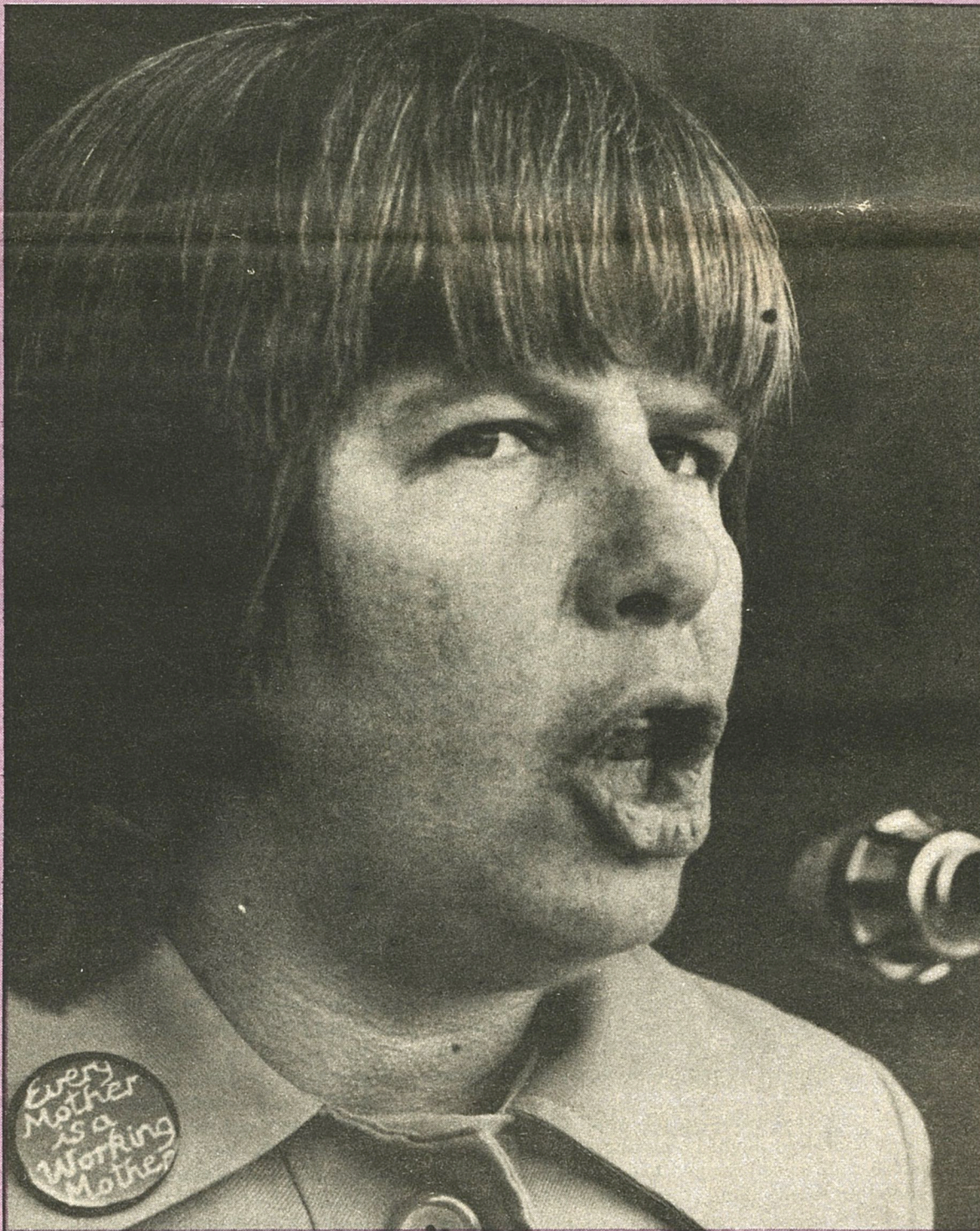


Maybe one's definition of reasonableness depends on where you fit in the system. Reasonableness is a device used by those who have money and power to confuse those who haven't. Let's not fall for it. We know what we need and we know how long it would take to implement it if the problem were tackled with enthusiasm. And if the present government isn't able to do that, we have plenty of skilled and willing and, yes, reasonable people chomping at the bit. Pat Schulz

Reminiscences of Pat Schulz and the daycare scene

with Sue Colley, Chris Judge, Eli Kirzner, Julie Mathien, Ev McKee



On December 12, 1983 Pat Schulz died of cancer. I took over the Mudpie column from Pat in the fall of 1982. She had been writing it for two and a half years and had covered many important and exciting areas of the daycare struggle. Instead of my regular column this month, we are presenting you this feature which we hope will be a celebration of her life. Her insight and wisdom will remain with us.

On December 29, 1983 I interviewed four of Pat's closest friends and co-workers: Ev McKee, director of Jesse Ketchum Day Care Centre, Julie Mathien, program consultant for Alternative and Community Programs for Toronto Board of Education; Sue Colley, staff member for Action Day Care; Eli Kirzner, teacher at Humber College and a freelance writer. Ev and Julie and I are also members of Action Day Care.

ELI: When I first met Pat Schulz, it was just before Women's Liberation days, just as the first Women's Liberation group was starting in Toronto. I met this woman who looked at me like she was out of another century, one that hadn't come yet, because she got up to the mike to speak in this hard tough voice and she was telling off a bunch of men, she was giving them shit! Remember this is before Women's Liberation, and someone said to me "oh that's Pat and she's really mean!" What struck me was that she could be strong. In a man's organization, in a man's world, she could meet with them on their terms.

When she came to Toronto (she had moved from Montreal) none of us knew how difficult it was for her at that time. She had a child - none of us had children - and she was one of the first women with children in the women's movement or left movement. (Pat became a Trotskyist when she was a teenager. She had been a member of the League for Socialist Action and the Socialist League.) She was starting to worry about how to take care of her two-year-old child and she was living on her own and getting over this incredible grief over the death of her husband, Peter, who had been killed in a car accident. I think it's true that grief was really deep and rarely articulated.

It was at that time that she started speaking for the women's movement, as a Trotskyist, but it was her first flirtation with the idea that she could speak for women and organize women maybe even separated from an organized Trotskyist group.

JULIE: Actually, it's very interesting because after the fight with the Province over the proposed change in standards in 1974 she was still in the Trotskyist movement, but she made her break very soon after that. I remember she said to me, "I made the decision to leave the Trotskyist movement to work in the Daycare Movement."

EV: One of the things that happened in the 1974

uprising of Daycare people was the red baiting that immediately followed. I'm sure that it was a well-planned attack against anyone who had a very definite tie-in with the Trotskyist movement or any other left movement. There was a defence mechanism in the daycare group that this was a side issue and that nobody was going to be put off by red baiting. It was not going to be acceptable to anyone. And the group held together on this.

JULIE: We all said that we've got members of every political persuasion.

EV: That's right, we did have! I think this group made a sort of unconscious decision that we didn't care what we were called and that there could be no individual singling out of anybody because everyone there was involved in one thing and people's political backgrounds didn't make any difference. I think that started Pat - I think that was the beginning of her trying to make some decisions about what she was going to do. I remember the feeling that there was going to be a whole bunch of us who were going to stand up strong if there was red baiting and that was never going to be part of that movement.

JULIE: I think that Pat was very relieved when she realized that nobody in the group was going to take that kind of thing seriously.

EV: One of the things that Pat mentioned to my husband when he went to see her in the hospital, was the fact that she had found a group of people who evaluated each other for who we were and what we could bring to the group. And she very much valued this... that for the first time she felt part of a women's group that went way beyond what were finite lines in her life before.

CHRIS: I think that is the key too. The fact that it was mainly women. I remember her saying to me that she felt comfortable with and appreciated working with a group of women where, even if there were differences, they could be worked out. The women could discuss things and compromise and didn't worry about their egos being on the line. That hadn't been her experience in the Trotskyist movement.

ELI: I think that's really important. She always said the same thing to me. "I'm working with women who don't agree with everything I say, but we're all working together." That impressed her so much.

I remember a speech that she gave at a national convention of the League for Socialist Action. The women there had said that abortion was the key issue and when they said 'key' issue they meant 'only' issue. Pat got up in the convention and she said "well, let me tell you about abortion - that is essential. Women have to fight for that and I am going to fight for that. But let me tell you something, abortion takes two hours and then it's over, but when you have a kid that's 16 years and that's why I'm in the daycare movement." She was very unpopular and lost the vote.

EV: So that was when the '74 stuff started, the provincial government's attack on standards and quality. And she was free then to make the move?

ELI: Champing at the bit - she wanted to fight the daycare fight and all these people were telling her that she shouldn't. She stuck to her guns.

You know, Pat was psychologically a very healthy person. What she said when she left the Trotskyist movement was "there's a time in your life when you do the things you want to do and there's a time in your life when you do the things that you're best at."

It's interesting that despite the disapproval, she continued to work for daycare. I think it was because she was a healthy person. She said, "I know what I'm doing is the right thing and I'm just going to go ahead and do it."

EV: It's interesting that Pat was seen as a healthy, whole person for someone who was so ill. That just fascinates me, that whole, you know, health, whole, holiness, wholeness, these are all words that derive from the same thing. For someone who was as ill as she was for so long.

JULIE: The first time I ever dealt with her in a group was when we occupied Devonshire Place on University of Toronto campus to set up our second



Eli Kirzner

Campus Co-op Centre. It was a very funny scene. I look back at it now and laugh hysterically at some of the things that went on. For instance, we thought we'd be in there three days! Three months later we were still there! It lasted six months, with the task of keeping that building occupied 24 hours a day for six months! In that group we had everything from followers of the Maharaji to RCMP plants, hanging around the place. It was really bizarre and the group decided things on a truly consensus sort of basis. Even if it was a close vote, we would have to rediscuss the whole issue. Meetings went on forever and Pat stood out as someone who talked sense. In our very emotional group that was very refreshing. Her history and a little bit of her experience was very, very useful. She could make sense out of something somebody was saying and she was able to make sure that meetings followed some kind of procedure so that you weren't there for five hours discussing chicken shit. I can remember at the time being very impressed and in many ways, observing Pat taught me how to deal with difficult situations of that nature. The lessons she taught me were absolutely invaluable.

ELI: I think that whole freedom for her started at that point where she felt totally that people wanted



Julie Mathien

her for her leadership, for her ability to make sense out of chaos.

EV: When she became involved in the Daycare Reform Action Alliance, she found a group of people where you didn't have to identify yourself in any way, shape or form, other than by your willingness to work and to be cautious and careful.

JULIE: I think that in the last part of her life she was able to resolve whether it's better to be working in a broad movement like daycare or whether or not it's better in a group that really and truly identifies itself as a socialistic group.

EV: One of the things about her is that she didn't avoid making a decision for herself. She certainly never made decisions for other people. One memory that I will always have is listening to four or five people argue certain points and go on for half an hour and then she would say, "it seems to me this is what is being said - 1, 2, 3, 4. No garbage, no extra adjectives, no nothing, but here is what you're saying, and now it seems to me we have to make a choice. Somehow she spotted the 2, 3 or 4 various things that had been debated by a dozen people. She could sum up exactly what was being said and people were able to say - make a choice! It was clear. The clarity she had in groups!



Sue Colley



Ev McKee

ELI: That reminds me of Pat's contribution teaching people things, particularly teaching women, who have this enormous overcoming to do before we get to this whole problem of 'going out and doing it.' Pat taught me and most of the women she worked with to go out and do it! She discussed issues, looked at them, she would spend a lot of time looking at them. Then it was time to answer the question, what are we going to do? Women often don't like to be too clear, because if you are too clear then you have got to do it. You've got to go out and risk it. Pat was never afraid to risk doing it. Our biggest arguments were over the fact that I thought we had more talking to do and Pat thought that it was time to act.

EV: That's right. Pat was never afraid to take the risk.

ELI: Another thing that she taught me was about collective decision making. Pat, when she wanted to make a decision, would gather around all the people she knew, who could give the best input in the world. She would sit down and work it out with

them and then she made her decision - even if it was a personal decision. Personal decisions were accumulations of people's collective input. Pat was healthy!

JULIE: And she was totally unpatronizing too. I think that's very important, because that certainly is one of the mistakes that people who feel that they have the tendency to give leadership can make.

CHRIS: Her ego was not on the line. She always felt good about herself. She knew she was right.

ELI: She was the model of the collective type of leadership that we all aspire to. For her it really worked. Her strength did come from other people and her weaknesses - which weren't that many when she operated politically, were also helped by the collective group.

JULIE: During the 1974 organizing to fight the Birch Proposals (Margaret Birch tried to introduce legislation that would have lowered the quality of daycare), a Family Planning Conference was attended by Margaret Birch. Pat and I decided that this was a natural place for us to turn up but we had to sneak in. The Daycare Reform Action Alliance had a picket line outside this big provincial office building where it was taking place. We thought that in the middle of Birch's speech we would unfurl a big banner that said "Good Daycare and Lots of It". We decided that in order to sneak in we'd have to dress the part, so Pat wore a suit that she was married in and I had just bought a dress for a family function so I had a dress to.

EV: It was very important to wear a dress!

JULIE: We went without a clue as to how we were going to get into the conference. The organizers were so paranoid about any of the "reds under the beds" showing up that security was very tight. We happened to run into a person we knew and she gave me her name tag and Pat her briefcase. We stuck the banner in the briefcase and went waltzing into the room looking very nonchalant about the whole thing. We sat down in the front by the aisle and in the middle of her speech we whipped out our banner and yelled a few lines about daycare. Then somebody came up and snatched the banner away and there was a huge uproar with people pushing us around. We managed to yell a couple more good daycare slogans before we stomped out of the room. Well it turned out that half the audience and the person who snatched the banner away hadn't realized we were from daycare. They thought it was the reds showing up to raise the abortion issue. Margaret Birch, I gather, was not happy about the whole thing. We were quite proud of ourselves.

EV: I think that incident was repeated many times. For example, in the legislature when they took our banner and wouldn't give it back! The Birch proposals did something she never meant them to - they solidified the daycare movement for the first time. It was a very strong voice and there isn't any question in my mind that we stopped the proposals. They had to find another way to do the same thing. We found out that if they couldn't win the fight on the floor then they would just slip them in. It was a real learning experience for an enormous number of people about how things can happen to you without your knowing it. Pat was the person who kept very clear focus on what was happening.

And I remember her daughter, Kathy, coming to all the meetings.

ELI: You know, Pat found the emotional centre of her life in the daycare movement. It was at a time when single parents did not have the clout that they do now. Nor did most people see daycare as a support for you personally, when you are alone with a child. She used to tell me how great it was to go to the centre and meet the other parents and talk about kids and get some shared feedback experiences. So it's interesting that her political priority followed her emotional priority. She asserted the right to make your personal centre a political issue and this was at a time when most of us thought that those were two separate things - your personal life, on one side and on the other side, what you had to do politically.

SUE: I think that there is another aspect to it too, though. Which is that daycare is a Women's Issue.



Chris Judge

I think all that coming together of what it meant to be a woman and fighting for women's liberation and in the Trotskyist movement, was carried through to daycare. I think that she and a number of us, in fact, saw daycare as a critical issue for women. As critical as reproductive rights and so on. That explains also, in a certain way, why there was a group of people who could have this very close political relationship. We could have collective decision-making and action because Action Daycare, and even going back to the Daycare Reform Action Alliance, is a feminist and socialist group. It wasn't that she was just dealing with a single issue there, because there were a whole bunch of people who were grappling with the issue of daycare, the issue of women's oppression and the issue of social change. We therefore had a strategic framework within which we were operating even though it was out of a single issue mold.

JULIE: She started Kathy in daycare when it was just becoming a vaguely acceptable thing to do. Nursery School was fine but daycare was low life. She totally rejected that welfare kind of attitude toward daycare and I think that must have been useful for the other parents at the daycare she had Kathy in.

CHRIS: Yes I think so too. I'm sure it was true for Duke of York Daycare at that time. She helped organize that centre. There were a lot of single mothers at that centre, yet it was structured at first as a co-op and later with strong parent participation and I doubt that would have happened without Pat there.

SUE: I didn't meet Pat until 1979. I was organizing International Women's Day. I think that she gave the most moving speech ever made at International Women's Day. It was at Convocation Hall and she spoke about her experiences as a woman with a child and what that meant. I thought that it was a very powerful speech. I knew that she was a daycare activist and a socialist, but it was very much as a feminist that I met her.

CHRIS: It's interesting, I remember when I visited her in the hospital a few months back, someone had given her a book, a large anthology of important feminist writing. She was really excited about having it and having time to read it and said "I haven't really spent a lot of time reading feminist theory and now I can!" I was really surprised, because to me Pat was my ideal, in terms of a feminist, she was so incredible. Obviously, a lot of her feminism was coming from her own personal experiences and from her gut feelings.

ELI: Pat was the most forthright person I knew.

JULIE: Her modesty really floored me too. There were times when she talked about certain people and really admired their intellect.

EV: She never lost the capacity to see other people's capacity.

EV: I'll never forget her at the National Daycare Conference in Winnipeg (Fall, 1982). She was making the key note speech. I asked her the night before if she had it ready yet. She replied that she

hadn't even started yet. She wrote out 10 cards with some ideas on them and got up and gave an incredible speech and received a standing ovation. To this day there is no copy of that speech which is a shame.

ELI: She had a very low level of anxiety. She could do things the night before and keep a clear head. Also Pat was extremely assertive and not aggressive, the negative was not there. She wasn't just assertive politically which is in some ways easier but she was also assertive personally. She wouldn't take on more than what she wanted to do.

JULIE: Once Pat had decided to do something, she would do whatever she had to do to get it done. That's admirable.

EV: Pat spent two years at Centennial College teaching Early Childhood Education. She had to supervise the students in their field placement. She got a better look at a variety of daycare than she would have otherwise.

JULIE: Yes, and the things that she did with the students were very important. For example, one of her assignments was that a student had to spend a day with a daycare parent. Arrive for breakfast and start off the day with them, accompany them to daycare and arrive at the daycare at night to accompany them home and spend a good part of the evening. It really helped students to understand what it was like for the parents.

EV: She also got students out into political action around daycare. She provided the students with some very good experiences and through them learned about the lack of quality in some daycare centres. The fact that the minimum standards were not being met horrified her, and strengthened her resolve to fight for better daycare.

SUE: In the realm of politics, Pat always sorted the wheat from the chaff, so to speak. She knew Action Daycare had to play a role in the Daycare Advisory Committee - she was a delegate for two years, you know - but she hated it - it was so ineffectual. She was the one who recognized that Metro used to rev up the advisory committee when they needed community support, and sabotage its mandate when they wanted to rush a policy through. I think she always felt manipulated in that arena. On the other hand, she saw the burgeoning Ontario Coalition for Better Daycare as an extremely important formation. She put a tremendous amount of energy into it. I think it was really through her charisma that Cliff Pilkey of the OFL became convinced to broaden the OFL daycare campaign and include other community groups. Pat identified this as a really important step - not only for the daycare community but also for the labour movement: it was really the first time that the labour movement in Ontario had worked organizationally with other community groups - and in particular women's groups. It was really the first time that there was a real link between the labour movement and the women's movement.

So she sweated so hard over the Ontario Coalition. She sat in meeting after meeting with 40 people, drafting the Brief to the Ontario Cabinet: Daycare Deadline 1990 word by word - it was an amazing process. And with very little financial support she travelled all around the province to attend forums at which the community came and talked about their problems with daycare. She found this a really moving experience - and so did Cliff Pilkey. She had a real knack - even in those kinds of arenas - of drawing people out, of giving the human stories a vibrant political content.

This happened again with the Mini-Skool strike. OPSEU phoned her to work on the strike as a consultant. I remember her saying, "Boy, what an opportunity. This is the first time that the labour movement has realized that the women's movement has real links with trade union women and can offer valuable resources in such an important struggle." She knew she had to do it and I think she thought it was the most important thing that she had ever done politically.

So even though she was tremendously sick at this point, she just seemed to find new energy and directed herself totally to the struggle. There seemed to be no barriers to winning that strike. I remember when we decided that there was no space to put

an alternative daycare centre for the children of the Mini-Skool daycare in Mississauga that we came to the conclusion that we just had to buy one. It was a necessary tactic but it made her very nervous, "Well, Colley," she said to me, "We may have to stoop to being commercial operators, but we better make sure those workers get a bloody good union contract, and those kids get damn good care."

What exhausted her most I think was the amount of travelling to Hamilton. She had to go down there several times a week. The workers there were also out on strike and they had to find a location to accommodate the children in order to ensure that Mini-Skools remained closed. Well, it certainly remained closed; in fact, the workers shut it down entirely. I think her most important contribution to that local was, again, her decisiveness. Her willingness to take risks and to move forward. The local had found this derelict, rat-infested school in a beautiful location on the mountain. Most of the workers were hesitant about its possibilities; and it was really Pat who had the vision to see its potential and to encourage them to take the step in the direction of taking on that school and turning it into a fabulous daycare centre.

I'm always really sorry that she never got to see it. They certainly transformed it into a daycare centre - it's now called Paradise Corner and it's gorgeous. It's a worker co-op and it's full to capacity; all the workers have jobs and much higher pay. I'm sure she'd be very proud of it and it's a living symbol to her work.

On Being Reasonable

by Pat Schulz

This is a column Pat Schulz wrote and passed on to me when I became Mudpie columnist in the fall of 1982. She told me she was debating whether its tone was appropriate. We offer it to you as part of this tribute to Pat's leadership and insight. Chris Judge.

There's a saying that politics is the art of the possible. More directly we are always being told to be reasonable or asked where the money for our pie in the sky proposals is going to come from. And there is a hidden assumption that anyone with any common sense agrees that the way things are now is logical and it is the changes that have to be justified. There is also the assumption that some consensus can be arrived at, that those in power are reasonable people (and certainly the press is reasonable) if only we malcontents would come to some agreement.

In the daycare movement many people have bought that argument. Some time ago a Metro Daycare Task Force Report was published that was eminently reasonable. It asked for an additional eight thousand subsidized daycare spaces in Metro over the next seven years. For next year it "demanded" or should we say "respectfully requested" 680 additional spaces. Action Daycare criticized that report for asking for too little, but we were told we had to appear to be reasonable.

Shortly after the draft of this report appeared, the province gave Metro an additional 500 spaces. Subsequently Paul Godfrey asked representatives from the Metro Day Care Advisory Committee, some of whom had participated in the Task Force, how he could possibly go back for more when we had gotten almost all we had asked for. That of course is the problem with being reasonable, with asking for something close to what you have and something the government can give you readily. That is the problem with asking for less than you need.

The Day Care Advisory members were in Godfrey's office because the 500 spaces had been filled in a few weeks. They were there because a thousand parents had put their kids' names on waiting lists, had gone for an interview with the welfare department, had brought in all their pay slips, hydro bills and bank books and proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that they

needed subsidized care and then been told there are no vacancies. But we mustn't ask for more because we got what we asked for.

And now those of us in the daycare community who criticized that report in its draft stage and whose views were ignored when the final report came out are being told: don't criticize the report, we have to look united.

The same thing with the recent provincial budget. We got an increase in dollars but no real increase when inflation, and government spending on projects that do not increase the number of spaces, is taken into account. Here we are told that any percentage increase over the inflation rate is a good deal. But when there is such a gap between need and availability that only 6.8% of Metro kids are in any kind of supervised care and only 12% of kids needing care nationally get government supervised facilities, then what does a 1% or 2% increase mean? One percent of almost nothing is almost nothing.

So what is the alternative? Well, in the daycare community what we have done is develop a program that would meet all our needs: free universal care, the neighbourhood hub model, higher wages for daycare workers, etc., and we agree that this cannot be instituted immediately. So we suggest that it be implemented over ten years and that immediately the government pay a direct flat grant of \$5 per day per child to all non-profit daycare centres and supervised private home care in the province along with an additional 10,000 subsidized spaces. It would mean that a large group of parents eligible for subsidy would find a place and that centres could raise wages without raising fees. We think that is reasonable.

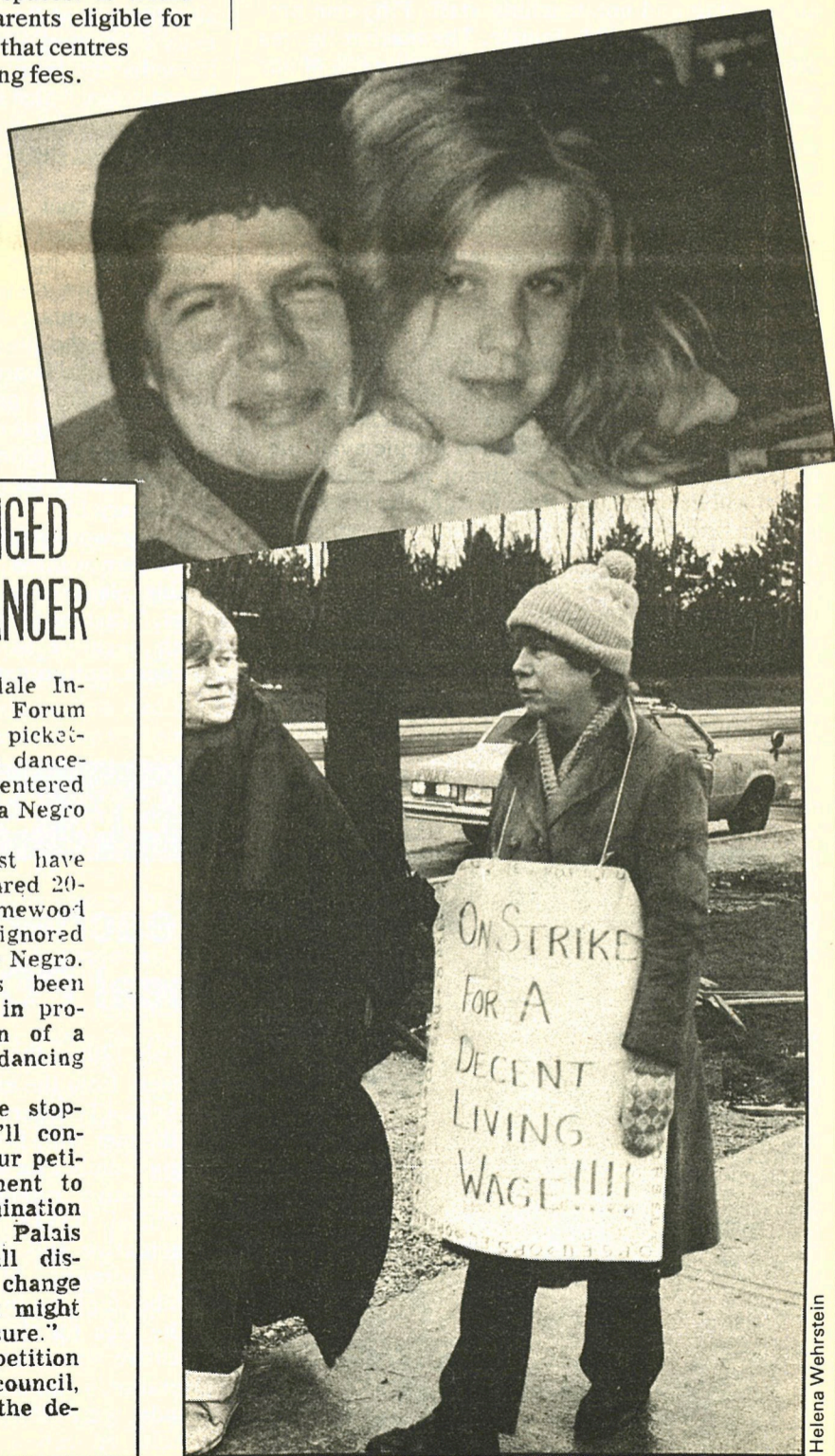
I raise the whole issue because it seems to me the same arguments are used against unions and social services other than daycare. Look at education. Isn't it reasonable that in a period of declining enrollment we should cut staffs? But wait a minute. I taught school in the 1950's when kids were crammed into schools be-

cause there was rapid growth in enrollment and there weren't enough teachers or school buildings. But surely the other side of that is that when the numbers decline and the tax base continues to expand or even remains stable we ought to be able to improve the situation. Lots of buildings and lots of teachers. Surely now we can provide better schooling by cutting class room size. But that isn't what is happening although it seems to me eminently reasonable.

So maybe one's definition of reasonableness depends on where you fit in the system. Reasonableness is a device used by those who have money and power to confuse those who haven't. Let's not fall for it. We know what we need and we know how long it would take to implement it if the problem were tackled with enthusiasm. And if the present government isn't able to do that, we have plenty of skilled and willing and, yes, reasonable people chomping at the bit.

A Pat Schulz Trust Fund has been set up to further the development of a Neighbourhood Resource Centre which will be named in her honour. The Resource Centre will contain a daycare centre and other services. If you wish to donate to this fund, send cheques payable to The Pat Schulz Trust Fund, c/o Action Daycare, 345 Adelaide Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5V 1R5.

Chris Judge, Mudpie's regular daycare columnist, is co-ordinator of Orde Street Day Care Centre.



MUST HAVE CHANGED POLICY--GIRL DANCER

Members of the Rosedale Independent CCF Youth Forum last night called off their picketing of the Palais Royale dance-hall when one member entered the hall and danced with a Negro without being stopped.

"The management must have changed its policy," declared 20-year-old Pat Paine, of Homewood Ave., who said she was ignored when she danced with the Negro.

The organization has been picketing the dance-hall in protest against the ejection of a Negro youth Monday for dancing with a white girl.

"The picketing will be stopped," she said, "but we'll continue getting names for our petition asking the government to enforce the anti-discrimination law and cancel the Palais Royale's license until all discrimination ceases. This change of policy by management might only be a temporary measure."

The girl explained the petition would be sent to the city council, the attorney-general and the department of labor.

Pat Schulz, formerly Pat Paine, fighting the good fight back in July, 1955.

Above: Pat Schulz and daughter Kathy in the early 1970s. Below: Pat Schulz on the Mini Skools picket line 1982.