did comment on the generational differences in social attitudes indicated that their parents’ ideas became more liberal, more in line with their children’s. Joan Adams compared her lack of interest in religion and her more tolerant attitudes with her mother’s:

My mother used not to approve of people who had children out of wedlock, she didn’t approve of relationships that were not married relationships … I can remember my mother getting very, uptight, about people who drank alcohol … I can remember my mother being really uptight and explaining to me that the girl down the road, not only was in trouble and pregnant, but she was going to have a half-caste … and I couldn’t understand, I still to this day can’t understand, my mother’s, almost disgust, at that, but I don’t think she would be like that now. So I think that that generation has probably shifted its position far more than mine has, because the ‘60s were, you know, ah, revolutionary in terms of, … attitudes to Aborigines, attitudes to immigration … you stopped a lot of this judgemental, er, and it was all

158 Interview with Barry Lay, Wallan, 8 October 2010, p. 22.
159 Interview with David Holland, Pascoe Vale South, 27 August 2010, p. 19.
associated with the values that the church used to propound and they were narrow, on one hand, but changed over time.\footnote{Adams, Interview, p. 18.}

Pam Monahan also considered that her parents’ attitudes became less conservative, their having been influenced by her: “it was very, fascinating to watch, not only did my father but other people of that age, they became, … in later years my father became a republican, and an environmentalist … my life, and my education, informed their values and ideas too, as well as the way they brought me up informing mine…”\footnote{Monahan, p. 28.}

While it is easy to recall vivid memories of past political incidents, it may be more difficult to comment on past events that changed social attitudes. When recollecting political events, participants often described them in detail, for example, exactly what happened and where they were when they heard of the Whitlam dismissal. But changes in social attitudes may not necessarily spring from specific actions and may occur over longer periods of time. So this may have made it more difficult for people to recall what changed their social ideas, even though some indicated that they had changed. Often they indicated that those changes had occurred after they left university, as Rod Watson did:

\ldots gay rights, women’s rights would not have been even thought of as an issue in those days \ldots Oh, gay rights \ldots it’s something that didn’t really cross my mind ‘til 1980s \ldots it’s interesting at MacRob here, for example, they have a same sex group and they meet once a week as a sort of little support group \ldots I don’t want kids in a school to feel at all, threatened by
anything because of sexuality or ethnic background or, or love or hatred of football, or anything like that.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{162} Interview with Rod Watson, South Melbourne, 27 August 2010, p.21.
Chapter 5: School teaching careers

Fulfilling the bond or a lifelong career?

Previous researchers argued that significant numbers of those accepting teaching studentships would have little commitment to teaching. Examining the motivation and attitudes of trainee teachers, DS Anderson commented that idealism, community service and working with people were important to them, but that there was a group who were becoming teachers because they had no qualifications for anything else, had failed to gain entry to their preferred course or who had no particular preference but wanted to attend university. ¹ Anecdotally, Hyde claimed that most trainee teachers accepted studentships out of financial need. “I suspect that, like me, most of them took up the offer out of economic necessity and tried to forget about the later responsibility which was part of the deal.”² Previous researchers’ conclusions and Hyde’s comments are not borne out by the research for this thesis.

Examining teacher attrition rates, The Bell Committee’s enquiry into the New South Wales studentship scheme concluded that there was a 25 per cent loss of teachers recruited through studentships, with the loss of male teachers being double that of women.³ Anderson cites Education Department of Victoria retention figures for the 1965 studentship intake: 35.4 per cent of secondary men and 54.9 per cent of secondary

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women were no longer teaching in 1972, that is, three years into their teaching careers. Since primary and technical teacher retention rates were a little higher than the secondary ones, the overall rates for trainee teachers leaving the profession were 22.9 per cent for men and 46 per cent for women. However, because these were short-term results, the figure for women, influenced by marriage and maternity leave, does not take into account those women who returned to the profession after having a family. Barcan quoted rising resignation rates from 13 per cent in 1964 to 17.4 per cent in 1974 and commented on low teacher morale, because of the poor teaching conditions and comparatively low professional salaries.

Anderson’s research discovered that 40 per cent of studentship holders at Melbourne, Monash and Queensland Universities (who had been surveyed in 1967) had withdrawn by fourth year. Anderson argued that university students are drawn to a specific course by its attractiveness as a profession and that student teachers attracted by the perks of the studentship were less likely to have this vocational orientation and were, therefore, more likely to withdraw during their university studies. He investigated drop-out rates after four years for engineering, law, medicine and teaching:

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4 Anderson, p. 2.
6 Ibid., pp. 150–1.
7 Anderson, pp. 2 & 4.
8 Ibid., p. 3.
Table 10: Drop-out rates for students by field of study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Drop-out rate %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, he partly attributed the higher teaching loss to the state education departments’ policies of making students who failed university subjects undertake other courses at primary or secondary teacher colleges, even if they wished to continue at university. A subsequent investigation at teachers colleges discovered that the actual loss rate to teaching of the 1967 students was lower than the loss to tertiary studies.\(^{10}\)

Table 11: Attrition rates for teaching students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Teaching %</th>
<th>Still studying %</th>
<th>Resigned from Education Department %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monash</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But even these lower figures indicate that approximately one-quarter of those who began university studies on a teaching studentship in 1967 had withdrawn during training.

DS Anderson also found that commitment to teaching declined during student teachers’ university years. Opposition to the bond increased amongst student teachers from 20 per cent amongst first years to 46 per cent in fourth year—perhaps unsurprisingly, as during their years of study, trainee teachers at university would gain a clearer idea of what

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\(^9\) Anderson, p. 4.
\(^{10}\) Anderson, p. 4.
opportunities a tertiary education offered. The number who saw their life’s work as teaching declined from 90 per cent in first year to 33 per cent in fourth. Ten per cent of teaching students intended to leave teaching before their bond expired; one-third intended to leave as soon as it was finished; and a quarter intended to only teach for up to five years beyond their bond.\(^{11}\) However, Anderson stated that few appeared to have cynically accepted the studentship with no intention of teaching.\(^{12}\)

Those from lower socio-economic backgrounds were more likely to consider leaving teaching before completing their three years service. But, paradoxically, this group also included those viewing teaching as their career.\(^{13}\) Anderson also found correlations between the level of a student’s father’s income and their motivations. Those from lower socio-economic backgrounds were motivated by the money from the studentship and by the benefits of teaching as a public service occupation, for example, security, superannuation and guaranteed employment.\(^{14}\)

Anderson also perceived differences in student teacher commitment depending on their course of study, with Science students being more likely to accept the bond but also with more planning to leave teaching.\(^{15}\) Science was seen as a degree that provided more career opportunities outside teaching.

\(^{11}\) Anderson, p. 13.  
\(^{12}\) Ibid., p. 14.  
\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 15.  
\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 14.  
\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 15.
Gender also played a difference with women being more likely to accept the bond and see teaching as a lifetime occupation. Women favoured classroom teaching over research or administration. Among female drop-outs, many had remained oriented towards teaching. Previous researchers also saw the increasing feminization of teaching as an issue as they believed women teachers would only teach for a few years before marrying, having a family, and leaving teaching (see Chapter 2).

This chapter examines Anderson’s and Barcan’s findings against the surveys and interviews undertaken for this thesis. However, the difficulty in contacting those who dropped out of university courses or never completed their bonds has skewed the results. The discussion below argues that most of those who stayed in teaching had lengthy and productive careers, during which they were workplace activists, far in excess of their university experience.

**Teacher career longevity**

Tanya Trengrove has had an international teaching career. After completing a Bachelor of Science and a Diploma of Education at Monash University in 1977, she has been a member of the Victorian Education Department ever since and in 2009 was principal of an outer eastern suburbs secondary college in Melbourne. In Victoria, she has taught in a ‘tough’ high school in Melbourne’s western suburbs, in rural towns, and in more middle class areas, as well as being employed as a consultant within the Western and Northern

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16 Ibid., p. 15.
Metropolitan Regional Offices of the Education Department. In the 1980s, she spent two years teaching in Zimbabwe and in the late 1990s, two years as the head of an international school in the Philippines. As the first non-American and first female head of the school, she arrived to find that she had inherited an industrial dispute that had been before the Supreme Court for four years, a building program going nowhere and different pay rates for local and expatriate staff. “I knew within a week of being there that it was no ordinary appointment ... There’d all, only been males before me … and I was left to clean up the mess. And there was a huge building program, and nobody’d done anything about it”. When she left the Philippines, the building program had been completed at 15 million US dollars less than originally estimated; she had the support and respect of the Filipino teachers; and she was the only superintendent of the school who had solved industrial issues without going to court.

Still enthusiastic after more than 30 years in schools, when asked to summarise what she liked about teaching, she replied: “Oh it’s definitely the challenge every day, oh it’s about never knowing what will happen today (laugh), that your best-laid plans can be foiled by a student, and I think it’s also because you never know enough, there’s always something that you can learn from your colleagues, or from the children. And it’s just exciting, every day … it might be the one child a week who says thank you … It’s that ex-student that you run across that … can’t say enough about you, or it’s, it’s just a joy, to be part of the profession, and it is a very special profession, … you’re not there for the money,

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17 Tanya Trengrove, Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university, 5 November 2009, p. 4.
18 Interview with Tanya Trengrove, Eltham, 28 May 2010, pp. 14–16.
you’re not there for the holidays, you’re there because you love what you do”.

Yet Tanya Trengrove had not entered university on a teaching studentship, having never been informed by her private girls school that they were available. At the end of her first year: “I decided that my science degree which I loved, was something that I knew I was never going to work in a lab, because I liked people too much, and so I at least applied, and of course got one, and from then on I was able to pay my own way, that’s what made the difference.”

Yet Tanya Trengrove’s long and varied career and her enthusiasm for her profession were not necessarily predicted by previous researchers looking at teaching studentships.

Of the 168 former trainee teachers surveyed, 115 (68 per cent) indicated that teaching was their first career option, and only 30 (18 per cent) were definite that it was not. Higher percentages of female secondary and primary teachers college trainees and male primary trainees gave teaching as their first choice than either male or female university studentship holders. For those surveyed, two-thirds of male university trainees and only 60 per cent of female university studentship holders gave teaching as their first choice.

The high level of commitment to teaching is reflected in the length of teaching careers (see Figure 1). The average teaching career of university trainees in government and independent primary and secondary schools was 21 years. This includes the 26 (16 per cent) who left government schools within five years and a further 24 who left within ten years.

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19 Ibid., p. 20.
20 Ibid., p. 3.
21 Ibid., p. 3.
years, less than a third in total. Only ten (six per cent) had left within the first three years (of the bond). This is considerably below percentage that would be expected if the conclusions of Anderson or Barcan held true. Over half of those surveyed taught for 25 years or more. However, one issue with the surveys (as discussed previously) was the difficulty reaching those who quit while at university. What the survey results suggested is that if student teachers completed their training, then the majority of them remained in government schools for more than 25 years. Furthermore, the statistics in this thesis are calculated as of 2009 when the majority of surveys were completed. Since many of those in this study were still teaching then, the figures for the length of time spent teaching, whether in government or non-government schools, will continue to increase.

**Figure 1: Years teaching in government schools**

![Figure 1: Years teaching in government schools](image)

Even when they quit government schools, the majority of those surveyed remained in education (see Chapter 6 on careers outside the Education Department). If the total number of years spent teaching is calculated, it is clear that many of those who left government secondary schools did so to teach in Catholic or private schools (19 per cent of women studentship holders and eight per cent of men).
If, however, the survey results are analysed in more detail, differences between groups are noticeable, as Figure 2 shows. The male university trainees surveyed seemed to either leave teaching within ten years or stay for a lifetime. A quarter had left within five years; four never taught at all. Within 10 years of completing their university education, 42 per cent had left government schools. But if they continued teaching in government schools, 39 per cent continued for more than 30 years. A number of those who stayed took advantage of the superannuation scheme that gave them a better pay-out and more control over their contributions if they resigned before their fifty-fifth birthday. Sixteen per cent then returned to teaching, often on a part-time or casual basis.

Female university trainees surveyed differed from males. Fewer left in the early years after completing their qualifications: only 12 per cent left within five years and only 36 per cent had left within ten. While 60 per cent of female graduate teachers remained in teaching till they were either 55 or till the end of their working lives, only 21 per cent had served more than 30 years in government schools. However, as mentioned previously,
more female graduate teachers moved to teach in non-government schools, although several of these later returned to government schools. Forty per cent of female graduate teachers had maternity leave breaks during their careers. Women graduates were more likely to remain teaching, less likely to remain in government schools, but had fewer years of service with more breaks.

On the other hand, when the total number of years spent teaching in both government and non-government schools is analysed, the results are different. If their total teaching service is considered, 39 per cent of former male university studentship holders had left school teaching altogether, but only 14 per cent of women had. Women were more likely to leave government schools for non-government schools (19 per cent of female university studentship holders compared to 8 per cent of males), and men were more likely to leave for other careers. Again, when the figures for total years teaching are analysed, the percentages of male and female university teacher trainees who taught for more than thirty years are closer: 42 per cent for males and 35 per cent for females.

In 1972, Anderson noted that teaching was increasingly becoming a female occupation, partly because parents were less inclined to support higher education for daughters. Anderson saw this as regrettable, as teaching, in his opinion, required more continuity than other professions: “the job [in other professions] need not suffer too much if the practitioner has a few days off in order to mind the children, or if she resigns for a few years in order to get a family started. In teaching, however, a teacher absent for a few
days, or the turn-over of staff during a year ... can retard the learning process out of all proportion to the actual time lost.”

But in reality, of those surveyed, females were more likely to continue in teaching than males, though they may have had breaks to raise a family. Of the 96 women who completed surveys, nearly half had time out from teaching, most of them specifying that this was when they had their families. Maternity leave provisions changed during the years that these women taught. Originally, women received 18 months confinement leave, six weeks of which was paid leave, and then had either to resign or return to work. Later, women were able to take up to seven years unpaid leave after their maternity leave was finished and then return to their original positions. Timetabling in secondary teaching where a specific number of hours were devoted to separate subjects made it easier for women to work part-time, and relief teaching enabled women to work either part-time or at times that suited them. As many parents predicted when their daughters took up studentships, teaching enabled a woman to combine a career and a family. 

Anne Williams commented that “I got the benefit of paid maternity leave, of family leave ... school hours, they’re not a perfect fit for a family, but you’re always on holiday when the children are on holiday, generally.” Though, by the end of their careers, female studentship recipients in this survey had generally worked for fewer years than their male counterparts, they were more likely to have continued in teaching.

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22 Anderson, p. 17.
23 In secondary schools, relief teachers are hired on a daily basis and cover classes for teachers who are ill, on leave or absent from the school for excursions or professional development.
Teachers college courses concentrated very specifically on preparing trainees for classroom teaching. Secondary teachers college qualifications (TSTC) varied depending on whether students completed three years of training or four. Those who studied at Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy or Larnook (Domestic Arts) College had possible alternative careers as caterers or chefs; those who undertook art and craft training might have decided to leave teaching for professions as diverse as jewellery making, dressmaking, painting or sculpture; those who undertook library studies might consider careers in public libraries; but those who undertook a four-year course at a secondary teachers college that was the equivalent of a three-year degree and teacher training may have found employers saw these as inferior qualifications to university ones.

Many of those surveyed who failed university subjects and gained a TSTC that combined university and college subjects studied part-time to complete their degrees while teaching. Those who completed the Trained Primary Teachers Certificate (TPTC) may have left school after Year 11 and trained for two years, giving them a qualification equivalent to the completion of first year university.

Of those surveyed, those who gained their qualifications at teachers colleges were more likely than university graduates to have lengthy teaching careers and less likely to seek alternative employment. While limited numbers make any conclusions tentative, almost all of the male TSTC trainees remained for over 30 years with only one leaving within five years. Similarly, seven out of eight male primary college graduates remained teaching more than 30 years. A quarter of the female TSTC trainees remained teaching for more than 30 years, with another quarter leaving in the first ten years. Few female
primary teachers left in the first ten years (16 per cent), and 54 per cent had teaching careers of more than 30 years. In his study of student teachers, Anderson quoted a student who had withdrawn from teaching who maintained that those who undertook teachers college qualifications were disadvantaged because “they find it very difficult to get recognition of their qualifications outside the teaching service”.

After matriculating, Judy Wheeler undertook the two-year TPTC at Melbourne Teachers College from 1958 to 1959. She did not want to be a teacher: “I wasn’t interested in teaching at all. I’d planned to be an occupational therapist.” But lack of career advice from her high school meant that she did not have the mathematics or language prerequisites for either her first career choice, or for an Arts degree. After teachers college, she spent three and a half years teaching in high schools before travelling overseas. Returning to Melbourne, she worked in the public service until she married: “they would not accept married women at that stage, so I had to resign from the Public Service, and what else could I do but go back to teaching so that’s when I went back to Footscray Girls.”

As far as the results of the surveys for this thesis are concerned, not only were previous researchers wrong in thinking that the studentship system would result in a high and rapid migration of teachers from the service as soon as the bond was completed, but they were also wrong in lamenting the number of women taking up studentships. Additionally, Anderson was wrong in predicting a disgruntled section of the profession who were

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26 Ibid., p. 6.
teaching simply because they were incapable of doing anything else. If trainee teachers survived to complete their training and their early years of teaching, when interviewed they speak positively about their careers whether they were university or teachers college trainees.

**Experience of teaching**

Post-war conditions in schools were frequently difficult and often appalling. The 1954 annual report of the Education Department referred to meeting school accommodation needs by “the hiring of halls as classrooms”.\(^{27}\) In the same report, the creation of an arts and science block at Rosebud High School, a basic necessity for secondary education, is listed as an achievement.\(^{28}\) A McDonnell, the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, reported that all new secondary schools opened in 1958 did so either in rented premises or in another school’s buildings and that recruitment did not meet the need for qualified teachers, so that many inadequately qualified teachers had to be employed.\(^{29}\) The 1965 report also commented that, though the number of trained teachers had increased, so had the number of temporary ones.\(^{30}\)

Most of those interviewed remembered large classes, overcrowded and under-resourced schools, temporary classrooms, promotion based on seniority, not competence, the petty

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\(^{28}\) Ibid., p. 6.


tyranny of principals or inspectors, lack of Education Department curriculum planning, their isolation in rural schools, the atmosphere created by separate male and female staffrooms, and the petty rules, for example, staff having to signing in and out of the school even at lunchtime, and the unspoken dress code that meant that men wore ties and women could not wear trousers. Those who entered teaching after the late seventies found themselves moving from school to school until they found a permanent position, because they were ‘in excess’ to staffing requirements. Secondary teachers recalled unqualified or inexperienced staff; primary teachers remembered how young they were for their responsibilities, particularly in one-teacher rural schools. Primary teachers recalled being allotted grades to teach on the basis of seniority, not competence. In the later years of their teaching careers, many endured the problems created by the Kennett government’s closure or amalgamation of schools.

Judy Wheeler’s first secondary teaching experience in the early 1960s at Broadmeadows High School sums up the teaching difficulties of an era: “it was the first year of the school, and we had three rooms in Oak Park High School. Oak Park High School had just been built and was at that stage quite primitive, we had temporary toilets, and we had the three rooms, plus a, another room that was in a church hall, about 10 to 15 minutes walk away. The children were bussed in at around half past nine and then you had to get the trestle tables (laugh) out of the shed, assemble those, and then we would swap over, teachers would swap over at lunchtime, and then we had to pack, at three o’clock … we had gumboots, in the staffroom, … so that, we could go to the toilet, because the mud was so bad … And, the principal and I were the only trained teachers on the staff … it
was about three rooms and 300 kids”.\textsuperscript{31} Carolyn Woolman, recalling teaching at
Maryborough Technical School in the 1960s, said: “we were essentially in portables, and
it could get very hot up there … there was also the sense of, perhaps not being valued, as
humanities teachers, by the administration … when I started teaching, we had huge
classes, and I remember … Social Studies I was teaching in the science rooms and
domestic science rooms, and there weren’t, you know, children were perched up on stools
… but the head of department, he would be teaching up on Maryborough Railway
Station”.\textsuperscript{32}

Barry Lay, who had both primary and secondary teaching qualifications, decided to move
to secondary teaching after his experience with a primary school inspector: “the inspector
came in, and he started criticising me … talking through kids”. \textsuperscript{33} Alistair Stirton recalled
of his early primary teaching years: “so I was also the school, cleaner, because Mirboo
East was a leased building, was actually the local hall … and the kids each had a hearth
broom and they could sweep the rubbish between the cracks in the floorboards but
(laugh), but I was paid for cleaning the whole hall and that was five shillings a week, and
… emptying toilets, the toilet allowance I really earned at Walhalla … it’s basic rock and
trying digging a hole to empty toilet pans wasn’t very easy.”\textsuperscript{34} Stirton recalled that, even
in the 1970s, there was little teacher preparation time: “Now I used to take those 150
Preps on my own, for half an hour, which gave the teachers recess time, and the half-hour

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{31} Wheeler, pp. 3–6.
\item\textsuperscript{32} Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, pp. 11–12.
\item\textsuperscript{33} Interview with Barry Lay, Wallan, 8 October 2010, p. 13.
\item\textsuperscript{34} Interview with Alistair Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 24.
\end{itemize}
after recess, to be able to get together planning time during school time”.35 Gwen Arthur recalled the lack of resources: “‘There’s your grade, there’s your room’, not a lot of resources, a lot of old, stuff, the sorts of things that I’d used at primary school, which were probably 10 years before … that was a really hard year, then the following year I was in excess”.36

Given these conditions, it would not have been surprising if teachers left for other careers as quickly as possible. When asked what they hated about teaching, interviewees referred to classroom difficulties, but more referred to bureaucratic problems created by the Education Department, rather than by teaching itself. Irritations included meetings, officialdom, the effects of Kennett’s ‘reforms’, the expectation that schools should solve all social problems, inspectors, declaring colleagues in excess, the difficulty of separating home life from school life in country towns, government political agendas, lazy or incompetent teachers, the devolution of responsibilities from the regional offices to schools, and the inability to promote without being an administrator. Deidre Knowles objected to “doing things other than teach”.37 Gwen Arthur objected to “so much paperwork”.38 Gary Bourke, who spent his entire teaching career at Murtoa Secondary College where he retired as Assistant Principal, was quite clear about what he hated: “Bureaucracy! … I’m not a big fan of some of the bureaucratic decisions that aren’t well thought-out, and have a negative impact on the school, (pause) that actually stop you from doing the things that I enjoy, the things that’ll benefit, things that aren’t necessarily

35 Ibid., p. 27.  
36 Interview with Gwen Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 12. 
37 Interview with Deidre Knowles, Portarlington, 29 October 2010, p. 16. 
of benefit to our school but we’re told from above we have to do it. One of the biggest issues I have is that we do our five-year, three-year plan and then our yearly plan, and we will sort it out and then put a lot of time and effort into getting all the data and identifying where we want to go, and what we want to do in our targets, then halfway through it, the Department’ll get up: ‘Oh, this is now a priority, this is what you’ve got to do’ ”.39 Ruth Christian commented on bureaucracy both within and without schools: “I didn’t like meaningless paperwork, (pause), I didn’t like futile meetings … Oh and hm, I didn’t like, the fact that curriculum people could be paid a hell of a lot of money, to turn out things that were blatantly stupid, oh, or unworkable”.40

Overwhelmingly, when asked what they liked about teaching, both primary and secondary interviewees replied “the kids”, using the casual and colloquial term affectionately. They were inspired by helping students to grasp new ideas and frequently mentioned the satisfaction in helping students from a “battling” background.41 John Arthur recalled: “there was one kid one year … and this kid used to average, lucky to average two months at school for the year … and I said: “All I intend to try and do with this child is get him to come regularly … by the end of the year I was regretting those words, he’d only missed two weeks of school for the entire year! And … once he actually got to stay at school for a while, he found he could do lots of things that he never thought he could do”.42

39 Interview with Gary Bourke, Rupanyup, 10 November 2010, p. 20.
41 Interview with Ian Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 12.
42 Interview with John Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 16.
Apart from helping students to learn, interviewees mentioned the “craft of teaching”\textsuperscript{43}, the intellectual challenge of both the students and the subject matter\textsuperscript{44}, fellow teachers, that teaching was always different, and the freedom that they had to choose their own curriculum and teaching methods. Vicki Steer, who began her teaching career in an inner city government high school, then worked in the public service and finally returned to work in private schools in Victoria and New South Wales, said: “When I returned to teaching in my 30s, again I loved the students, the preparation, the intellectual challenge. I continue to do that.”\textsuperscript{45} Simon Frazer began teaching in 1979, after completing a Bachelor of Arts at Melbourne University and his Diploma of Education at Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education. When interviewed, he stated: “you have to like, other people’s children, to be a teacher, and if you don’t like other people’s children then you’re probably in the wrong place, and you have to be able to see … the good in kids, and you have to be able to see … underneath the obnoxious bit of a child … and one of the good things about teaching is … really … bringing that out of them.”\textsuperscript{46}

Joan Adams was one of those who took up a studentship without a commitment to teaching as a career. “I thought it would be a means to an end, and because I enjoyed school I didn’t expect to not enjoy teaching”.\textsuperscript{47} Despite her original lack of commitment, Adams stayed well beyond the years of her bond, teaching for eight years in government high schools before taking family leave. While her children were young, she did relief teaching and taught evening classes, eventually taking up part-time project work with the

\textsuperscript{43} Interview with Diane Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 14.  
\textsuperscript{44} Interview with David Holland, Pascoe Vale South, 27 August 2010, p. 14.  
\textsuperscript{45} Interview with Vicki Steer, Pascoe Vale South, 5 April 2010, p. 10.  
\textsuperscript{46} Interview with Simon Frazer, Mentone, 7 October 2010, p. 12.  
\textsuperscript{47} Interview with Joan Adams, Yarraville, 6 May 2010, p. 2.
Federation of State Schools Parents Clubs, before becoming a full-time project and administrative officer in the road safety section of VicRoads where she worked for nearly 20 years. Nor, as might have been predicted by Anderson, was she an unenthusiastic teacher. Asked what she liked about teaching, Adams responded: “It was always different (laugh) … you never had the same experience twice … even if you might be teaching the same subject … to two different classes, and it would be totally different, and you were always learning, all the time, how to get a point across … it was always a challenge, that’s what I liked most about it, yes.”

As far as those interviewed and surveyed for this thesis are concerned, the studentship system produced teachers who taught well beyond the requirements of the bond, who were enthusiastic and concerned for their students, and not, as suggested, disgruntled and reluctant teachers who left in large numbers as soon as they completed their bonds. However, Anderson was correct in one aspect of his analysis of future teachers: idealism, community service and working with people were definitely important in those who remained teaching beyond their three-year bond.

**Teacher unionism**

Though studentship holders may have been influenced by, but not highly active in, student politics while at university, once they commenced their teaching careers, the majority of those interviewed were unionists and took industrial action. Bolton remarked

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48 Ibid., p. 13.
49 See Chapter 3, p. 89.
that “Although the Vietnam moratorium movement schooled a considerable number of Australians in the techniques of protest, these protests mostly fed on grievances which had been growing years before the Vietnam movement began.” This was certainly true of teacher action.

Educational historians, such as Andrew Spaull in his study of teachers unions in Victoria and New South Wales, characterised the immediate post-war period as a conservative one in teacher unionism and the mid-1960s onwards as a time of increasing militancy. Examining the post-war expansion of the secondary school system in Victoria, Bill Hannan, on the other hand, stated:

The demand for revolution came from parents who had missed out on secondary schooling themselves and wanted a better deal for their children.

… Teachers, young and old, responded idealistically and optimistically. The Government, led for most of the period by the truculent Henry Bolte, responded positively enough but seldom adequately. Building programmes dragged and recruiting of teachers lagged. For many of the students the Great Expansion meant being taught in shelter sheds by unqualified teachers.

Hannan argued that “With more and more young graduates in their ranks, secondary teachers were also growing away from their bosses, the inspectors and the headmasters

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whose driving motivation was ‘loyalty to the service’ with its old public service trappings.”\textsuperscript{53} Bruce Mitchell too argued that young Australian teachers were frustrated by education departments’ authoritarianism and indifference to student and teacher needs, as did Spaull.\textsuperscript{54}

Until 1948, most Victorian teachers, primary and post-primary, belonged to the VTU. High school teachers’ additional years of training were recognised by margins added to their base salaries. The VTU, dominated by primary teacher members, advocated that there should be no salary difference between primary and post-primary teachers, despite the difference in their training.\textsuperscript{55} Many secondary teachers were dissatisfied by the size of margins. An additional difference between primary and secondary members of the VTU was the VTU High Schools branch’s advocacy of equal pay for women.\textsuperscript{56} Male high school teachers were more concerned with the low divisional margins, and female high school teachers with achieving equal pay.\textsuperscript{57} Male high school teacher dissatisfaction with the VTU led to the Victorian Secondary Masters’ Professional Association (VSMPA), being established in August 1948.\textsuperscript{58} At its 1953 AGM, the VSMPA voted to admit women and changed its name to the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 223.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., pp. 225–232.
(VSTA).\(^{59}\) A contributing factor to increasing VSTA membership was its establishment of a student branch in 1965, which publicised the VSTA on pay days at teachers colleges.\(^{60}\) As Shelley Lavender recalled: “when I was at uni … we had to go over to Rusden … on payday … and they’d [VSTA] be there and the VTU would be there, because they were fighting to get the secondary teachers to join once they became teachers.”\(^{61}\) Student newspapers also included articles on conditions in schools during this period.\(^{62}\)

Though in the early post-war era, unions were concerned with “industrial issues, including salaries, promotions and superannuation”\(^{63}\), later issues included teacher qualifications (called control of entry), teaching hours, class sizes, curriculum research and reform, examinations, teacher assessment and promotion, on-going teacher education,\(^ {64}\) equal opportunity and affirmative action, grievance procedures\(^ {65}\) and occupational health and safety.\(^ {66}\) Teachers in excess from the late 1970s and school closures under the Kennett government were other later issues.\(^ {67}\)

Another cause of the high schools teachers’ dissatisfaction was that, though all areas of education were under pressure, secondary schools had the worst staff and building

\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 275.
\(^{60}\) Hannan, p. 130.
\(^{61}\) Interview with Shelley Lavender, Pascoe Vale South, 15 July 2010, p. 9.
\(^{63}\) Spaull, Teachers and Politics, p. 8.
\(^{64}\) Bassett, pp. 25–6.
\(^{65}\) Ibid., pp. 118, 122–4.
\(^{66}\) Ibid., p. 189.
\(^{67}\) Ibid., pp. 137–144 & p. 197.
shortages⁶⁸, a problem exacerbated by higher retention rates.⁶⁹ Between 1948 and 1959, secondary student numbers rose by 151 per cent, those of teachers by 81 per cent.⁷⁰ From 1961, the VSTA undertook publicity campaigns to highlight problems in secondary schools, with newspaper advertisements and radio and television interviews, as well as producing a widely distributed pamphlet, *The Staffing Crisis in Victorian Secondary Schools*. Over 70 curriculum articles appeared in *The Secondary Teacher* between 1968 and 1972.⁷¹ In addition, mass meetings were held, petitions presented to the Victorian government and a fighting fund established.⁷²

In her history of the VSTA, Jan Bassett argued that while its campaigns targeted professional issues, the tactics used were trade union ones.⁷³ In 1965, the VSTA reintroduced strikes as a teacher tactic with state-wide stop-works and strikes at individual high schools. When 3000 teachers held a half-day stop-work on 2 July, it was only the second teacher strike in Australian history.⁷⁴ In 1971, 41 out of 48 teachers went on indefinite strike at Melbourne High School over teacher conditions.⁷⁵ Hannan estimated that, between 1969 and 1971, one strike per week occurred in a secondary school in Victoria.⁷⁶ The rift between the VSTA and the VTU deepened as the VSTA became more militant in its use of strikes, party political action and non-cooperation with

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⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 217–8.  
⁶⁹ See Chapter 1.  
⁷⁰ Based on figures in Bassett, p. 43.  
⁷¹ Ibid., p. 75.  
⁷² Ibid., pp. 46–48.  
⁷³ Ibid., p. 105.  
⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 65.  
⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 88.  
⁷⁶ Hannan, p. 244. A VSTA tactic was to hold rolling strikes with individual schools going out successively.
the government. The battle between the VSTA and the Bolte Liberal government became acrimonious with Bolte remarking of striking teachers in 1968 that “They can strike till they're black in the face. It won't make any difference.” In the same year, when the VSTA initiated its control of entry campaign by setting up its own registration system for high school teachers and refusing to allow new unregistered teachers to begin teaching in government schools, Lindsay Thompson, Minister of Education, threatened the VSTA with a possible ‘criminal conspiracy to effect a public mischief’ charge.

Hannan argued that while the Bolte government saw the VSTA’s motives as party political, the VSTA and its members saw themselves as idealists whose work was undervalued. Hannan quoted former VSTA secretary, John Harris, who disagreed with what he saw as Bassett and Spaull’s views that the VSTA leadership had “political agendas stoked by militant appetites”. Hannan asked why, when the crisis in schools was well known to the government, the Education Department, the VTU, principals and the community, it was only the VSTA that was prepared to rock the boat. Hannan argued that the VSTA was a single purpose pressure group, aiming for improved secondary salary margins, and that it campaigned on issues that it could not address through the Teachers Tribunal.

77 Spaul, Teachers and Politics, p. 289.
79 Bassett, p. 76; Hannan, p. 263.
80 Hannan, pp. 70–71.
81 Ibid., p. 68.
82 Ibid., p. 69.
It also might be argued that, by the mid-1960s, the number of working class baby-boomer graduates in the teaching profession had reached a critical mass. Confirming Hannan’s and Spaull’s view that before the mid-1960s, teachers were more conservative, John Harris remarked that young teachers were generally less afraid of authority than the older ones. Perhaps their experiences or observations of protest action while at university made them critical of authority and aware that it could be challenged. Geoff Reid, a former VSTA president, wrote that younger teachers were affected by their own poor educational experiences. Since many interviewees had attended government high schools in working class or rural areas with poor facilities, large classes and many unqualified staff, Reid’s comments mirror their experiences. Ron Leslie had 42 students in his class when he was in Year 7. May James was taught history at Preston Girls High School in the 1960s by a teacher who openly admitted “I think you girls probably know more about this than I do.” Alistair Stirton recollected lack of space for classes at Wonthaggi Technical School.

By mid-1975, a strong left caucus existed within the VSTA’s central committee. Characterised as a division between the ‘houndstooth and tie’ and the ‘youth and beards’

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83 Interview with Ron Leslie, Pascoe Vale South, 29 August 2010, p. 8.
84 Interview with May James, Bundoora, 14 October 2010, p. 10.
85 A Stirton, p. 15.
factions\textsuperscript{86}, struggles between the older executive and the left and women occurred until the left group won leadership in 1982.\textsuperscript{87}

Though Spaull in 1976 saw the breakaway of the VSTA and the Technical Teachers Association of Victoria (TTAV) as only “partially successful”, mainly by demonstrating that strike action can be effective\textsuperscript{88}, I would argue that the VSTA was highly successful in its campaigns. For example, control of entry was largely effective by 1972 with the government eventually establishing its own registration board and unqualified teachers being offered study leave to become fully qualified. Inspection for promotion for secondary teachers ended in 1975.\textsuperscript{89}

Bassett described the teachers challenging the Education Department in the 1960s as a new breed of teachers.\textsuperscript{90} There are interesting parallels between university activism—dormant in the 1950s, increasing in the early 1960s and extremely active from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s—and the rise of secondary teacher activism. In the teacher unions, the 1950s were a quiet period. The early 1960s saw the beginning of systematic campaigns targeting educational problems, which continued into the 1980s and expanded to include political issues outside education. Perhaps the increasing militancy of the

\textsuperscript{86} Hannan, p. 334.
\textsuperscript{88} Spaull, ‘Trends in teacher militancy’, \textit{Australian Teachers}, p. 304.
\textsuperscript{89} Bassett, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., p. 53.
VSTA reflected the arrival of increasing number of teachers with working and lower middle class backgrounds with exposure to university activism. Fergus Robinson, himself a student radical on a studentship, suggested that La Trobe University radicals who were on studentships went on to become radical teachers and challenge the Education Department system and produce curriculum change through radical interpretations of history.\textsuperscript{91} Though the majority may not have been radical student leaders, trainee teachers had observed activist tactics and had a role model for activism. The Vietnam War years may also have contributed to a distrust of authority, whether it was the federal or state governments or senior educational figures. Years of media criticism of ‘ratbag students’ may have blunted the effects of hostile government, press or community criticism over strike action. Bassett’s argument that there was a dichotomy between the VSTA’s professional policies and its union actions may have reflected the changing socio-economic background of the teaching profession. The increase in the number of teachers with working class backgrounds may have meant that they were more comfortable with the notion of unionism and not as concerned about teachers’ professional status being threatened by industrial action.

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Of 33 interviewees who became teachers, 26 indicated that they had been union members and had taken strike action. Of the others, two were union members early in their careers, but later resigned membership; three did not comment on union activity; and two indicated that they did not believe in teachers striking.

\textsuperscript{91} Telephone conversation with Fergus Robinson, 13 April 2102.
Contrary to the conclusions of those who saw secondary teachers as more militant, both primary and secondary teachers had gone on strike at some stage in their careers, though secondary teachers spoke of action in the sixties, seventies and eighties, and primary teachers commented on strikes from the 1970s onwards. Secondary teachers frequently recalled the control of entry campaign. Other issues included equal pay for women, class sizes and teaching allotments, classroom inadequacies, the National Assessment Plan for schools, senior secondary colleges, grievances procedures, affirmative action, and school closures. Primary teachers mentioned contract teaching, conditions for relieving teachers, and class sizes. Despite the VSTA’s origins in disputes over pay margins, teachers rarely mentioned industrial action over salary claims except negatively. May James remarked that if she ever had gone on strike over pay, it was in conjunction with action over class sizes about which she was passionate. 92 Ruth Christian emphasised that there was no point going on strike over pay.93

Primary teachers were more likely to speak of strike action as a “last resort”94, or to emphasise that “it’s a major decision, going on strike”.95 Several primary teachers spoke about having or gaining parents’ support for strikes.96 Secondary teachers were not unaware of the difficulties of taking action. Bob Twyford described the early years as “quite divisive”.97 Robert Young mentioned having to explain to a primary-trained

92 James, p. 26.
93 Christian, p. 22.
95 D Stirton, p. 13; G Arthur, p.17.
96 Ibid.
97 Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 12.
colleague that they were not on strike against him personally, but as a matter of principle.”

Many secondary interviewees were clearly proud of their activism and what it had achieved for secondary education. Anne Williams stated: “I’ve been on every strike. I always go to union meetings, even now I’m an active member of the principals’ class … I know that it’s shaped … how the curriculum’s been developed, so that it’s fairer, so that working conditions are better, so that kids get a better deal and so that teaching, as a career is a … good option for people.” Several interviewees proudly related stories about taking on the Education Department and winning, and others noted that “I never missed a strike in my life”. Those who came to secondary education after the earlier period of militancy recognised that the conditions they and their students enjoyed were the result of earlier activism: “my generation was kind of the beneficiaries, of that … by the time that I went through uni it was just a given, that you couldn’t teach unless you were properly qualified”.

Both primary and secondary teachers mentioned being active unionists—branch presidents, treasurers or secretaries—rather than just members: Alistair and Diane Stirton, Gwen and John Arthur in the primary division; Gary Bourke, Ian Grant, Michael Smythe, Sheenagh Roberts, David Holland, Bob Twyford and Rod Watson in the secondary. This suggested that they were more active in their professional lives than they were during

98 Interview with Robert Young, Bendigo, 26 August 2010, p. 11.
99 Interview with Anne Williams, Mansfield, 18 June 2010, p. 19.
100 Leslie, p. 18.
101 Interview with Pam Monahan, Camberwell, 18 November 2010, p. 20.
their tertiary studies, though none became members of union executives beyond local branch level.

Sawer and Simms\textsuperscript{102}, and Hyams\textsuperscript{103}, suggested that women were less likely to participate in unions, particularly union leadership, though Francis suggested that this problem lay with union leaders, not with women members.\textsuperscript{104} Contradicting this stereotype of conservative women teachers, in his examination of NSW teacher unionism, Mitchell argued that changes in the balance of sexes in teaching did not affect the union’s behaviour.\textsuperscript{105} Previous researchers also did not take account of previous conditions for women teachers. Why, for example, would a female teacher be committed to an organisation that did not advocate for equal pay or be dedicated to an employer who forced her to leave the profession once she married? A new generation of secondary women teachers had equal pay and permanency as well as greater knowledge of political tactics as a result of their university experiences.

Interviewees for this thesis revealed one difference between men and women—few secondary women were involved in union work beyond their membership. Of the three women who mentioned this, Sheenagh Roberts was from the later studentship holders, while Kerry Lewis and Shelley Lavender were paid employees of education unions.

\textsuperscript{102} M Sawer & M Simms, \textit{A Woman’s Place: women and politics in Australia}, George Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1984, p. 37.


\textsuperscript{104} Francis, pp. 63–70.

\textsuperscript{105} Mitchell, p. 226.
The majority of interviewees saw their motives for activism as idealistic ones, reflecting Hannan’s views on unionism and Anderson’s analysis of student teachers, rather than those of Bassett and Spaull. Those at grass roots level saw themselves as acting to improve school conditions—working conditions for teachers, but, above all, educational opportunities for students. As Ian Grant said: “I could always be inspired by education … providing kids of all backgrounds … with the power that education could give them. And therefore I didn’t ever have any sort of second thoughts about taking action when I thought that education was being the bad edge of the wedge”.  

**Sexism and discrimination**

A dominant social belief throughout most of the twentieth century was of the husband as breadwinner and the wife as the homemaker, an idea that was espoused by trade unions and which favoured men in the workplace, including in schools. Rosemary Francis argued that “the teaching service was structured to give men professional advantage over women”.  

Deborah Towns maintained that, from the introduction of the 1883 Public Service Act, “a career structure was developed for government school teachers that established and sustained career paths for men and restricted women’s career possibilities in state schooling for most of the twentieth century”.  

As a result of the Public Service Act and further 1889 legislation, while female teachers could become infant mistresses in primary schools, they could not be principals. In the secondary system, women could be principals only in girls high schools. All female teachers had to resign upon marriage and

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106 I Grant, p. 12.  
107 Francis, p. 59.  
could then be re-employed as temporary teachers at lower rates of pay and without promotion possibilities or superannuation. Women teachers were considered less capable of controlling older male students and male staff members.\textsuperscript{109}

As discussed earlier, the VSTA was originally formed as an association exclusively for male teachers and focussed on gaining increased wages for graduates, not equal pay for women as was the VTU’s policy. With the admission of women, the VSTA’s policies included equal pay and permanency for women after marriage. At first, women had greater representation on the central committee than their membership numbers and a female vice-president, but Francis argued that in the 1960s and early 1970s, this declined, with many men on the central committee having formed a close-knit group as the result of a decade of activism.\textsuperscript{110}

Francis, drawing on comments from Nancy Russell, Hilary Gill and Jean Mee\textsuperscript{111}, argued that many women expected “others to fight their battles for them”, were reluctant “to enter a male domain” or saw unionism as unladylike.\textsuperscript{112} These women were part of the pre-baby boomer generation in schools and, in fact, taught the baby boomer generation in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{113} Francis argued that the baby boomer generation, which began arriving in universities in 1965 and in teaching in 1969, changed the VSTA, by beginning to question government actions and moving to make the VSTA a more democratic

\textsuperscript{109} Francis, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., pp. 61–2.
\textsuperscript{111} Gill and Mee were VSTA central committee members, and both Gill and Russell became principals in the 1970s.
\textsuperscript{112} Francis, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{113} Nancy Russell and Hilary Gill were teachers at McKinnon High School when the author was a student there in the 1960s.
organisation.\textsuperscript{114} Examining the backgrounds of female VSTA activists from 1975 onwards, Francis discovered that all were born after 1945; all except one had attended university on teaching studentships; all except one had studied at Monash University; most had been involved in Vietnam War protests; and two had been student activists.\textsuperscript{115}

Considering that women’s interests were not represented by the VSTA, these women proposed the establishment of an open sub-committee on women’s issues (OSCW), a move strongly opposed by the male-dominated executive. Once established, OSCW proposals and proposers faced fierce opposition from executive members, from personal innuendos to opposition on technicalities.\textsuperscript{116} Despite this, the OSCW was able to investigate sexism within the Education Department and have the VSTA adopt policies addressing the issues of permanent part-time work, equal superannuation rights, inclusive curriculum, child care and family leave.\textsuperscript{117} In 1983, Mary Bluett showed that, though women now had equal access to promotion, their representation in senior positions had actually declined. Following this, in 1984–5, the VSTA adopted an affirmative action policy for teaching and for itself. The Education Department’s successive Action plans for women in the teaching service began in 1986. By 1995, the VSTA had a female president, Mary Bluett, and more than fifty per cent of its executive was female.\textsuperscript{118}

How much did the women interviewees’ comments reflect these struggles for equality in the union and in the teaching service? While many of them recalled incidents of

\textsuperscript{114} Francis, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., pp. 63–4.
\textsuperscript{116} Lavender, pp. 14–15.
\textsuperscript{117} Francis, pp. 64–8.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., pp. 68–70.
discrimination, others never felt discriminated against. Diane Stirton stated: “I’ve never been in a workplace where I’ve felt that I was, that I needed to be active like that. I know, in my last school, every year we had a budget for equal opportunity. Every year, there was never anything, taken from that budget; there was never a need to. We always seemed to have good, parity and, so I suppose I’ve never been in a situation either where I was discriminated against”. Secondary principal Anne Williams remarked: “I don’t see my gender as an issue when I’m at work. I’ve, it often isn’t an issue for me, it might be for others, but it’s not been something I’ve been aware of.”

Several older women mentioned that they did not receive equal pay at the start of their careers, and others were aware that superannuation provisions had been inequitable. “And one of the big issues was superannuation for women, because there was still that thing about … ‘Married women don’t need it’, but if you died, it reverted to the government rather than going to your husband, on the basis that you weren’t the breadwinner”.

Sexism in schools was mentioned. Joan Adams remembered “male staff felt totally entitled to comment upon that a female staff’s appearance, and clothing, and did utter a lot of sexist comments, and jokes … that was perfectly normal as far as they were concerned”. But Vicki Steer compared the lack of discrimination in teaching to her Tramway service experience where she was sexually assaulted by a doctor during a medical examination.

120 Williams, p. 20.
121 Equal pay was phased in nearly 20 years after secondary studentships were re-introduced.
122 Monahan, p. 20.
123 Adams, p. 13.
124 Steer, pp. 16–17.
Pat Monahan remarked on the power imbalance in schools: “more … middle-aged women who were getting into senior teacher positions and things like that, but the real power group, at the head of the school still tightly, you know men in their 40s and 50s”. Others mentioned that there was an attitude in secondary schools that men were entitled to positions in order to advance their careers. Ruth Christian observed that male mathematics teachers were given coordination roles before she was: “this was part of their portfolio, part of their CV”.

Many female interviewees mentioned the advantages of teaching as a career for women: the holidays that enabled them to handle family and career responsibilities, the ability to work part-time, the improved family leave provisions. Pat Monahan, however, reflected on the changing attitudes to positive discrimination for women with young children, who were timetabled to avoid first period classes: “that would be seen these days as being incredibly progressive … back then a lot of us thought was being a bit unfair to everybody else … that’s the real risk with positive discrimination, if you’re a beneficiary of it you’ve really got to be on the ball, and make sure that you do the right thing”.

What were the male attitudes to women’s changing status in teaching? Prior to equal pay coming in, male and female teachers were classified on separate rolls. When these were amalgamated, a number of the male interviewees felt that women had achieved accelerated promotion as a result of their positions as senior mistresses. None of them

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125 Monahan, p. 21.
127 Monahan, p. 22.
mentioned the discrimination that women had experienced prior to this. Another male interviewee considered that because “the majority of teachers were women, a lot of the rules, were actually geared, towards women. When we had our first child I had to take maternity leave, for three days, because paternity leave did not exist.”\textsuperscript{128} Ron Leslie, however, noted that affirmative action was strong at Brunswick High School: “it was an awareness raising thing, particularly about the politics of conversation and stuff like that, and gender issues, and breaking the glass ceiling, and teaching was one of the earlier ones doing it. You know I’d no concern, working under women deputies or principals, provided they were competent, and they were.”\textsuperscript{129}

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Was there a difference between male and female career achievements? From 123 studentship holders surveyed whose career levels could be identified, 16 became school principals and 11 assistant principals. Twenty-nine became senior or leading teachers and a further 15 held positions of responsibility. Forty-seven remained as classroom teachers.

How many of these were women? Of 42 women who attended university on studentships, two (less than 5 per cent) became principals and three became assistant principals (7 per cent). There were no female principals and four assistant principals (11 per cent) out of 37 female primary trainees. No women with TSTC training reached the principal class. Of the male trainees surveyed, of 62 university trainees, five became principals (10 per cent) and seven, assistant principals (11 per cent). Three attained administrative positions within the Education Department administration. Of the male TSTC trainees, three out of

\textsuperscript{128} J Arthur, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{129} Leslie, pp. 19–20.
five (60 per cent) became principals. Of eight male primary trainees, half became principals, and one, an assistant principal. Women were still disadvantaged by their interrupted careers when it came to promotion, particularly in the primary sector.

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Contrary to the conclusions of Anderson and other researchers, those former studentship holders who contributed to this thesis were not uncommitted or disgruntled teachers. For the majority, teaching was their first career option. If they completed their bond, both male and female teachers taught for lengthy periods. Though they were active unionists as Spaul and Bassett described, they saw themselves as motivated by idealism, rather than their own salary and professional needs. Despite the often arduous conditions of their working lives, they were motivated by what they saw as their chance to make a difference in young people’s lives and the challenge of teaching itself. What they disliked was the bureaucracy outside the classroom. While female teachers were aware of sexism and inequality, few saw themselves as having experienced discrimination, and the majority saw teaching as a profession that enabled them to combine family and career.
Chapter 6: Beyond teaching

An examination of history and education journals from 1950 onwards indicated that research into teaching studentships was concerned with three main areas. Firstly, how efficiently studentships provided teachers for state education systems. Secondly, they examined areas such as trainees’ social profiles, their socio-economic backgrounds, their attitudes and values\(^1\), the gender balance, and thirdly, how all these might affect future teacher availability\(^2\), whether trainees intended remaining in teaching after fulfilling their bonds\(^3\), and teacher unionism. Few researchers were concerned with the effects on the lives of the young men and women who accepted studentships, except when they commented that teaching promoted social mobility. Anderson and Vervoorn stated:

“Teaching has been the particular vehicle for upward social mobility of children of lower socio-economic background, especially girls.”\(^4\) Research for this thesis has examined how recipients perceived studentships as affecting their lives, by giving a face and a historic specificity to the statistics.

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Social and cultural mobility

Social mobility, rising to a higher social class, is not just a rise in income; it might also be defined as a rise in life’s opportunities and experiences. In his history of post-war Australia, Geoffrey Bolton quoted the research of Professor John Caldwell into the family situation in Australia. To their surprise, researchers found that the vast majority of those surveyed were generally satisfied with their family financial situation. Bolton argued that, while Australians valued material possessions, perhaps they saw these simply as a means to an end: “the enjoyment of leisure”. Bolton also quoted the Australian philosopher John Passmore, who suggested that what many condemn as Australian mediocrity is, in fact, the classical ideal of the ‘golden mean’. Do Victorian schoolteachers exemplify this “golden mean”, having found an occupation that provides them with fulfilment as well as material comfort, and which enables them to pursue the many leisure activities to which their tertiary education introduced them?

Former trainee teachers, whether they were university or teachers college graduates, certainly saw studentships as improving their social position. Ron Leslie was the son of a primary school teacher, who was forced to retire when she married, and a farmer and agricultural labourer. His primary education was in a one-teacher school at Landsborough West and then at Stawell High School to which he travelled each day by school bus. Asked if he could have gone to university without the teaching studentship, Leslie said:

“Absolutely not. Absolutely not, and if it hadn’t been for the school bus system I wouldn’t

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6 Ibid., p. 289
7 Ibid., p. 290.
have had a secondary education.” Of the 83 students who began at Stawell High School in Year 7 in 1956, he was one of only ten students in Year 12—and the only one who went on to university. At the time that he started a Bachelor of Arts at Monash University in 1962: “[The] credit squeeze in 1961 caused havoc amongst people who were paying off debt, and we were stretched for cash, completely and utterly”.

Encouraged by his mother, “my mother pushed us … to study as far as we could” and by his father’s more pragmatic approach: “And Dad encouraged me in the sense that when I was in Year 10, he said: ‘How’re you going with your study?’ I said: ‘Not too bad.’ And … I remember it vividly, we were in the shed, the old shed and it was a wettish afternoon, so he’s tidying up tools he’d sharpened, the crosscut saws and he was sharpening the axes, and he’d sharpened his Kelly and he was sharpening my Plumb … And he said: ‘That’s good’; he said: ‘I sharpened this just in case.’ So I went and studied extra, extra hard that night!”

Ron Leslie believed that his parents saw teaching as a means for their sons to obtain a better life than they had. Of his mother, he said: “So she was very keen to have both her sons teachers, and I think Dad realised that social mobility was pretty good, and the fact that the holidays were crucially important, because I could be back for shearing.”

After completing his degree and teacher training, Ron Leslie taught in Victorian schools from 1966 until 1999. Comparing his life to his father’s, he commented on the easier conditions of his working life, his greater financial security, and the opportunities that

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9 Ibid., p. 2.
10 Ibid., p. 2.
11 Ibid., pp. 10–11.
12 Ibid., p. 11.
teaching provided: “I’ve never ever put in the hours of work my father did … particularly when he was spreading super, four in the morning to late at night, shearing … I’ve never worked as hard in that sense. I’ve had far more regular money, had far more opportunity to, to get involved in, amusements. I’ve had some, I’ve struggled with money, particularly when we went from a fairly solid two-income family back to a one-income family for a while, but, nothing like the sort of concerns that they had.”¹³ Unlike his parents, he has travelled: “I’m far more mobile … my lifetime has been far more mobile than my parents’, in terms of travel … they didn’t go, by aircraft until they went to Tasmania in 1980-something. I mean, I’ve flown half, halfway round the world by then, two or three times. So, more mobility, more social mobility, greater opportunities to investigate stuff.”¹⁴ Maintaining a lifelong interest in wine from his early teaching days, Leslie has had a parallel career in the wine industry, eventually becoming a company director in a wine business—an interest that he has kept up in his retirement, working as a wine judge.

Whether they attended university or teachers college, like Ron Leslie, interviewees discussed how supportive their parents were of their gaining a tertiary education and mentioned their parents’ ambitions for them. Many interviewees, like Michael Smythe, mentioned their parents’ pride in their achievements: “they were both proud, that, and I’d gone further with education than anyone else, in the family”.¹⁵ Bob Twyford commented that “they really wanted to see, me, their child, do something, higher, and that’s not a good word, but something above what they had done”.¹⁶ May James referred to her

¹³ Ibid., p. 23.
¹⁴ Ibid., p. 24.
¹⁵ Interview with Michael Smythe, Bendigo, 26 August 2010, p. 2.
¹⁶ Interview with Bob Twyford, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 16.
mother as possibly having pushed her into teaching because her mother had won a place at Emily McPherson which she had been unable to take up: “being the eldest in the family, and my nanna needing the money, Mum had to give that up”.17

Though several interviewees indicated an awareness that teaching was not as well-paid as other professions and that, at times, money had been tight for them, the majority considered themselves as better off than their parents.18 They regarded greater financial security as one advantage of gaining a tertiary education. Carolyn Woolman remarked: “I’ve never really had to worry about money”.19 Kerry Lewis believed that “the biggest difference [was] the financial security” and recounted that her mother was “horrified when I gave up the secure job as a teacher”.20

Asked to compare their lives with their parents, most of the interviewees commented on their own greater affluence. Some described a Spartan childhood where budgets had to be carefully balanced and sacrifices made. Diane Stirton remarked that “I think we’re better off, and we always have food on the table, we don’t have to count up where we’re going to get the next meal from and all that and I know Mum … would have a little, little lists of whose turn it was to have a pair of shoes or whatever, well when our kids needed something we’ve been able to go and, you know, get them when they need it, so we’re better off than them.”21 Carolyn Woolman described the financial burden imposed on her

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17 Interview with May James, Bundoora, 14 October 2010, p. 29.
18 Leslie, p.22; Interview with Vicki Steer, Pascoe Vale South, 5 April 2010, p.15; Interview with Diane Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 15.
19 Interview with Carolyn Woolman, Bundoora, 22 April 2010, p. 13.
20 Interview with Kerry Lewis, Williamstown, 7 May 10, pp. 18–19.
21 D Stirton, p. 16.
parents by her studies and the higher earning power that her education gave her: “it didn’t really occur to me while I was at university very, or if it did just in passing, that my parents would have been sacrificing for me. … I gave them some board, out of the money, from the studentship, but … if I’d gone straight to work, they would have had more money, but I did, I do remember that my first pay cheque, this sticks in my mind, because I did keep it, oh, was actually, … at the age of 22, the same wage as my father’s … he was a skilled tradesman”.

How interviewees perceived their parents’ financial position varied and what they saw as comfortable differed from what would be regarded as comfortable nowadays. Alistair Stirton said: “Mum and Dad were always comfortable”, but then went on to explain that this was because his father neither drank nor smoked nor owned a car and that the family had two uncles living with them. Barry Lay also described his parents’ lives as comfortable, but again mentioned restrictions: “they never did any travel or anything like that, but they had a good, comfortable life”. David Holland considered that his parents never wanted for anything, but described a restricted life subject to the vicissitudes of farming: “they were fine, it was a simple life … they got their first TV, 11 years after it came in ’56 … Yes I mean they had other hardships to put up with in terms of, er farming and, you know, the vagaries of the weather and all that sort of stuff, but, yes, and so anyway financially I mean I suppose with superannuation and all that sort of stuff I’m better off, but sometimes I think am I really?”

22 Woolman, p. 13.
23 Interview with Alistair Stirton, Wonthaggi, 4 November 2010, p. 32.
24 Interview with Barry Lay, Wallan, 8 October 2010, p. 20.
25 Interview with David Holland, Pascoe Vale South, 27 August 2010, p. 17.
Interviewees were aware of the greater affluence that their generation had compared to parents who had endured the Depression or the Second World War. Simon Frazer summed this up with his remark about baby boomers: “we own all the wealth, we have the big houses, and the cars and all that sort of stuff, so compared to our parents’ generation, there’s no, you know, we’ve had it good, I guess, and I think in my parents’ generation because they are products of the Depression, and the War, they, you know, have had it tough”. Some seemed almost guilty about their greater affluence. Shelley Lavender remarked: “I’ve been a terrible spendthrift … I was sure my mother had to budget like crazy, and my sister’s like that.” Other interviewees seemed to make a distinction between being more affluent and leading a better life. Gary Bourke considered he had “a lot more opportunities than my parents, oh probably a different lifestyle living in the country compared to the city, oh (pause) more material property up here, more material things”. Tanya Trengrove emphasised that, though her parents had times when they probably struggled, “my parents were a very happy couple”.

Interestingly, though most interviewees considered they were financially better off than their parents, they more frequently described their lives, as Passmore and Bolton suggested, in terms of the opportunities that it gave rather than in terms of wealth, though they were well aware of how many more material possessions they had. Pam Monahan encapsulated this attitude when she said:

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26 Interview with Simon Frazer, Mentone, 7 October, p. 13.
27 Interview with Shelley Lavender, Pascoe Vale South, 15 July 2010, p. 17.
28 Interview with Gary Bourke, Rupanyup, 10 November 2010, p. 22.
29 Interview with Tanya Trengrove, Eltham, 28 May 2010, p. 20.
I just look at what my life’s been, the choices I’ve had, the opportunities I’ve had … Mum especially would have liked the opportunity to travel, and see more things, and I mean in part that’s a generational thing, just because that’s the, we’re all more affluent than our parents’ generation were, but to have had that opportunity for education and to have taken it, and it’s led me down, and opened up so many doors to me to a fascinating life, of doing so many interesting things and, that wasn’t an option for them because of the times in which they happened to be born.30

While the second half of the twentieth century saw an increase in affluence and material possessions for Australians, in the eyes of interviewees, it was studentships that enabled them to participate in that increased prosperity.

Interviewees were asked to compare their lives to their parents’ or their siblings’. As discussed in the introduction, Sangster’s study of how women related their narratives suggested that women’s remembering was more related to family members and events than men’s were. In these interviews, both men and women included their parents’, their siblings’ and their children’s stories, though women were more likely to do so than men.31 Deidre Knowles said of her sisters: “My sisters, (pause), well there it all has to do, with you, who they married really”.32 Margaret Grant commented: “I (pause) was perhaps a little bit more affluent, because my other, or not all of them, but some of my older

30 Interview with Pam Monahan, Camberwell, 18 November 2010, p. 27.
32 Interview with Deidre Knowles, Portarlington, 29 October 2010, p. 16.
brothers, and sisters, married relatively young, and you know, had children, so they were, you know, paying off things where I, I think I had more opportunities to have experiences because I didn’t have those ties.”

In 1961, in his study of NSW teachers, GW Bassett concluded that teaching not only promoted social mobility for those who undertook teacher training, but that it would also promote social mobility for their children: “When the occupations of these teachers’ fathers were compared with those of their children a remarkable shift from non-professional to professional types of work was evident. Whereas only 20% (approx.) of the teachers’ fathers were professional workers, no less than 60% (approx.) of their children were.”

Though the surveys and interviews undertaken for this thesis did not ask about children’s occupations, a number of interviewees compared their lives to those of their children. Trent McDougall explained how much his mother had bequeathed her five children and how much more he would leave his own, but remarked that his children had said of their potential inheritance: “‘I don’t want any money, Dad, we’ve got enough’.” Anecdotally, though not all interviewees were happy about their children’s financial situations, the interviews supported Bassett’s conclusion. Stan Bates mentioned having “kids as solicitors”.

Trent McDougall, describing his daughters’ greater affluence, concluded: “So we’ve gone from very poor, to a decent living, to a much

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33 Interview with Margaret Grant, Bendigo, 20 October 2010, p. 18.
35 Interview with Trent McDougall, Horsham, 12 November 2010, p. 36.
36 Interview with Stan Bates, Brighton, 1 October 2010, p. 15.
decent living”.

Ironically, some of those who were concerned about their children’s careers were those who had children who were teachers.

**Effects of receiving a studentship**

Asked if their lives would have been the same or different if they had not received a studentship, many interviewees believed that their lives would have been different, while others thought that they may have done the same things with more difficulty or later in life. Some of those who considered that their lives had been changed presented a clear and detailed picture of what the alternative may have been. Alistair Stirton stated: “I think it would have been completely, completely different. Only because teaching took me to Melbourne, and then I had a secure job, and then I was in control of my own future … I’d have had to … probably ended up working in the local store or something, you know, you, and oh, you start working, you get a secure job, you meet a female, you end up getting married, and so you’ve sort of stuck in a rut”. David Holland and Kerry Lewis presented similar pictures of alternative lives.

As discussed in the introduction, the interview process prompted life reviews. Diane Stirton, after stating that “I would probably have ended up working in a supermarket … I would have been in a factory or an office job”, remarked: “It’s funny, it’s not something I’ve ever thought about. But yes, my life would have been very different, because I wouldn’t have had a uni, or a tertiary, education.”

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37 McDougall, p. 36.
38 Interview with Janine Rizzetti, Bundoora, 2 September 2010, p. 17.
40 Holland, p. 20; Lewis, p. 21.
41 D Stirton, p. 18.
Others reflected on how the studentship had influenced their characters. Several of those interviewed mentioned that one effect of the studentship was who or when they married. Again, bearing out Sangster’s remark that women relate their narratives to family, five women but only one man mentioned this. Barry Lay, Deidre Knowles and Ron Leslie all reflected on the confidence that they had gained.\(^{42}\) Anne Williams thought “an understanding of what goes on in schools, and how children learn, [had] a huge input for how you bring up your children; I mean I was brought up violently, I don’t, I didn’t hit my kid, to break that cycle’s a really important thing, and I know how hard that was”.\(^{43}\) Bob Twyford said: “I think I could have got through life, being a fairly remote, person. I could have been a, something working away in a laboratory somewhere, having minimal contact with other people”.\(^{44}\) Rod Watson, a program presenter with 3MBS in 2012, commented that “I was so shy in Year 12 … but now … it’s difficult to shut me up!”\(^{45}\) Whether life experiences would have produced these changes anyway, this was how interviewees perceived the studentship as having affected their personalities.

As discussed in Chapter 3, interviewees spoke of the studentship as having broadened their lives. This broadening of horizons continued into their later lives. Asked at the end of their interviews to compare their lives to those of their parents or their siblings, former studentship recipients saw theirs as richer in cultural and lifestyle opportunities. This did

\(^{42}\) Lay, p. 12; Knowles, p. 18 & Leslie, p. 24.  
\(^{43}\) Interview with Anne Williams, Mansfield, 18 June 2010, p. 25.  
\(^{44}\) Twyford, p. 17.  
\(^{45}\) Interview with Rod Watson, South Melbourne, 27 August 2010, p. 11.
not depend on when or where they undertook their tertiary education. Kerry Lewis summed up the reason for and the effects of this, when she said:

Oh, it’s, the financial security gives you a different lifestyle. You know, Mum had four kids, I had one, you know, it’s (pause), we’ve travelled more, we go out for dinner, I mean I didn’t go to a restaurant until I was in Form Five … Mum didn’t go out to restaurants much. We used to go to the movies and once a year we used to go into town to see a pantomime, but it was a much, but you know, they were simpler times too, so we certainly, we go out a lot more than Mum did at our age, oh she was very social but it was really very much with the neighbours and places you could walk to because she didn’t have a car, for a long time, she couldn’t afford one, so yes, we’ve had a lot more flexibility and a lot more, a lot more social stuff, a lot more capacity to travel, a lot more capacity to go on a holiday, or two, every year, and stuff that Mum could only dream of when we were growing up.⁴⁶

A teaching qualification and a secure career gave interviewees opportunities that their parents never had. Travel was mentioned by nearly half of the interviewees as something they had gained in their lives. While it is now much more common for Australians to travel overseas than it was prior to the Second World War, teachers often travelled as soon they completed their bonds. David Holland commented that, for his parents, “the only trip they ever did probably was to Tasmania to see relatives …”⁴⁷ And it is not just the university-educated who travelled. Mary Pavlovic, a Secondary Teachers College

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⁴⁶ Lewis, p. 18.
⁴⁷ Holland, p. 16.
graduate, and May James, a primary teacher, both alluded to travel. “[W]e travelled, a bit, we took the kids over to Disneyland, took them on a couple of holidays …”

New cultural interests discovered at university or teachers college have been explored by former studentship recipients in their later lives. Janine Rizzetti remarked that “I have a very different life to my parents, just in terms of enjoying the films I enjoy, the stuff I watch on television, the newspaper I read, the books that I read, my hobbies, and my book group, and my choir and, my local historical society, but they’re all things that my parents would never do, and so I, I think, that I have a richer, life than my parents and my brothers, do.” Vicki Steer remarked that she and her husband enjoyed theatre, visited art galleries, bought lots of CDs and listened to music.

Certainly, interviewees recognised the very different social world of their youth. Robert Young commented on the social restrictions of his mother’s generation: “Oh compared with my mother’s, (pause), I said much, much freer, in the sense that, in those days society seemed to be fairly constricting, in what you could and couldn’t do, what you could and couldn’t wear, that sort of thing, and there’s a, what’s the term I would use, need to use there, a? (pause) Freer’s probably not the right word (laugh), yes. [The interviewer suggested ‘flexible’.] Flexible, yes, oh, I won’t say ‘Bohemian’, but it’s, tending towards that.”

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48 James, p. 6.  
49 Rizzetti, p. 16.  
50 Steer, p. 15.  
Nor were these just generational differences. Stan Bates was an interviewee who had never taught. Originally from Nathalia, Bates, having completed his Bachelor of Science at the University of Melbourne, decided in the early months of his Dip. Ed. year that teaching was not for him.\textsuperscript{52} He became an actuary and during his working career has held senior positions in government departments, such as the State Superannuation Board, and private funds management companies. As of October 2009, he was a director of three public unlisted companies.\textsuperscript{53} Comparing his life to those of his siblings who had remained in the country, he considered his life more hectic and more affluent. “But they, they’re much slower in life, much \textit{simpler} life, like we’re, like I’ve, I’ve, I have been interstate, every week for the last six weeks, it was the first day home \textit{this} week, next week I go to Sydney again”\textsuperscript{54}

Michael Smythe commented on another lifelong effect of gaining a university education:

I’m one of those, that it’s a fashionable term these days, lifelong learners, and I love learning stuff, and I’ve never stopped enjoying that, and a teaching career’s great for that because if you, if you’ve got a lesson to teach or a program, you’ve got to study yourself, you might have done it at university but you need to refresh your knowledge … So, yes look education has um, mm, and it, I guess it’s \textit{dominated} my life, educating myself personally and educating others, you know, with what I can pass onto them. Um, I believe very much in that, the old-fashioned, you know,

\textsuperscript{52} Bates, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{54} Bates interview, p. 11.
liberal arts education that enriches one life, one’s life, and that education’s not just about, you know, training for a job, which is one of the other things that I dislike very much about education now, it’s all, you know, occupation-focused, and there, seem to be less and less people who think it’s important to learn something just because it makes you a better or a more interesting person. So that’s how it’s affected me.\textsuperscript{55}

It was not just the affluence that came from a teaching qualification and a secure career that altered the lives of student teachers, but the opportunities that education opened up, both for careers and for cultural experiences.

A number of interviewees pondered whether it was possible to determine if their lives would have been different without a studentship, using words like ‘may’ and ‘probably’. Carolyn Woolman believed that “I may have done the same things but later”.\textsuperscript{56} Stan Bates remarked that he “probably would have still gone to uni”.\textsuperscript{57} Gary Bourke’s uncertainty is reflected in his hesitations: “Oh it would have been very different, you know, I don’t know what I, I don’t know what I, where I would have, oh I probably wouldn’t have met the wife, probably wouldn’t have got married, wouldn’t be up here [Rupanyup], wouldn’t have had that it, yes, don’t know. It would have been very different”.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} Smythe, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{56} Woolman, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{57} Bates, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{58} Bourke, p. 25.
Several others considered that they would have become teachers anyway. Michael Smythe observed: “I have a certain vocation for teaching”. Gwen Arthur remarked: “Well, I have heard said, that teachers are born, not made, and I think there’s just something in you, that really enjoys encouraging young minds, so I probably wouldn’t have been happy, anywhere else.”

Though they had previously reflected on the financial differences between their lives and their parents’, when asked to reflect on the overall difference that obtaining a studentship made, the majority discussed it not in terms of salary but in terms of lifestyle. As David Holland remarked: “I suspect I wouldn’t have had such a rich life”.

**Work**

As mentioned previously, a stereotype of the wartime and post-war generation workforce is of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners. Supporting this, the statistics from the surveys indicated that the majority of student teachers’ mothers (59 per cent) were homemakers at the time the trainees took up their studentships. However, 41 per cent held part-time or full-time jobs, sometimes from economic necessity and sometimes from interest. In contrast to this, as discussed in Chapter 4, those surveyed and interviewed for this thesis had lengthy teaching careers. Sixty per cent of female graduate teachers remained in teaching till they were either 55 or till the end of their working lives, a quarter of the female TSTC trainees remained teaching for more than 30 years, and 54 per cent of female primary teachers had teaching careers of more than 30 years. What

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59 Smythe, p. 19.
60 Interview with Gwen Arthur, Yarram, 3 November 2010, p. 24.
61 Holland, p. 20.
they liked about teaching was making a difference to the ‘kids’. This contrasted with how women spoke about their mothers’ working lives. Carolyn Woolman remarked that her mother worked in a city shop, even though she may have preferred other work, and even though her husband did not want her to work: “as I said she was ambitious and this, it, this was not necessarily what she wanted to do with her life, but she liked getting out of the house, and meeting different people, and so on, and I think she quite enjoyed working … and now my father, put up a lot of resistance to that, even although it could have … well it was, helping the household finances, so they were traditional in their roles”.62 Pam Monahan stated: “Mum worked not for desire but for economic necessity”.63

One difference between interviewees’ working lives and their mothers’ was that the interviewees worked while they raised children. May James remarked: “But I just sort of think she was bound to that house, all the time, her whole life was housework, you know, washing, ironing, cooking, and that sort of thing, so I had a very different life than Mum.”64 Gwen Arthur also noted this difference, though she saw it as having its difficulties too: “Mum was home, all the time I was at school, but, and I was working part-time and then I was working full-time and they [Arthur’s family] all had their jobs to do, I wouldn’t have managed to do it all (laugh), and then teach, and study, at one stage when I first went back full-time teaching I was studying as well, so it was hard work, juggling all of that.”65

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63 Monahan, p. 29.
64 James, p. 29.
65 G Arthur, p. 20.
Another thread apparent in how women teachers discussed their careers is that earlier writers on the women’s movement were right in that these women talked about their working lives as if careers were now the norm.\textsuperscript{66}

While both men and women made comparisons with their siblings, female interviewees commented more frequently on both parents’ working lives. Deidre Knowles observed how much later than her parents she had started work: “I think both of them left school at 14, although … Dad did become a, an accountant, and a company secretary, and those opportunities were there, then, and Mum’s a tailoress, was … apprenticed at 14, whereas I really didn’t have to go to work as such ’til I was 22”.\textsuperscript{67} Diane Stirton, like Ron Leslie, indicated how hard her father’s work was: “our hours of work were long, but not in the same way that I saw Dad work and be just, exhausted, with shift work”.\textsuperscript{68} Mary Pavlovic, the child of Croatian migrants, said: “the work that my parents did, was extremely hard … Mum firstly started off as cleaning machines, and then to get a roof over our heads, that was their priority”.\textsuperscript{69}

Men, however, rarely mentioned their mothers’ work outside the home, usually only their fathers’, suggesting either that men did not think of their mothers in terms of careers or as Sangster stated, women are more likely to consider their personal narratives in terms of family. As mentioned previously, Ron Leslie believed his father worked hard, but he also referred several times to his mother’s work as a teacher. And Simon Frazer said: “I’ve certainly done a lot more enjoyable work than Mum and Dad did, you know, they worked

\textsuperscript{66} See Chapter 1.
\textsuperscript{67} Knowles, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{68} D Stirton, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{69} Interview with Mary Pavlovic, Geelong, 29 October 2010, p. 9.
in offices, they basically did admin, and office work for, you know, their entire working career.”

**Relationships**

Following from the fact that, unlike their mothers’ generation, those women surveyed and interviewed for this thesis had lengthy working lives, interviewees were asked to reflect on how their relationships with their partners compared to those of their parents. The majority of interviewees described their parents’ marriage as a traditional one with the father in paid work and the mother responsible for the home. Diane Stirton said of her father: “he was very traditional, and Mum wasn’t really allowed to work outside the house, it caused quite a bit of dissension, even though we were all grown up, pretty well, when she went to work”. Anne Williams remarked that her mother believed that a woman only worked if she had to, and that “Mum worked in the home, never had paid work after I was born”. Though some of the interviewees spoke of their mothers returning to work later in life, and several commented that their mothers handled the finances, the majority described their parents’ marriages as traditional ones where the wives stayed home and undertook all the housework.

Their own relationships varied. Some considered that the distribution of housework in their families did not differ greatly from their parents’. Joan Adams thought that she did 80 or 90 per cent of the housework. Judy Wheeler said: “I do most of the housework …

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70 Frazer, p. 14.
71 D Stirton, pp. 3–4.
72 Williams, p. 6.
73 Interview with Joan Adams, Yarraville, 6 May 2010, p. 19.
so things haven’t changed.”74 Others believed they shared chores equally. Pam Monahan stated “my idea of marriage was true equals”.75 Ruth Christian said: “we have tended to share things”.76 David Holland remarked that “both myself and my two wives, have worked, virtually full-time, the whole time, so there’s a sharing of duties”.77 Three of the men mentioned taking on more of the domestic chores when their wives continued working after the men had retired.

Those who can teach, can do anything: an analysis of post-teaching careers

For many of those who undertook teacher training, one of the effects on their lives was that their qualifications enabled them to pursue careers outside teaching. Previous research suggested that many trainee teachers would eventually leave teaching and that those with Science qualification were most likely to do so. As mentioned previously, Rowland and Fary found that 42 per cent of male Science students did not intend to teach beyond their bond.78 Anderson also saw Science students as more likely to be planning to leave teaching.79 Science was seen as a degree that provided more career opportunities outside teaching. Bernard Shaw’s quotation: “Those who can, do; those who can’t, teach” is frequently used to denigrate teachers. If this assumption that teachers are incapable of

74 Interview with Judy Wheeler, Pascoe Vale South, 7 December 2010, p. 19.
75 Monahan, p. 30.
76 Interview with Ruth Christian, Newtown, 23 April 2010, p. 29.
77 Holland, p. 19.
doing anything outside teaching holds true, the expectation would be that teachers, particularly those with Arts qualifications, would be unsuccessful at transferring to other careers. The results for this thesis supported some of these assumptions, but not all.

Of the women university-trained teachers, more than one-third eventually went on to have careers outside the secondary teaching service, excluding those who took up other occupations late in their careers or in their ‘retirement’. Joan Adams worked for VicRoads, managing road safety programs. Alice Cleary was a project manager within local government. Catriona Betts ran her own training business, before retraining as a psychologist. Shelley Lavender and Kerry Lewis were union officials, Lewis eventually becoming a senior advisor in three state government departments and Lavender, the CEO of Youth Hostels Australia. Pam Monahan joined the Australian Army Education Unit before setting up her own business as a cross-cultural consultant. Rachel Gray became a social worker within the Education Department, and six others remained in education, but moved into the TAFE or university sectors. Pamela Bell managed her husband’s medical practice.

Of the male university-trained teachers, over half eventually left school teaching, though not necessarily education, altogether. Nine worked in private enterprise, four in the Education Department or in local government, and 18 moved from schools to TAFE or Higher Education. Of those who left schools entirely, Stan Bates quit during Dip. Ed. and, as mentioned previously, trained as an actuary. 80 Malcolm Campbell completed a

Bachelor of Divinity to become a Uniting Church minister. Barry Curtis used his Commerce degree to become an accountant. James Gordon never taught in schools, but after four years as a teaching fellow at Monash University, used his Science degree to work in industry. After working as a teacher and a Teachers College lecturer, Roger Lane studied law to become a barrister and solicitor. Ken Marriott gained a position at Monash/Rusden Teachers College through his Geography honours degree, obtained a Ph.D. in recreational planning, and established his own consultancy in that field. As of 2009, others worked in local government, as an editor, as a manager of NGOs, and as the owner of an event exhibition company.

Some notable differences between male and female graduates emerged. A higher percentage of male graduates pursued careers outside school teaching. They were most likely to move into Higher Education or TAFE, with private enterprise positions as the second largest group. Few women moved to higher education, but were evenly divided between private enterprise, local or state government, or TAFE positions. An examination of qualifications or training completed by those who left school teaching suggested one cause of the disparity: over fifty per cent of the men gained either doctorates or Masters degrees, compared to just over a quarter of the women who left school teaching. This accords with Kaplan’s conclusion that women received fewer

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postgraduate scholarships than men, but whether, in this case, it is because women did not apply to undertake postgraduate qualifications, is outside the scope of this thesis.\footnote{G Kaplan, \textit{The Meagre Harvest: the Australian women's movement 1950s–1990s}, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1996, p. 14.}

Women were more likely to retrain by undertaking additional degrees in other fields or completing training complementary to a new field of work, for example, Pamela Bell’s Diploma of Medical Practice Management, Rachel Gray’s Bachelor of Social Work or Alice Cleary’s urban planning and horticultural diplomas. Another possible cause emerged when women’s career timelines were examined. Half of the women who left school teaching had had lengthy career breaks when they had their families. Several of these began further studies during these breaks and did not return to teaching.

Previous research suggested that Science-trained graduates were more likely to leave teaching than other graduates. An examination of the initial degrees of those who left school teaching indicated that of those males surveyed two-thirds of the Economics/Commerce and Agricultural Science graduates\footnote{As there were only three Agricultural Science graduates and small numbers of Economic/Commerce graduates, these statistics are not necessarily indicative of overall numbers of Agricultural Science and Commerce graduates who left teaching.}, half of the Science graduates and 45 per cent of Arts graduates pursued later careers outside school teaching. The female graduates showed lower percentages for all faculties: half of the Economics/Commerce graduates, a third of Science graduates and just under a third of Arts graduates. For both men and women, the likelihood of leaving school teaching seemed to be faculty-related with Economics/Commerce providing a greater chance of outside careers than Science or Arts. Though a slightly higher percentage of Science
graduates than Arts graduates went on to further careers, the difference was not huge.\footnote{Other careers: Male Science, 50%; Males Arts, 45%. Female Science, 33%; Female Arts, 31%.} However, it is important to remember that these statistics are only representative of those surveyed and not necessarily all studentship holders.


Of the men with primary training, only one left school teaching, Geoffrey Poynter becoming a lecturer in the Education faculty of Melbourne University. Of the women, five went on to other careers. Julie Bennett became a publican and a motelier.\footnote{Julie Bennett, \textit{Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders}, 9 November 2009, p. 5.} Leslie Grant became an archivist at a private girls school.\footnote{Lesley Grant, \textit{Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders}, 19 October 9, p. 5.} Louise Ives became the head of the
road safety program for road users at VicRoads.\textsuperscript{96} Maree Read worked at Swinburne TAFE for 19 years.\textsuperscript{97} Loretta Winstanley moved from schools to a wide variety of training and educational positions, ranging from the training compliance manager for the RACQ to the director of studies for the National Institute of Early Childhood Education.\textsuperscript{98}

Based on these surveys, male graduates were more likely to leave school teaching than female graduates. Men undertook higher degrees and moved into university or TAFE positions more frequently than women. Commerce graduates were more likely to leave than those from other faculties. Higher percentages of university graduates than teachers college graduates left. Female TSTC-trained and primary-trained teachers were more likely to leave than their male counterparts. However, the small numbers surveyed made it impossible to generalise to all studentship holders. These results indicate only what those surveyed did.

Discussing Australia after the Bicentenary, Bolton commented on the loss of job security and the high unemployment of the late 1980s.\textsuperscript{99} Whatever the economic fluctuations of the second half of the twentieth century, teachers were largely insulated by relatively good salary levels, secure jobs and grievances procedures that make dismissal difficult. But teachers also conform to what Bolton described as the hallmark of success for Australians: “Undoubtedly most Australians enjoyed the material things of life—the

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{96} Louise Ives, \textit{Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders}, 10 October 2009, p. 5. \\
\textsuperscript{97} Maree Read, \textit{Preliminary survey for secondary teachers college studentship holders}, 2 November 2009, p. 6. \\
\textsuperscript{98} Loretta Winstanley, \textit{Resume}, p. 1. \\
\textsuperscript{99} Bolton, p. 298 and p. 301.\end{flushleft}
house and the car were the proper rewards for the migrant virtues of thrift and planning.
But they were a means to an end: the enjoyment of leisure.”

In general, former studentship holders considered it likely that their lives, and indeed their personalities, would have been different if they had not received a studentship, though they may have had difficulty identifying exactly how they would have been different. They saw their working lives as having been easier than their parents’. Women studentship recipients saw themselves as having careers, compared to their mothers who may have worked later in their married lives, but who were more likely to work from economic necessity. One noticeable difference between male and female narratives was that women were much more likely to mention their mothers’ working lives than men were. Many saw their children as more affluent than they were themselves. Those who undertook their tertiary education on teaching studentships were able to move on to other careers, with male graduates more likely to do so than female graduates and graduates as a group more likely to do so than those with other qualifications, with the exception of female TSTC trainees. In their personal relationships, while some women and some men saw themselves as sharing housework equally, many women saw little as having changed.

Former trainee teachers, male or female, university or teachers college graduates, perceived studentships as having affected their lives indelibly, by broadening their horizons, giving them more opportunities in life and enabling them to be socially mobile.

100 Ibid., p. 289.
with greater affluence and financial security than their parents and often than their siblings.
Conclusion

This thesis enhances our knowledge of the importance of tertiary education in social change. The lives of contributors to this thesis were altered immeasurably by their tertiary studies—studies that most of them could not have undertaken without a studentship. Since the majority had substantial teaching careers, their development of more liberal attitudes affected the lives of the many young Australians they taught. In this way, teaching studentships not only affected recipients’ lives, but helped build modern Australia.

Receiving a teaching studentship and gaining a tertiary education made a tremendous difference to the lives of the mainly working and lower middle class recipients, whether they went to university or teachers college. The majority of interviewees believed that they would have been unable to undertake tertiary studies without one. Teaching studentships enabled recipients to become upwardly mobile, by providing fees, a weekly income and cheaper accommodation in hostels so rural recipients could live away from home while studying.

Since 168 surveys and 34 interviews cannot represent the thousands of former studentship holders, the conclusions of this thesis can only be considered representative of those involved in the research. It provides interviewees’ perceptions of how studentships affected their lives. Those who were interviewed linked their narratives with the lives of their parents, their children, with changes in teaching and with social changes.
within their lifetimes. As a group, they were aware of their place within history and their responses were considered ones.

Those who left during their training or never embarked on teaching careers after completing their studies could not be easily found. This is an area for future research, particularly once the Education Department and Victorian Women’s Liberation Lesbian Feminist archives become available. One possible approach might be through social media or professional networks online, which have become more widely used since research for this thesis began. Future research may also be able to broaden the pool of interviewees by concentrating on specific groups of studentship trainees, such as primary teachers, female teachers or those from migrant backgrounds (who are under-represented in those surveyed and interviewed). Another area for further exploration is the effects of technical teaching studentships, unexplored in this thesis, because technical teachers already had trade qualifications before undertaking a year’s teacher training.

Though earlier researchers suggested that more teachers college trainees would come from lower socio-economic backgrounds than university teacher trainees, the data for this thesis indicated the reverse. However, this may be the result of the high number of female primary teachers surveyed. This anomaly is another area of possible future research.

Studentships enabled more women to attend universities than were represented in university populations as a whole, though they were more likely to undertake Arts than Commerce or Science degrees. For some women, teaching studentships represented a
chance for a tertiary education for which their families would not otherwise have supported them. Previous researchers were concerned about the effect of this ‘over-representation’ of women on the education system, but the results showed that, though they took time out to have families, women had lengthy teaching careers.

Studentship holders knew that their bond with the Education Department required them to teach for three years after they completed their training. One question pursued by prior researchers and in thesis interviews was whether this interfered with trainees’ ability to participate in, and, therefore, profit fully from, university life. Contrary to previous conclusions, the comments of former studentship holders indicated that they saw themselves as profoundly affected by their tertiary experiences. Former student teachers saw their tertiary years as expanding their horizons socially, intellectually, academically and culturally, whether they went to university or teachers college.

However, their studies were not without difficulties for trainee teachers, most of whom came from families with no experience of tertiary education. The failure of universities to change their approach to education, to improve teaching standards and to allow for new social groups was perceived as a problem by students at all universities throughout the whole period of studentships. The remoteness of the new campuses of Monash and La Trobe universities limited student ability to participate fully in all university had to offer.

Teachers colleges presented a different set of advantages and disadvantages for trainees. Their memories were of the Education Department’s endeavour to control them,
especially female trainees. Even staff might be controlled. And while staff were likely to
be good former teachers, academically, they did not compare to university staff. Teachers
college subjects were oriented towards teaching, not to academic learning. Teachers
college trainees were, therefore, less likely to be challenged academically than university
trainees. However, while university graduate teachers remember little of their teacher
training, those who attended primary teachers colleges and Larnook believed that they
were well-prepared for their future careers as teachers.

Those studentship holders at university reflected the same patterns of activism and
radicalism as their contemporaries. Comparing their political and social ideas to those of
their parents, overall, student teachers who participated in this thesis saw themselves as
more left-wing, more liberal and more aware of political nuances. This was true across
the entire period for which studentships were offered and for both men and women.
Another possible area for future research beyond the original scope of this thesis would
be how these more liberal attitudes affected the teaching practice of studentship holders,
and whether those who left teaching for other careers carried these attitudes and values
with them.

Student teachers at teachers colleges reported less involvement in political and social
student activism than their university counterparts, partly because their days were so
regulated, partly because many teachers colleges were in country towns and partly
because of Education Department control. This did not, however, mean that they were
unaware of political issues.
While former studentship holders certainly complained about their work in government schools, they were not disgruntled or uncommitted. Even at the end of long careers, they could enthuse about the intellectual challenge of teaching and their satisfaction when students achieved something new. Surprisingly, though they described poor teaching conditions, when asked what they hated, it was mainly bureaucracy that they mentioned: meetings and Education Department-imposed decisions.

The majority of interviewees were involved in union activities during their careers, though they perceived their actions as altruistic, benefitting their students, Victorian education and their profession, rather than themselves.

Whatever their training, interviewees believed that studentships enabled them to improve their social position and fulfil their own or their parents’ ambitions. Interviewees were keenly aware of their greater affluence, which they generally described more in terms of the greater opportunities that they had had to enjoy life, than in material possessions. Though Australian society is more prosperous now than it was when studentships were introduced, not all Australians have shared in this wealth, and contributors saw studentships as enabling them to share in that affluence.

Invited to compare their lives to their families, both men and women included their parents’, their siblings’ and their children’s stories in their narratives, though women were more inclined to do so, supporting the conclusions of previous oral historians. GW
Bassett argued that teacher training promoted social mobility, not only for the teacher trainees, but also for their children and, anecdotally, the interviews support this conclusion, though the surveys and interview questions did not specifically investigate children’s occupations. Again, this is a possible area for future research.

Asked if their lives would have been different or the same without a studentship, some interviewees considered that they may have achieved the same things in life; others had a detailed idea of how their lives would have been different, comparing themselves to siblings or to school friends. While most reflected on their careers or their financial situations, others saw their personalities and characters as having benefitted from their educational opportunities.

Unlike their mothers, female interviewees had lengthy careers, careers that they contrasted to their mothers’ as purposeful, rather than necessary. Female interviewees frequently worked while raising families. Comparing the handling of housework in their own relationships, some women described themselves as sharing the workload, while others felt that the balance was little different from their mothers’.

Graduates left school teaching in higher numbers than those undertaking other qualifications. Male graduates were more likely to pursue other careers than female graduates, a trend facilitated by more males undertaking higher degrees. Those with Economics/Commerce, rather than Science, degrees left in higher numbers, contradicting earlier research.
Isolating the effects of a specific social phenomenon or a specific social group on the many changes in Victorian society over the last 60 years is impossible, and this thesis has not attempted to do so. However, if the interviewees for this survey reflect the thousands of working and lower middle class students who gained a tertiary education on studentships, then Victoria gained teachers with more liberal tendencies and with very different family backgrounds to the majority of previous tertiary graduates, a background that made them sympathetic to their students’ difficulties. Through union activity, they helped bring about more rapid changes in schools, both in teacher qualifications and what was taught, than might have otherwise occurred under the conservative Liberal government.

As for the studentship holders themselves—reflecting on whether her life would have been different if she had not received a studentship, Pam Monahan drew a comparison between its effect on her life and the difficulties of young people today: “once I got that [the studentship], I could take the path in life that I thought at the time I wanted, now I didn’t realise it would take me off onto all these tangents it has, but it’s meant that it’s given me the basis for what for me has been a very happy, very satisfying, intellectual, professional, and maybe even it’s meant that, because of that was how I met my husband, and so personal life as well … and when I see young people these days, struggling not only with a lack of assistance, but actively having to take on debts and things of that sort, I just think how lucky my generation was”.

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1 Interview with Pam Monahan, 18 November 2010, Camberwell, p. 31.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Surveys

Participant information sheet

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

EFFECTS OF TEACHING STUDENTSHIPS ON LIVES OF RECIPIENTS

INVESTIGATOR: Marilyn Bowler
Contact details: ma2bowlr@students.latrobe.edu.au

Supervisor: Prof. Marilyn Lake
Co-supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Richard Broome

Background:

This project is part of research for a Master of Arts degree in History undertaken at La Trobe University by Marilyn Bowler. The research aims to identify the effects on the lives of mainly female recipients of receiving a teaching studentship between 1950 and 1980 to undertake university studies. Former studentship holders will be surveyed and/or interviewed.

Historians of the post-war period have noted the rapid expansion of government-funded education, particularly of university education, and the social changes that sprang from this. However, little analysis of the bases of these social changes has occurred. Nor has the role of teaching studentships within this process been examined. This research attempts to remedy this lack of understanding.

Procedure:

In order to identify whether there are specific effects on recipients’ lives from attending university, studentships recipients who attended teachers’ colleges will also be surveyed and interviewed for comparative purposes.

An initial survey will be posted to former studentship holders for completion. The data from the surveys will be compiled and interviews conducted with 30 of those who responded to the survey.
The survey will take approximately one hour to complete. Interviews will require approximately two hours of interviewees’ time.

Surveys will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher’s office while the thesis is being completed. Interviews will be recorded and the recordings protected by a password and stored to computer. The recordings will be copied to CDs accompanying the final thesis. Both surveys and the CDs of recorded interviews will be donated to La Trobe University library once the thesis is accepted.

Where information from the surveys or interviews is used, participants in the research may choose to be identified or to be assigned pseudonyms.

Where information provided by specific individuals is used or quoted, the material will appear without identifying information unless the person consents. Any quoted material will be provided to interviewees for them to approve inclusion before the thesis is finalised. Participants may request a copy of their interview and survey.

However, interviewees should note that, though they would not be mentioned by name in any written material without their consent, it may be possible to identify them from the recording made of their interviews.

A copy of the final thesis will be provided to La Trobe University library. Interviewees may choose whether they want the recorded interview to be available to future researchers or not, and whether it should be available immediately or in 10 years time.

Thesis material may be used for publication as seminar papers, journal articles or a book. The procedures outlined above will apply to any published material.

You have the right to withdraw from active participation in this project at any time and, further to demand that any data arising from your participation are not used in the research project provided that this right is exercised within four weeks of the completion of your participation in the project. You are asked to complete the “Withdrawal of Consent Form” or to notify the investigator by email or telephone that you wish to withdraw your consent for your data to be used in this research project.

Any questions regarding this project may be directed to Marilyn Bowler at the School of Historical and European Studies by email at ma2bowler@students.latrobe.edu.au

If you have any complaints or queries that the investigator has not been able to answer to your satisfaction, you may contact the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee, Research and Graduate Studies Office, La Trobe University, Victoria, 3086 (ph: 03 9479 1443) or email: humanethics@latrobe.edu.au
Participant consent form

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

EFFECTS OF TEACHING STUDENTSHIPS ON LIVES OF RECIPIENTS

INVESTIGATOR: Marilyn Bowler
Contact details: ma2bowler@students.latrobe.edu.au

Supervisor: Prof. Marilyn Lake
Co-supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Richard Broome

I ……………………………………………. have read and understood the participant information sheet and consent form and any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the project, realising that I may withdraw at any time. I agree that the research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presented at conferences and published in journals.

Within the thesis and any published material or presentations derived from the thesis (please tick one):

[ ] I consent to being mentioned or quoted by name.
[ ] I consent to being mentioned or quoted by pseudonym.

After the thesis is completed (please tick one):

[ ] I consent to my recorded interview being freely available to researchers through La Trobe University library at Bundoora.
[ ] I consent to my recorded interview being freely available to researchers through La Trobe University library at Bundoora after 10 years.
[ ] I do not wish my recorded interview to be available to researchers.

I am aware that if I consent to my recorded interview being available to researchers, it may be possible to identify me through the recording.

Please circle one: I wish/do not wish to receive a copy of my interview and completed survey.

Name of participant (please use block letters):
Signature

Name of Investigator: MARILYN BOWLER

Signature

Name of student supervisor:

Date:
Preliminary survey for primary teaching studentship holders

This project is part of research for a Master of Arts degree in History undertaken at La Trobe University by Marilyn Bowler. The research aims to identify the effects on the lives of recipients who received a teaching studentship between 1950 and 1980.

**Personal information**

Surname:

Previous surname, if different:

Personal names:

Address:

Phone number: (H) (W)

Mobile:

Email:

Date of birth:

**Marital status:** (please circle or highlight one)

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<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Divorced and remarried</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Widowed and remarried</th>
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Are you from a migrant or Aboriginal or Torres Straits Islander background? Y/N
Birth family information

As this survey is investigating the socio-economic status of those who received studentships, the following information would be helpful.

Mother’s occupation (at the time you were granted the studentship):

Mother’s occupation (prior to marriage, if different):

Father’s occupation (at the time you were granted the studentship):

Number of siblings: boys girls

Position in family e.g. eldest, youngest:

Do any of your siblings have tertiary qualifications? Y/N

If yes, what are their qualifications?

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Education

Secondary education:

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<td>Year 12</td>
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Were you offered or did you receive any of the following while at secondary school?

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<td>Other:</td>
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Were you offered or did you receive any of the following for tertiary studies?

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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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Would have been able to attend undertake tertiary studies if you were not offered a teaching studentship?

Was primary teaching your first preference as a career?

If not, please indicate what your first preference was.

For country students: was the provision of hostel accommodation important in enabling you to undertake tertiary education? Y/N

Year started studentship:

Year training completed/relinquished
**Year bond completed:** (The bond required studentship holders to teach for three years, except women who married who had to teach for one year. If you left teaching before completing the three-years of teaching required, could you briefly explain why?)

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**Working life**

**Years as a teacher: from** to
(If you left and returned to teaching, please include this information).

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Please add to the table or attach a separate sheet if necessary.
Career after leaving teaching (if applicable)

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Can you suggest the names of any other people who obtained a studentship that I might contact for this study? These could include those who did not complete their training or who have left teaching.

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</table>
Preliminary survey for teaching studentship holders who attended university

This project is part of research for a Master of Arts degree in History undertaken at La Trobe University by Marilyn Bowler. The research aims to identify the effects of receiving a teaching studentship on the lives of those who received one between 1950 and 1980 to undertake tertiary studies.

Personal information

Surname:

Previous surname, if different:

Given names:

Address:

Phone number: (H) (W)

Mobile:

Email:

Date of birth:

Marital status: (Please circle or highlight one.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Living with partner</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Divorced and remarried</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Widowed and remarried</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Are you from a migrant or Aboriginal or Torres Straits Islander background?
Birth family information

As this survey is investigating the socio-economic status of those who received studentships, the following information would be helpful.

Mother’s occupation (at the time you were granted the studentship):

Mother’s occupation (prior to marriage, if different):

Father’s occupation (at the time you were granted the studentship):

Number of siblings: boys girls

Position in family e.g. eldest, youngest:

Do any of your siblings have tertiary qualifications? Y/N

If yes, what are their qualifications?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brother/sister</th>
<th>Position in family</th>
<th>Tertiary qualifications</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Education

Secondary education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School attended</th>
<th>Town or suburb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years 7–10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year 11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year 12</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Were you offered or did you receive any of the following while at secondary school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship</th>
<th>Offered</th>
<th>Accepted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior Commonwealth Scholarship</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leaving Bursary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matriculation Bursary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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</table>

Were you offered or did you receive any of the following for tertiary studies?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Scholarship</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth Tertiary Scholarship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Would you have been able to attend university if you were not offered a teaching studentship?

Did you have the option of attending university on a Commonwealth scholarship?

Would you have accepted a studentship for primary teaching training or for a secondary teachers college if you did not gain a university place?

For country students: was the provision of hostel accommodation important in enabling you to undertake tertiary education?
Year started studentship:

Year training completed/relinquished:

**Year bond completed:** (The bond required studentship holders to teach for three years, except women who married who had to teach for one year. If you left teaching before completing the three-years of teaching required, could you briefly explain why?)

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**Working life**

Was teaching your first choice of career?

**Years as a teacher** (primary, secondary or technical): from to
(If you left and returned to teaching, please include this information.)

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Career after leaving primary or secondary teaching, including tertiary teaching (if applicable):

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I am prepared to be interviewed (please circle one): Yes  No
Preliminary survey for secondary teachers college studentship holders

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Career after leaving teaching (if applicable)

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Appendix 2

Interview questions (to be used by interviewer as a guide)

Tell me about your family background. What was it like growing up in in the 19? 

How did you feel when you received a teaching studentship? 

Was going to university your main aim in applying for a studentship?  
- Refer to answers on survey.  
- Check re needing a studentship to go to university.  
- Check re education of siblings, particularly preference for boys being educated. 

Was teaching your first career preference? Why? 

What was it about teaching as a career that appealed to you? 

How did your parents feel about your going to university/teachers college? How did they see teaching as a career? 

Why did you want to go to university or teachers college? 

What do you remember about your university or teachers college years? 

Who were your best lecturers? What were your favourite subjects? 

Beyond your academic studies, what activities were you involved in while studying/at university? (For example, membership of social clubs, political clubs or activist groups such as women’s lib or gay rights, student newspaper, SRC, involvement in political protests at university or outside.)
Were you actively involved in politics or social activism at university? (For example, Vietnam War, women’s rights, gay rights, migrants, aboriginal rights, sexual freedom, religion.)

Apart from a qualification, what did you gain from your tertiary experience/attending university? (For example, self-confidence, political skills.)

**Tell me about your teaching career.** (For example, personal fulfilment, promotion opportunities, discrimination and sexism, affirmative action, unionism and strike action.)
- When you taught was a period of great change in schools and in teaching, how did it affect you? How did you see it?

What did you like? What did you hate?

Did you ever consider leaving teaching?

Why did you leave teaching?

**What career(s) did you pursue after teaching?**

**How does your life compare with your parents’/mother’s/father’s/siblings’ lives?** (For example, financial position, political and social attitudes, more affluent lifestyle, intellectual or cultural interests, sharing of family and household responsibilities.)

How would you describe your partnership/marriage in comparison to your mother’s? (For example, sexuality, childbearing and raising, financial independence, influence in family decision-making, sharing of family and household responsibilities.)

Did you participate in or contribute to the women’s movement?

Do you think your life would have turned out much the same if you hadn’t had a studentship?
Appendix 3

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After 1975, the Education Department's annual reports no longer gave statistics for the number of studentships granted, only the statistics for all studentship holders in training. Therefore, an estimate of over 22,000 studentship holders accounts for those who held studentships from 1976 to 1978.
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Gail Cranston (pseudonym) 11 November 2009
Deidre Dale (pseudonym) 20 September 2009
Alice Dunn (pseudonym) 18 October 2009
Paula Gott 2 December 2009
Michele Gourley 4 November 2009
Lesley Grant 19 October 2009
Deborah Hennessey 19 November 2009
Karyn Horn 12 November 2009
JulieAnn Hunt 11 November 2009
Denise Huva 8 November 2009
Louise Ives (pseudonym) 10 October 2009
May James 17 November 2009
Diane Johnson 3 November 2009
Katriona Klaus (pseudonym) 28 October 2009
Anne Lawson 4 November 2009
Elizabeth Lynch 8 October 2009
Karen Rawlings (pseudonym) (signed but undated)
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Sue Rice (pseudonym) 2 November 2009
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Michelle Rowsell 22 December 2009
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Heather Rutter 10 January 2010
Elizabeth Skidmore 9 November 2009
Diane Stirton 8 November 2009
Jennifer Uren 14 November 2009
Judy Wheeler 22 October 2009
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Penelope Davies 25 September 2009
Therese Edwards 8 January 2010
Amanda Ellingworth 29 October 2009
Lynette G (no surname given) 1 November 2009
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Margaret Grant 3 October 2009
Lynette Johnson 9 November 2009
Deidre Knowles (pseudonym) 12 October 2009
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Julie Nielsen 10 October 2009
Mary Pavlovic 16 October 2009
Sheenagh Roberts 4 December 2010
Mary Tennison (pseudonym) 21 October 2009 (pseudonym)

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Joan Broadberry 4 October 2009
Jennifer Brown 28 October 2009
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