Deviancy, Sexuality and the Psy-Disciplines at the University of Toronto

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Abstract

University pedagogy enabled theorization about sexual deviancy to pass as self-evident knowledge in postwar Canada. By integrating psychological, psychiatric and psychoanalytical textbooks into several programs after the Second World War, the University of Toronto became a unique source of local accreditation for these disciplines' professed knowledge about homosexuality. Clinical education at the university's medical school similarly modelled racist and ableist intake procedures ostensibly evaluating specific homosexuals' capacity to benefit from psychoanalysis. This, coupled with the extensive circulation of psy-disciplinary discourse among students, demonstrates the University of Toronto's local influence as a site of legitimation for medicalized, 'rehabilitative' authority over marginalized communities. This approach would consistently be considered progressive and effective by university-educated, middle-class Canadians throughout the 1940s-1970s. The extensive embrace of 'rehabilitative' ideals in postwar Canada would impact both state violence and the resistance strategies of activist organizations like the University of Toronto Homophile Association.

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List of Abbreviations

2SLGBTQ+	Two-Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer et al.
APA	American Psychiatric Association
BCM	Black Campus Movement
CAMH	Canadian Association for Mental Health
CHAT	Community Homophile Association of Toronto
CNCMH	Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene
CPA	Canadian Psychological Association.
CUS	Canadian Union of Students
DSM	Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
ICS	The University of Toronto Institute of Child Study
IQ	Intellectual Quotient
PAL	Parent's Action League
SAC	Student Administrative Council
SSRCC	Social Science Research Council of Canada
TPHFC	Toronto Psychiatric Hospital Forensic Clinic
UT	The University of Toronto
UTHA	University of Toronto Homophile Association
VDA	Department of Veteran Affairs

Introduction: Sex, Deviancy and the Academy in Postwar Toronto

To date, we have completed treatment on twelve cases, with the youngest subject being a 15-year-old male prostitute from a correctional institution. All had Kinsey ratings of at least '4'. The technician is a first-year graduate student who has no special skills in operant conditioning but who does have a high degree of interest in this field.¹

—James Chapel, 1970.

By 1970, a Canadian graduate student with a “high degree of interest” in aversive conditioning could administer shock stimuli from a 7 ½ volt battery to a 15-year-old in the interest of altering their sexuality. The fact that this was not an exceptional state of affairs—that James Chapel felt secure in arguing that the technician’s interest outweighed their lack of specific skill, that Chapel’s department had unquestioned license to conduct these therapies on institutionalized youth in the first place— indicates the success of a transnational, scholarly campaign to establish the benevolence, rigour and utility of psychiatric knowledge about homosexuality.² The presentation of this paper to the

¹ James Chapel, “Behaviour Modification Techniques in Children and Adolescents,” *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 15, no. 3 (1970): 317.

² This campaign was not particular to Canada and is best described as a transnational phenomenon as it pervaded several countries in the postwar period and manifested in myriad forms within them. While an investigation of how Canadian universities were components of *global* scholarly networks would be extremely historically pertinent, I have not been well-positioned to conduct this (necessarily archival) research in the context of the pandemic. What claims I do make about how professional and academic circles functioned transnationally at this time are largely derived from the approach of Tamson Pietsch, “Many Rhodes: travelling scholarships and imperial citizenship in the British academic world, 1880–1940,” *History of Education* 40, no. 6 (2011): 736–738, as well as global histories of sexual research like Chiara Beccalossi, “Optimizing and Normalizing the Population Through Hormone Therapies in Italian Science, c.1926–1950,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 53, no. 1 (2020): 67–69.

Canadian Psychiatric Association in 1969 demonstrates the acceptance of psychiatric benevolence within contemporary medical and academic infrastructure. Behavioural modification was, after all, a new methodology within a longstanding therapeutic project of encouraging heterosexual adjustment, which embraced increasingly traumatic methods as psychoanalysis proved ineffective in acquiring desired results.

The ostensibly seamless transition to the violence of behavioural modification therapies has frequently been attributed to the persuasiveness of contemporary rhetoric; retrospectives on both behavioural and psychoanalytic conversion therapies have often claimed that mental healthcare professionals were each individually *convinced* of the rigour of contemporary theory, their own expertise and their ability to facilitate a heterosexual adjustment to the alleged benefit of their patient. If one rejects the assumption that the pathologized models of homosexuality circulating within scholarly and medical circles throughout the twentieth century were *inherently* and/or *infinitely* convincing, however, a variety of questions about how these theories were entrenched as self-evident knowledge on a local level become historically significant. What rhetorical and discursive strategies were locally deployed by professionals to position their insight into the topic as authoritative? How were these ideas convincingly incorporated into the training of a generation of mental healthcare professionals who would go on to defend, reproduce and innovate upon them during their own careers? What structures insulated these medical accounts and their practitioners from contravening narratives prior to the

notable, public challenging of their authority by feminist, queer, disabled and racialized communities in the 1970s?³

I will argue in this thesis that universities, as increasingly prominent sites of education during the postwar period, made significant contributions to the local currency of pathologized models of homosexuality in Canada. Beyond their material role as sources of employment and funding, the pedagogical purview of the university enabled a variety of disparate, declarative assertions about marginalized communities to be presented as compellingly scientific and internally consistent for a local audience. The pervasive recognition of *sexual deviancy* (broadly defined as aberrant or socially disruptive sexual behaviour) as a concept following the end of the Second World War would rely upon the scholarly networks which universities facilitated, but also the public engagement which they enabled as institutions of learning. By recognizing psychiatric, psychological and psychoanalytic assertions about sexuality as pedagogically relevant and professionally useful, postsecondary institutions exerted significant influence upon the local currency of psy-disciplinary arguments for sexual regulation.⁴

³ Terminology surrounding sexuality and gender expression is often historically contingent. This thesis will exclusively employ the 2SLGBTQ+ acronym when referring to the present-day community. It will employ the term 'queer' when emphasizing the multiplicity of identities and sexualities historically subsumed within contemporary diagnoses of homosexuality. I will otherwise be replicating the historical terminology found in my sources and focusing my investigation on the reified category of the (often male) 'homosexual.' It is important to acknowledge, however, that a vast variety of people and experiences were labelled using this term.

⁴ Although psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis would become more distinct in the 1960s through professional accreditation, the development of psychopharmaceuticals and the embrace of community-based mental healthcare, they frequently cooperated in the postwar period and shared a number of assumptions, metanarratives and theoretical concepts as a result. This historical interrelation mandates the use of collective 'psy' terms like the above, which are intended to draw attention to the contemporary permeability of these professions and their shared content. My approach is inspired by Michel Foucault's assertion that disciplines bearing the prefix 'psy' sought to individually discipline human difference and producing specific subjectivities about personhood. This has been applied to the postwar period in subsequent work by critical mental health and Mad Studies historians and is doubly justified as psychiatrists, psychologists and psychoanalysts worked in close tandem to detect, diagnose and treat

Universities, as paradoxical institutions capable of entrenching specific modes of thought while being simultaneously “subject to the changing nature of the society in which they are located,” require nuanced historiography.⁵ To overview their general history in Canada, early nineteenth century universities were observably based off of pre-existent European institutions, with federation into an early academic sector taking place first in Ontario in 1868 and eventually throughout the nation.⁶ Twenty-eight degree-granting universities had been established by 1939 with variable sizes of student body (ranging from 7000 enrolled full-time at the University of Toronto (UT), the largest institution in the country, to fewer than 1000 students). Prior to the end of the Second World War, the curricular emphasis of university education in Canada had been “the liberal arts and pure science, leading to professional training in theology, medicine and law” although “schools of engineering, agriculture, and a few of the other new professions” became integrated into specific institutions’ curricula over time.⁷ After 1945, the academic sector in Canada diversified and expanded to the point of unrecognizability: undergraduate attendance skyrocketed due to the provisions made for returning veterans, graduate research developed extensively and, perhaps most notably of all, there was a pervasive “recognition by the people of Canada that the university and its junior partners were important, indeed essential, to the nation.”⁸

homosexuality during this time. See the Introduction and Chapter 5 of Nikolas S. Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Sarah Marks, “Psychotherapy in Historical Perspective,” *History of the Human Sciences* 30, no. 2 (2017): 3–16.

⁵ *Racism in the Canadian University: Demanding Social Justice, Inclusion and Equity*, eds. Francis Henry & Carol Tator (University of Toronto Press, 2009), 18-20.

⁶ *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, “Universities in Canada” by Paul Anisef, Paul Axelrod and J. Lennards. Last modified July 20, 2015, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/university>

⁷ Edward F. Sheffield, “The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969,” in *Canadian Education: A History*, eds. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970): 416.

⁸ Sheffield, “Post-War Surge,” 416.

The postwar university in Canada has been recognized as a site where nationalist ideologies were constructed and impressed upon middle-class adolescents and returning veterans alike. Patricia Jasen has demonstrated that “the university was to be a world where the new arrivals would learn to comply with the bureaucratic construct of the ideal veteran as emotionally stable, mature, compliant, grateful, and devoted to the task” of education and bootstrap self-sufficiency.⁹ Adolescents were subjected to similar pressures within the context of these ideals: the threat of the unruly, delinquent and/or deviant adolescent, rooted in wartime anxieties about national fitness, would prove a durable ideological construct throughout the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁰ Veterans and adolescents were thus both subjected to a specific iteration of the *rehabilitative project* (described across time and space by critical disability and mental health scholarship) within this version of the university. Chris Chapman and A.J. Withers have notably observed that postwar iterations of the rehabilitative project specifically exalted the white national who could be aligned “with pre-established notions of normalcy that exclude and marginalize a vast range of human diversity in relation to bodies, minds, and genders.”¹¹

Academic theorization surrounding ‘rehabilitating’ ostensibly undesirable qualities like homosexuality from white nationals would hold considerable sway in postwar cultures across the globe. The movement of faculty and educational materials across national borders amid conflicts about status and accreditation is a fascinating

⁹ Patricia Jasen, “Heroes on Campus: Student Veterans and Discourses of Masculinity in Post-Second World War Canada,” in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities Across Time and Space*, eds. Robert Allen Rutherford & Peter Gossage (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 297.

¹⁰ Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble With Normal, The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 4-6

¹¹ Chris Chapman & A.J. Withers. *A Violent History of Benevolence: Interlocking Oppression in the Moral Economies of Social Working* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 268.

aspect of this topic which is woefully underrepresented due to this thesis' local focus. Tamson Pietsch particularly describes UT's efforts to establish its own research degrees in the interest of preventing upcoming graduates from leaving for more prestigious and equipped universities in the United States.¹² It can be said, at the very least, that the rehabilitative project was likely a point emphasis for contemporary international and particularly medical scholarship/funding schemes due to its broad acceptance and widespread professional applicability.

Degree-granting institutions thus became culturally influential sites where human worth was successfully conflated with economic productivity among contemporary middle-class Canadians. The sweeping, mainstream credence in "the use of individualizing corrective practices as a tool in furthering moral economies of unequal human worth" which spread throughout settler Canadian social circles after the Second World War depended in large part on campuses and education as points of exposure to associated expert rhetoric.¹³ The disproportionate direction of academic and social scrutiny towards racialized, queer and disabled communities in Canada by middle-class white nationals would frequently rely upon the ideologies reinforced by this exposure.

It is exceptionally important to note, however, that while the circumstances introduced by the end of the war contributed to the prevalence of these ideas, universities in Canada and the United States had been centers of racist, ableist and cisheteronormative assertions since their inception. Ibram X. Kendi (né Rogers) has observed in his history of the 1960s Black Campus Movement (BCM) that the Western university model made

¹² Pietsch, "Many Rhodes," 736-737.

¹³ Chapman & Withers, *A Violent History of Benevolence*, 21.

four contemporarily-recognized contributions to anti-Black racism. These include 1) a ‘moralized contraption’ or set of rules “meant to Christianize and civilize, and ultimately to induce submission to the white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal American order,” 2) the standardized, purposeful exclusion of Black people from positions of authority in universities and the use of ostensibly objective technologies to mask the presentation of white scholarship and ideas as normal, 3) a “normalized mask of whiteness” which presented European and Euro-American scholarship/contributions as superior and 4) situating themselves as the primary site for “ladder altruism” or the belief that personal advancement (which alienated some Black people from others) would open –and keep open— societal doors.¹⁴ Central to Kendi’s argument is the idea that Black university attendance prior to 1965 was consistently about enduring and surviving white marginalization: sororities, fraternities and student support networks were formed around the idea that Black students should enfranchise themselves within those spaces. He argues that this phenomenon could indicate the internalization of the paternalistic, racist liberalism which suffused post-secondary institutions.

Although Kendi’s account focuses specifically on how this impacted the Black community in the United States, the structural and cultural similarity of Canadian universities suggests that these issues were equally pervasive in Canada and hazardous to other racialized groups. The BCM’s nation-wide opposition of these specific factors in 1965 also indicates their widespread prominence during the postwar period. Racism and understanding racism within university structures is not specific to a given time, but the

¹⁴ Ibram X. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 4-8.

development of normalizing discourses of whiteness, classism and cisheteronormativity in the postwar period would specifically leverage the racist structures Kendi describes.

Psychological, psychiatric and psychoanalytical authorities were influential contributors to the presence of this normalizing discourse on university campuses. By providing new, ostensibly objective methods of “comparing, differentiating, hierarchizing, homogenizing and excluding” people’s minds and implementing them in clinics, schools and media, postwar psychology established what Mona Gleason refers to as “technologies of normalcy” –internalized and self-perpetuating mindsets which “strengthened Canadians’ receptiveness to psychological discourse,” conflated the normal with the socially acceptable “and, in turn, ensured the primacy and endurance of psychology’s notions of the normal family.”¹⁵ Increased university attendance following the end of the Second World War necessarily advanced these mindsets’ currency as a means of understanding one’s self and the world. Psychiatry and psychoanalysis, as distinctly ‘rehabilitative’ sets of techniques and theories, profited extensively from the authority psychology acquired over sexuality and gender via this engagement. The contemporary prominence of psy-disciplines was in no small part founded upon the image of internal consistency, rigour and utility which was broadcast to local publics on university campuses at this time.

UT provides a unique, but notable, example of the role universities played in figuratively broadcasting the benevolence and rigour of psy-practitioners approaches to sex. Toronto itself was arguably the English-Canadian epicenter for postwar era anxieties

¹⁵ Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 9.

concerning sexual deviancy. Widespread fear of rape, pedophilia and sexual maladjustment (including homosexuality and particularly geared towards adolescents) dominated local sexual discourses in the postwar period and exerted “conspicuous” influence on national debates through the media.¹⁶ Expert discourse on sexual deviancy would simultaneously reflect and shape these anxieties; Torontonians school systems, courts and hospitals would recognize and demand the insight which contemporary psy-experts claimed, solidifying rehabilitative imperatives at the public level. This local acceptance of the stigmatization, incarceration and treatment of queer people under pathologized models of homosexuality would hold influence in Toronto for decades. The association of homosexuality with pedophilic attacks would manifest in a number of efforts to quarantine and remove queer people living in Toronto, particularly in the years following the sexual assault and murder of 12-year-old Emmanuel Jacques in 1977. This event has been broadly held to be one of the precipitating causes of Operation Soap, a series of police raids on bathhouses in 1981.¹⁷

In the immediate postwar, however, Toronto was notably the site of a public activism campaign led by the Parent’s Action League (PAL), which demanded the creation of clinics and treatment programs for sexual deviants. This campaign led to the formation of the internationally-recognized and largely unprecedented Toronto Psychiatric Hospital Forensic Clinic (TPHFC), a teaching clinic which embraced particular interpretations of deviancy theory in its outpatient psychiatric, psychological

¹⁶ Adams, *The Trouble With Normal*, 4-10.

¹⁷ Jamie Bradburn, “Toronto Bathhouse Raids (1981)” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified April 17th, 2018, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/toronto-feature-bathhouse-raids>. See also Tom Hooper, “Queering ’69: The Recriminalization of Homosexuality in Canada,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (2019): 265-268.

and social work applications. This clinic would notably enjoy an educational relationship with UT throughout the decade of its operation and would exert notable public and pedagogical influence through this affiliation.

Beyond the conventional arguments for Toronto's prominence in Canadian discourse on sex, however, UT constituted one of a handful of major centers for early acceptance of psychology as an academic discipline in Canada. Gleason has established that Canadian psychologists' involvement in early twentieth century mental hygiene initiatives catalyzed the discipline as "a separate academic and financially viable concern" by providing them with "concrete research projects" and funding from the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH) which also, notably, went to psychologists at McGill, the University of Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan.¹⁸ This early recognition and funding of psychological research would lead to the informal founding of a psychology department at UT as early on as 1904, with official definition following in subsequent decades.¹⁹ The vast majority of other universities in Canada would not separate psychology from their philosophy departments until the 1940s, distinguishing older and more well-funded institutions like UT, Queen's and McGill as sites where psy-disciplines' nascent claim to *specific* and *objective* human insight was recognized and supported by the mental hygiene movement prior to the postwar period. UT's students were arguably *uniquely* impacted by the increased cultural relevance of psychology in Toronto, which had become accepted as a newly essential way of understanding the world due to the longstanding efforts of prominent in-house

¹⁸ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 40-42.

¹⁹ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 21-22.

psychologists like W.E. Blatz and local psychologists' cooperation with mental hygiene movements. This stance, when combined with Toronto psy-professionals' frequent involvement in postwar attempts to define and enforce sexual normality for Canadians, has rendered UT historically representative of how certain Canadian universities built up these ideas.

In 1918, an Ontario-born psychiatrist named Dr. Clarence Hincks founded the CNCMH in the interest of reforming mental healthcare and alerting the public to the “dangers of mental deficiency” in order to eliminate them.²⁰ Hincks did not establish the Committee alone: the early involvement of Charles Kirk (‘C.K.’) Clarke, a noted psychiatrist, professor at UT and superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital, led to a federal commission on the ‘feeble-minded’ in 1917 and a broader national embrace of the movement and its principles. Gleason argues that psychologists employed at institutions like the University of Toronto would rely on the movement for funding and social authority and thus remaining wedded to its goal. By the 1930s, however, psy-professionals would begin to reject eugenic reasoning and embrace the idea that one’s environment, not one’s genetic inheritance, determined various mental traits. This environmental focus enabled psychology to expand into new, preventative professional applications as a social science and acquire greater social authority from the 1930s onward.²¹ As Dyck, Gleason and Angus MacLaren have already observed, early mental hygiene and by extension, Canadian psychologists accepted a variety of eugenic assumptions; these included the association of societal ills with ‘inferior’ people and the

²⁰ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 22.

²¹ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 24.

use of the term ‘feeble-minded’ to refer to a vast array of people with supposedly undesirable tendencies including crime, alcoholism, laziness, disability, having been infected with venereal disease or being prone to mental “breakdown.”²²

By adopting an “idea of progress...drenched in the language of eugenics,” early-to-mid twentieth century psy-experts stretched first constructions of mental deficiency and then diagnoses of sexual deviancy “beyond their medicalized boundaries, [marrying] biological theories of degeneracy with progressive visions of a healthy nation.”²³ Fears concerning degeneracy survived the arguable end of eugenics’ prominence by echoing within the mental hygiene movement and later sexual regulation narratives. Dr. El Chenier has noted that the 1930s criminal sexual psychopath (and, I would argue, more commonly the sexual deviant) was “the offspring” of a eugenically-informed predecessor: “the defective delinquent” who was “able to distinguish right from wrong but persistently socially non-compliant due to an ‘irresistible impulse’; of normal or even above average intelligence; unable to profit from experience, and a recidivist.”²⁴ The ‘degenerate’ was thus a term which became unevenly transfigured into the individual diagnoses/categories of the sexual delinquent, the deviant and the criminal sexual psychopaths from the 1930s onwards. Sexual concerns about mental deficiency and its impact upon Canada as a nation would continue to feature within psy-disciplinary

²² Erica Dyck, *Facing Eugenics: Reproduction, Sterilization and the Politics of Choice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 18-22. See also Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 22.

²³ Dyck, *Facing Eugenics*, 32.

²⁴ El Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 24. Please also note that, in the interest of respect, I will be consistently citing Dr. Chenier as El Chenier (even if the publications used in this thesis appear under their deadname) and using they/them pronouns when referring to them in-text.

pedagogy: open association of mental disability with homosexuality would continue to circulate well into the 1940s.

The history of the mental hygiene movement in the United States and Canada and the interrelated emergence of a pathology of deviancy within expert literature –an unstable category at best, but effectively referring to medical, sexological and psychological sources— is therefore valuable context for this analysis. As Siobhan B. Somerville has noted, previous literary, historical and theoretical works have focused on the emergence of the “homosexual” (defined by same-sex object choice) in contrast with the earlier “inversion” model (understood as a pathological reversal of a binary sex/gender role) between 1880 and 1930, attributing the transformation of these categories to cultural shifts in white, middle-class gender ideologies.²⁵ “Homosexuality” became interrelated with the figures of the pervert, the sex deviant and the criminal sexual psychopath following the end of the Second World War. These three terms were contemporarily and remain historically entangled. In the Canadian case, it is most relevant to note that the term deviant comprised, at the level of public meaning, a wide variety of behaviours and was powerfully associated with criminality and sexual danger.

Extensive medical, sexological and psychological infrastructure formed within Canada in the interest of detecting, targeting and eliminating deviancy. This was initially believed to be detectable in bodies and subsequently in minds, but consistently approached through treatment, education and/or professionalized management.²⁶ Chenier

²⁵ Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 16.

²⁶ See *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, eds. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995).

has exhaustively detailed the adoption of “criminal sexual psychopathy” as a medico-legal and discursive concept in postwar Toronto, noting (via Laura Ann Stoler) that homosexual people were subject to technologies of power creating binaries between normal and abnormal sexuality to construct “internal enemies” during the postwar era.²⁷ The quest for homosexuality’s etiology throughout the entirety of the twentieth century was, in Chenier’s appraisal, a “tactic” of power, not simply an effect of it: the social function of the sex deviant as a broad and pathologized category was to define specific sexual norms and argue for their defence via medical, legal and educational means.

Although professionals in Canada would frequently draw distinctions between deviancy and criminality (Chenier notes specifically that “male homosexuality served as the prime example of the type of sexual practice that was deviant, but not harmful,”) the concept of deviancy was *explicitly pathological during the postwar period*.²⁸ Canadian psy-experts frequently opposed the use of ‘sexual psychopath’ as a catch-all medical diagnosis, but maintained their credence in the idea that one could be pathologically inclined towards aberrant sexual behaviour and their role in correcting it. A diagnosed ‘deviant’ could alternately refer to rapists, pedophiles, exhibitionists and/or homosexuals—effectively anyone who exhibited seemingly uncontrollable or abnormal sexual impulses. As a medically-constructed category, the deviant (like the degenerate) imposed a normal/abnormal binary which effectively reinforced the psy-disciplines’ newly-transferred professional jurisdiction over sex: within this paradigm, a person *was deviant* until suitable measures could ‘cure’ them of their deviancy, coerce/convince them into

²⁷ El Chenier, “The Natural Order of Disorder: Pedophilia, Stranger Danger and the Normalising Family,” *Sexuality & Culture* 16, no. 2 (2012): 182.

²⁸ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 81-83.

behaving according to societal norms or otherwise set them up to be managed by authorities.

Somerville has established, however, that the changes in sexual and gender ideation which led to the construction of homosexuality as a concept and sex deviant as a diagnosis around this time were inextricable from dominant constructions of race in the nineteenth century. She convincingly argues that the “structures and methodologies that drove dominant ideologies of race also fueled the pursuit of knowledge about the homosexual body: both sympathetic and hostile accounts of homosexuality were steeped in assumptions that had driven previous scientific studies of race.”²⁹ An underserved part of the history of the sex deviant, therefore, is the racist cultural ideologies which pervaded the category’s construction. The mental hygiene movement—which, as previously mentioned, was integral to popular and institutional support of psychology in Canada—would arguably transfigure these ideologies in the early twentieth century without threatening the professional authority which they supplied. The continuity of eugenic ideals within psy-disciplinary efforts to ‘rehabilitate’ the abnormal, even as methodology changed, is the single most important piece of context for this research.

Under different circumstances, this project would consider the bleed between these categories in greater detail. It is at least worth noting that the reified figures of the degenerate, the delinquent and the deviant were consistently constructed via similar sexual discourses. Chapman and Withers have observed that the rehabilitative project of postwar psy-experts was *complementary* to the eugenic project in terms of its ties to

²⁹ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 17.

discourses of mental, moral and corporeal normativity.³⁰ The catch-all approach to abnormality which characterized the eugenics movement in the first half of the twentieth century can be observed in psy-experts' efforts to hygienically normalize practically anyone who was not comfortable within established racial, sexual, class and gender hierarchies.

Somerville observes, similarly, three interrelations between global discourses of sexuality and discourses of scientific racism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. First, sexologists frequently reproduced the iconography and comparative physical methodologies of race science and thus literalized a variety of racist assumptions about the somatic detectability of supposed impurity.³¹ This found significant expression in the scientific efforts of the New York-based Committee for the Study of Sex Variants. Beginning in 1935, this interdisciplinary gallery of scientific experts used endocrinological, photographic and psychological tools to determine and define the characterological and physical qualities of 'sex variants' and thereby construct their normal opposites.³² The findings of the committee would have international significance and be found in materials studied in this essay more than a decade later. Secondly, Somerville notes that sexologists frequently invoked eugenic explanations of inherited "degeneracy" to account for the existence of homosexuality. Although Freud and subsequent psychoanalysts would reject this model, it is worth noting that "the beginnings of sexology, then, circulated within and perhaps depended on a pervasive climate of eugenic and anti-miscegenation sentiment and legislation. Even at the level of

³⁰ Chapman & Withers, *A Violent History of Benevolence*, 266-270.

³¹ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 27-28.

³² Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 178.

nomenclature, anxieties about miscegenation shaped sexologists' attempt to find an appropriate and scientific name for the newly visible object of their study."³³ Finally, and most significantly, Somerville observes that even as sexual discourse moved away from biologized explanations of "inversion" or homosexuality, "two tabooed types of desire – interracial and homosexual— became linked in sexological and psychological discourse through the model of "abnormal" sexual object choice."³⁴ Psychological institutionalizations of the colour line would depend upon models which understood "unnatural" desire as "perversion" and expert scrutiny would be justified via perceived pathology *even as* theory moved on to environmental and 'object choice' models.

In the Canadian case, the ideological impact of the CNCMH's social goals would shape later manifestations of psychological authority and epistemology. Even as methods and rhetoric shifted to the environmental prevention of perversion in the 1930s, the overall goal of treating/rehabilitating social pathology remained the same. There was, consequently, an unevenness to the transformation of psychology which played out in the postwar period. This unevenness particularly manifested within pedagogy: although its theory and methods arguably changed after the war, psychology simultaneously continued to reinforce a variety of pre-existent assumptions about marginalized communities and their role in society. This is relatable to the complex coexistence of "minoritizing" and "universalizing," often Freudian models of homosexuality in American culture that has noted by Eve Sedgwick.³⁵ The "normalizing activity" which Canadian psychologists (along with their psychoanalytic and psychiatric counterparts)

³³ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 31.

³⁴ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 34.

³⁵ Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 44-48; 86-87 (via Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 20-21).

engaged in to convincingly define a stable postwar Canadian family depended upon the comparison, differentiation, hierarchization, homogenization and exclusion of certain behaviours and mindsets –the “technologies of normalcy” already described.³⁶ The fact that these excluded behaviours and mindsets were frequently described by psy-experts as “primitive” was not coincidental: the teleological model of human social development which institutions like the CNCMH rallied around would have enduring impact, even within psychological theories which eschewed notions of inherent racial difference. Psychoanalysis, as a distinctly environmentally-focused set of methods, exemplifies how this eugenically-inspired perspective continued to pervade environmentalist discourse on sexuality.

There has been a historiographical tendency to, in light of its emancipatory potential, consider the endemic racism, ableism, misogyny and queerphobia within psychoanalysis the product of 1) its eugenic roots or 2) the individual enculturation of psychoanalysts themselves.³⁷ The racism present within classical psychoanalysis, for example, has frequently been minimized through comparison with contemporary biologized race science. Freud held universalized ideas about homosexuality which would compete with and partially undermine physiological sexology in America, but simultaneously accepted and integrated ‘primitivity’ models and anxieties about cultural degeneration into his theorization. Both Richard von Krafft-Ebbing’s sexological view of sexual psychopathy as a hereditary predilection and Sigmund Freud’s environmental theories concerning psychosexual immaturity positioned homosexuality and other

³⁶ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 80-81.

³⁷ Benjamin Kelsey Kears, “Etiology Replaces Interminability: A Historiographical Analysis of the Mental Hygiene Movement,” *American Educational History Journal* 41, no. 1 (2014), np.

perversions as regressions to primitivity and “threats to cultural progress” in urbanized, European countries.³⁸ These anxieties would be employed by a *variety* of mental health professionals to define and defend white supremacist structures within colonial modernism, entrenching white, middle-class, heterosexual norms as indicative of mental ‘health’ and imperative for the continued survival of the nation in postwar Canada. Particularly notable within these local deployments of Freud is the concept of sublimation, which contemporarily presented the redirection of societally unacceptable impulses and/or the libido towards societally-useful pursuits as a marker of health and psychological adjustment.

Although it is important to note the historical impact of the CNCMH and 1930s psychology upon postwar psy-discourse in Canada, the vast array of individuals interpreting international theorization about sex from the 1940s-1970s did not simply *conform* to these ideas, they *perpetuated* and *transfigured* them into newly relevant and convincing forms. Generations of psy-practitioners would historically encounter these anxieties within the context of their training and employ them to justify their professional work in the United States and Canada. Education, therefore, becomes a site of scrutiny for the transmission of the racist and oppressive systems of thought which prefigured, constructed and reinforced contemporary sex discourse.

The content and quality of post-secondary education in psychology was an observable point of concern for Canadian practitioners in the late 1940s and early 1950s. This would notably manifest in the controversial MacLeod report, a Social Science

³⁸ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 61-62.

Research Council of Canada (SSRCC)-commissioned survey of “the state of the discipline of psychology in the country” which began in 1952 and was published in 1955.³⁹ Robert MacLeod, a former chair of psychology at McGill, observed that there were significant divisions between *academic* and *professional* psychology in Canada. Pointing to vast divergence among academic psychologists opining about the nature of the discipline and its value, MacLeod argued that the state of psychological education in Canada was vastly inadequate and that “leading academic psychologists should meet to consider the future development of psychology as a science and the development of graduate training programs.”⁴⁰ MacLeod’s comments would reportedly influence the postwar mandate of the Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) and lead to a number of significant discussions among its membership concerning certification, graduate training and ethics throughout the 1950s.⁴¹ Scientific and applied psychology reportedly became divided during the subsequent decade due to the postwar dearth of resources: funding, particularly, is recalled as a scarce resource and was applied to encourage scientific research over practical applications.⁴² After the report, the rebuilding and expanding universities, notably including UT, reportedly strategized around attracting a prestigious research faculty, funding scientific approaches and encouraging publication to increase their international profile.⁴³

Despite this divide, which has often emphasized by disciplinary-insider histories of psychology in Canada, applied psychology and the “premature professionalization”

³⁹ John Conway, *A Chronicle of the Activities of the Canadian Psychological Association, 1938-2000* (online publication: Canadian Psychological Association, 2010), 21.

⁴⁰ Conway, “Chronicle,” 22.

⁴¹ Conway, “Chronicle,” 25-29.

⁴² Conway “Chronicle,” 24.

⁴³ Conway “Chronicle,” 23.

that MacLeod was concerned about continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Psychologists and psychiatrists would continue to separate themselves from “lay persons and volunteers” throughout the postwar period and acquire significant social, cultural and ideological importance in Canada.⁴⁴ Psychologist-historians have posited that there are too-frequently “malevolent interpretations” of professionalization and argued that there “was no Machiavellian plot on the part of the academic establishment” between 1955-1965. This position ignores the contemporary prominence and rehabilitative tenor of professional psychology cannot be erased by retrospective assertions about contemporary academia having a “genuine search for identity.”⁴⁵

It would be simplistic, however, to suggest that psychologists (and other experts) across the globe did not critically engage with theorization about deviancy and sexuality in the postwar period. Evelyn Hooker, a distinguished psychologist operating out of California, historically presented a landmark study entitled “The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual” to the American Psychological Association in 1956. Hooker’s study applied various psychological protocols used at the time to evaluate psychological adjustment between selected homosexual and heterosexual groups, finding no difference between the two. This study is allegedly “the first to empirically test the assumption that gay men were mentally unhealthy and maladjusted” and is frequently held to have been one of the causes of the 1973 removal of homosexuality (though not ‘ego-dystonic homosexuality’) from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders

⁴⁴ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 20. See also: Conway, “Chronicle,” 22.

⁴⁵ David Bélanger, “The Structuring of Canadian Psychology: Honni soit qui mal y pense!” *Canadian Psychology* 33, no. 4 (1992): 710.

(DSM).⁴⁶ Alfred Kinsey, similarly, issued perhaps the most infamous challenge to psychoanalytic models of sexual normalcy through his research team's two reports, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson would (in conversation with Kinsey) begin conducting physiological and psychological measurements of sex itself within a laboratory setting in 1957. Each of these thinkers' work has been recalled as influential turning points in psy-disciplinary theorization about sex and any research conducted on the history of sexuality must consider their epistemological and social impact.

Simultaneously the professional application of psychological research to the task of 'rehabilitating' homosexuals, criminals and other marginalized groups continued long after the publication of these works. The Masters and Johnson Institute conducted a conversion therapy program from 1968-1977, reporting a 71.6% success rate *after* the DSM change.⁴⁷ Frank Robert Wake, a professor at the newly-founded Carleton University and the originator of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's 'Fruit Machine' project (which employed pseudoscientific, biological measurement in an attempt to identify homosexuals in civil service) was notably in contact with Masters and Johnson, the Kinsey institute and Evelyn Hooker during the early 1960s. Patrizia Gentile and Gary Kinsman note that "Hooker's liberal psychological approach, and that of others whose basic objective was to disprove the...psychological theory that gay men were mentally ill, does not seem to have influenced Wake, except in so far as he described his wish to

⁴⁶ "Being Gay Is Just as Healthy as Being Straight," American Psychological Association, May 28, 2003, <https://www.apa.org/research/action/gay>

⁴⁷ Mark F. Schwartz & William H. Masters, "The Masters and Johnson Treatment Program for Dissatisfied Homosexual Men," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 141, no. 2 (1984): 173.

remain in contact with them.”⁴⁸ Even more liberally-inclined psy-professionals like the staff at the TPHFC did not substantially deviate from the professional niche they had established as managers of Canadian society’s sexual deviants. The TPHFC was notably founded in 1956, the same year that Hooker’s challenge to some of its initial precepts was presented to the APA.

It is essential to note that professional psychology also continued to have palpable impact on students’ education and the content of academic curricula in Canada, even after the MacLeod report. The TPHFC specifically operated in the period following the MacLeod report and was structured as a teaching clinic in conjunction with UT’s medical school and psychology/social work programs. Wake and Carleton’s faculty were frequently involved in civil service and military contracts. Gentile and Kinsman have identified seventeen members of Carleton’s psychology department who worked for military and state institutions between 1950 and 1964 –a sizeable number which demonstrates the interrelation of the academic sector and contemporary national security projects.⁴⁹ The priorities of these faculty members and the prospects they modelled for their students undoubtedly shaped the education they provided: the contemporary entanglement of national security concerns with sexual anxieties played out pedagogically, as well as professionally.

The involvement of sites like the TPHFC in clinical education for psychiatrists *and* psychologists at the very least shows that the distinction between professional and academic psychology was contemporarily permeable at UT in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁴⁸ Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 174.

⁴⁹ Kinsman & Gentile, *Canadian War on Queers*, 173-174.

Wake and his colleagues' work is similarly positioned, hinting that the MacLeod report had minimal impact in terms of tempering psychology's declarations about sexuality. To frame histories considering the social outcomes of psychological professionalization at this time as conspiracy theories misses the point: the internal inconsistencies and biases of a vast profession claiming overriding, authoritative and scientific insight into human minds has done, and continues to do, enormous harm.

The motivations of contemporary psy-experts are not entirely irrelevant, however. In 2017, Dagmar Herzog advanced a simple and invaluable line of questioning for historians attempting to understand the inconsistencies within contemporary theory. Expressing an interest in the historical “durability” of homophobia in psychoanalytic circles, she set out to explore the “impact of historical conditions –and psychoanalysts’ eagerness for cultural relevance– on the content of psychoanalytic theory.”⁵⁰ Her text, *Cold War Freud*, investigates the conditions of the “golden age” of United States psychoanalysis, historicizing contemporary psychoanalytic theory (which was a widely-accepted account of sexual development) by relating it to social and material circumstances.⁵¹ Drawing on examples of disavowal between psychoanalysts, sexologists and activists, Herzog argues that homophobic bias became a point of “remarkable accord” within the factional and at times theoretically-incoherent field of psychoanalysis because it enabled psychoanalysts to competitively and profitably ally themselves with

⁵⁰ Dagmar Herzog, *Cold War Freud* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 56.

⁵¹ Herzog, drawing from Yale Kramer’s “Freud and the Culture Wars,” dates the golden age of psychoanalysis at 1949-1969 and connects it to a period of largely-unchallenged psychological authority which would be brought to an end by feminist/gay rights movement activism. The golden age is a useful periodization in that it enables us to understand the development of 2SLGBTQ+ communities’ resistance to being ‘talked over’ in this way within public and scholarly forums.

the societal status quo.⁵² The text provides a skeptical, well-researched account of how contemporary avenues of material and social success had direct and lasting influence on theory and praxis –in short, looking into how psychoanalysis, as a discipline, helped create, debate, maintain and entrench certain profitable ideas about the human mind.

Herzog's work develops two key insights concerning the development of psychoanalysis in what she refers to as the Cold War period. First and foremost, *Cold War Freud* observes that psychoanalytic theory was highly, even individually, interpretable and circumstantial (to the point that "one could say that there was not one Freud circulating in the course of the Cold War era, and not even only a dozen, but rather hundreds").⁵³ By putting the *rigour* and *application* of the theoretical project into question throughout her text, Herzog challenges the endemic historiographical tendency to portray the racism, queerphobia, ableism and misogyny of psychoanalysts (and psy-experts more broadly) as the individual excesses of well-meaning quacks. Theoretical justifications of medical brutality and social discrimination are, instead, shown to be connected to interdisciplinary and intradisciplinary competition over financial success and cultural relevance. Chief among these vague, but profitable, ideas were contemporary definitions of sexual deviancy employed to police, pathologize and silence already-marginalized communities in the United States. Herzog's destabilization of the belief that oppressive praxes were *misinterpretations* of theory (or the sole responsibility of individuals) is valuable because it directs attention to the systemic problems of scholarly/medical inquiry itself at this point in time: the intellectual marginalization of

⁵² Herzog, *Cold War Freud*, 62-67.

⁵³ Herzog, *Cold War Freud*, 7.

QTBIPoC communities had significant consequences upon the content of psychoanalytic theory itself.⁵⁴

The professional currency of a variety of sexual deviancy narratives also demonstrates Herzog's second insight: circumstantially-profitable ideas became theoretically *entrenched* and widely-accepted, taking on the *appearance* of knowledge and becoming integral components of psychoanalysis and its approach despite their own inconsistency. Deviancy is, perhaps, the most notable example of a psychoanalytical concept generated and *sustained* by competition. The emergence of a profession-wide, medicalized contempt for any relation which differed from a white, middle-class, heterosexual marriage –as well as the production of the supporting pathologies— was, according to Herzog, generated by cultural competition with Alfred Kinsey's landmark *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* and religious authorities' own claims about sex.⁵⁵ This entrenchment is corroborated by further research conducted in 2020 by Katie Sutton, who builds on Herzog's observations. Both researchers observe that “the ‘golden age’ of US psychoanalytic dominance from the 1950s through to the early 1960s coincided with the closing down of the more progressive and radical elements of pre-war analytic thought.”⁵⁶ Sexual deviancy has thus been used by Herzog and her peers to evaluate how biased assertions became integral components of disciplinary systems of thought within the context of scholarly debate and theorization –that is to say, how theoretical

⁵⁴ QTBIPoC, as an acronym, refers to queer, trans, Black, Indigenous and people of colour. The term will be used in this thesis to highlight the interrelated nature of oppressive axes and refer to the broad categories of people caught within them (and particularly when highlighting how queer and trans oppression has disproportionately impacted racialized people across time).

⁵⁵ Herzog, *Cold War Freud*, 56 – 62; 67.

⁵⁶ Katie Sutton, “Kinsey and the Psychoanalysts: Cross-disciplinary Knowledge Production in Post-war Sex Research,” *History of the Human Sciences* (Online release, May 2020): 14.

justifications of marginalization and abuse were deemed sufficiently true to be professionally enshrined as knowledge, while radical, emancipatory critiques were consistently dismissed.

Less attention has been paid to how such ideas were made, materially and socially, to publicly *appear* as knowledge across time. Bruce Curtis' post-Kantian reflexive historical sociology is useful in considering this facet of the issue, as it draws attention to the maintenance of such appearances and "tracks what passes for knowledge at any given moment, attends to its characteristic forms and to the ways in which it is made stable, self-evident...examines practices of knowledge production and attends to the deployment of knowledge in social relations."⁵⁷ Curtis applies this sociology specifically to schools, historicizing the communicative and *pedagogical* expression and reinforcement of knowledge at various moments in Québec's history.

Curtis' approach is vital to this thesis' research because it enables questioning of the material and social conditions under which generations of professionals and psy-experts specifically were educated. The university is *necessarily* a major material and social locus for deviancy discourse and a site where ideology would become, intergenerationally and pedagogically, stabilized as enduring knowledge. As enclaves for researchers and sites of accreditation, universities consistently strove to demonstrate the 'self-evident' nature of sexual discourse and their own efficacy in determining the 'truth' of homosexual bodies and minds. At the very least, they played a role in the public dissemination of this knowledge –but his method suggests far greater contributions.

⁵⁷ Bruce Curtis, *Ruling by Schooling Quebec: Conquest to Liberal Governmentality –A Historical Sociology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 4.

Curtis' refusal to accept the common assumption that knowledge is, by itself, convincing and self-evident for any given student allows us to direct meaningful attention to how schools sought to *prove* the validity and utility of psy-disciplinary assertions about sex.

In light of Herzog and Curtis' skepticism, this thesis has attempted to account for both discursive trends and individual, authorial agency in the production of pedagogical materials on homosexuality. It will focus specifically on psy-disciplinary pedagogy at UT in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War (1945-1955), taking the publication of the MacLeod report as a point where variable pedagogical assertions about psy-disciplines' societal value began to shift in a limited fashion. It will still, however, consider the long-term ideological impact of this period's rehabilitation rhetoric, analyzing the impact of prevalent, psy-disciplinary assumptions on Canadian society as late as 1975. Textbooks, particularly, are considered using comparative reading and intertextual analysis strategies inspired by critical hermeneutics, a methodology with significant precedent in the investigation of class materials' discursive impact. Critical hermeneutics is frequently valued within research because of its capacity to substantiate complex relationships between individual motivation, institutional legitimation and accepted social norms.⁵⁸ In this case, this approach has been used to consider textbooks' individual contents and authorship while simultaneously considering broader trends and their readership, situating them within the authority exerted by the academic sector at this time. The university is particularly thought of as a material and social environment which enabled psy-disciplinary claims about homosexuality within textbooks to appear

⁵⁸ Jeffrey Stambaugh and Christine Trank, "Not So Simple: Integrating New Research into Textbooks," *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 9, no. 4 (2010): 664. See also Foster et al. (2014) and Byrne (2000).

harmonious with other disciplinary and anecdotal accounts, creating an appearance of concerted and seemingly self-evident, ‘scientific’ knowledge.

The capacity of contemporary experts to *convince* students and the broader public of the rehabilitative ideals described by Chapman and Withers is a focus of this research as a result. Evidence of student engagement with psy-discourse on homosexuality is frequently considered in light of the ideological systems attached to rehabilitative rhetoric, along with the long-term effects of these ideals’ acceptance. University education is viewed as a point of exposure to racist, queerphobic and ableist assumptions about human worth which were inadequately challenged by any paradigmatic shifts occurring in academia during the postwar period. Rather than assuming that deviancy discourse was accurately representative of reality or convincing, accounts of deviant people are viewed as exercises of power which specifically defined queer experiences by leveraging the silence imposed by incarceration, social isolation and hegemonic medical authority. Beyond their promulgation of limited, pathological language which erased varieties of human sexuality and gender under the *diagnosis* of homosexuality, psy-experts are shown to have worked to ensure that their account was the most current and prevalent voice on these topics at the time by employing rhetorical strategies and meeting public demands. Psy-disciplinary accounts are viewed in this thesis as cultural artifacts which had *overriding authority* over other forms of knowledge, enduringly shaping how middle-class Canadians interpreted sexual and gender experiences in their own lives.

When I began this project, I hoped to examine the ideological connections between eugenic degeneracy rhetoric and the concept of the sex deviant as it emerged in Canada by investigating universities as sites where eugenic education lingered and fears

concerning a degrading bio-social order were continuously generated. I intended to investigate the undergraduate and medical training offered within institutions like UT by examining their textbooks at length and considering how institutions' use of a specific text contributed to its local credibility and appearance as scientifically rigorous. I also initially set out to contextualize this analysis with educational documentation drawn from both the Canadian Association for Mental Health (CAMH)'s archives and UT's special collections. While elements of this approach remain within this thesis –notably its attention to the capacity of textbooks to provide a concerted and seemingly self-evident account of sexual deviancy and the earlier proposal's critical engagement with racism within sexual and rehabilitative discourse — the conditions imposed by the global COVID-19 pandemic have introduced significant limitations to the project. In the absence of accessible archives, I have been notably unable to acquire any correspondence, lecture notes or documentation providing a closer look into the communications between faculty and students. Without this context, my ability to ascertain how changes in deviancy theorization were accepted by faculty and became integrated into pedagogy over time is significantly limited: the internal deliberations of UT's staff over the course of the postwar period remain opaque.

In terms of operationalization, I have come to rely primarily upon pedagogy-focused publications in Canadian psy-disciplinary journals to historicize the education conducted at UT during the postwar period. This is a significant limitation for the research because, as Kenneth Lewes observed in 1980, "Much of the formation of psychoanalytic theory and technique takes place informally...these exchanges take place among analysts and are not intended for the ears of laymen. Official, published analytic

pronouncements, then, can be quite distinct from more complex ideas still undergoing final formulation.”⁵⁹ The same can be said for education: without archives, I am far less able to investigate the individual interactions taking place within the classroom or on campus. Although, as Lewes notes, “the real history [sic] of psychoanalytic ideas can therefore never be written using only published sources,” the pedagogical surveys and commentary which this thesis investigates is at least useful in understanding how contemporaries publicly understood and wrote about education and student engagement. Student newspapers, retrospectives and limited correspondence within activist organizations like the University of Toronto Homophile Association (UTHA) are also considered in order to investigate how psy-authority and the associated ideologies became integrated into the social fabric of the university.

I have most notably sought out the textbooks employed within UT’s psychology, psychiatry, medicine and education programs. Textbooks were selected primarily through two criteria. I first established their use at UT as reference material, indicated by contemporary academic calendars which included textbooks in their course and program descriptions throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s prior to formatting changes. Once I had acquired a list of titles, I proceeded to use the textual search function of the Google Books engine to determine which textbooks explicitly included a variety of consequential terms (“Race”, “Sex”, “Homosexual”, “Degenerate”, “Deviant”, “Kinsey”, “Psychopath”, “Feeble-minded” and specific racial terms like “Negro” and “Indian” were included in this

⁵⁹ Kenneth Lewes, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 18.

list). Most textbooks I had uncovered by this point were available for fragmentary ‘snippet’ viewing through this engine, although some remained inaccessible in this way.

By looking for these terms within the multi-curricular body of textbooks recorded in the course calendars, I intentionally sought out sources where terminology and pathologies of race and sexuality would be made available to students. The limitations of the course calendars’ documentation of textbooks, Google Books and my own textual search criteria should be noted. With these taken into account, I have uncovered a set of 9 textbooks which were all in use at UT in 1949-1950 and, notably, all reference homosexuality. While this thesis focuses on a variety of events and publication dating from 1949 to 1975, these textbooks are the best example of psy-disciplinary pedagogy at the start of the postwar period that I could uncover under current conditions. I have, consequently, eschewed including this date range in my title: with the sources available, I can reliably substantiate the presence of these textbooks at UT, as well as similar narratives in Canadian activism at later dates, but my work is limited in terms of tracking change or development over time. I have, instead, elected to track how a specific way of thinking continued over this period. These textbooks are additionally valuable because they predate the MacLeod report, enabling a closer look at the inconsistency of discursive positions among faculty in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

This thesis is organized into three thematic chapters. Chapter 1 considers the content and authorship of the 9 textbooks employed at UT during the 1949-1950 academic year through critical hermeneutic and intertextual analysis. Given my limitations, these are the only textbooks and year I am able to reliably and effectively examine. The chapter begins by analyzing a postwar survey of introductory psychology

courses in Canada, using its contents to consider the integration of psychology into a variety of other programs at UT. It subsequently analyzes discursive trends among psychological, psychiatric and educational textbooks employed at UT at this time, outlining the pervasive presentation of a homosexual menace within the context of the university. It also analyzes a particularly prominent textbook written by a Canadian psychiatrist and a Canadian psychologist, *Personality and Its Deviations*, demonstrating the rhetorical and intertextual strategies employed by psy-experts while presenting a homogenized and seemingly-consistent image of scientific knowledge about homosexual people.

In Chapter 2, the clinical education offered at UT and the pedagogical influence of the TPHFC are considered at length. The chapter pays special attention to how students would encounter the TPHFC during their clinical education and its impact upon them. The chapter also employs visualization techniques to develop a flowchart of the TPHFC's intake procedures, based on the clinical staff's published description of their priorities during this process. This research considers how the clinical education offered by the TPHFC legitimated its own theoretical foundations and several discriminatory, rehabilitative assumptions for the generations of students trained at UT.

Chapter 3 considers the ideological impact of UT's promulgation of psy-knowledge within 1960s activist groups, notably UTHA. Drawing from Dian Million's *Therapeutic Nations*, I will argue that the creation of a liberal, white, middle-class ethos following the end of the Second World War relied heavily on university education and the idea of 'objective' psy-disciplinary insight into marginalized communities. Activist circles which involved UT students and were connected to the university, most notably

UTHA and the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT), would internalize racist and ableist assumptions, replicating rehabilitative and modernist assumptions in their early organizing.

Psy-disciplinary histories within Canada have frequently noted, almost in passing, the affiliation of major sexual researchers with local universities, as have theoretical projects tracking the development of sexuality as a concept in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The material and social conditions of the university –its financial support, its social capacity to determine truth, its recognition of methods and interpretations’ validity— enabled the creation of an authoritative, seemingly-rigorous and *convincingly* ‘scientific’ façade despite the internal inconsistency and variability of experts’ claims about homosexual people. Institutions like UT were local sources of this façade and entrenched these declarative assertions within public and professional pedagogies to the detriment of marginalized communities in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 1: Pedagogical Priorities and the ‘Textbook’ Image of the Deviant at UT, 1949-1950

Although historical research has considered the cultural impact of postwar psychoanalysts via self-help books, newspaper articles, lectures, public appointments and school clinics, few scholars have directed meaningful attention to the material and social conditions under which generations of mostly white middle-class students—including psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers—were themselves educated. The university, as a source of training, research, conferences, networking, publication and access to literature, constitutes as a major public locus for deviancy discourse following the end of the Second World War. As enclaves for researchers and sites of accreditation and training, universities were arguably where an intergenerational, pedagogical stabilization of biased discourse’s appearance as self-evident knowledge occurred. Curtis and Herzog’s historiographical perspectives validate directing specific attention to how new practitioners were increasingly exposed to deviancy narratives, convinced of their medical utility, despite the general variability of such theories. This exposure demonstrably led to re-iterate and defend them in future debates. Academic infrastructure (which rapidly expanded in Canada following the end of the Second World War) was an exceptionally prevalent medium for the legitimization, spread and perpetuation of psy-disciplines’ many durable biases.

To historicize the role of the academic sector in solidifying sexual discourse, we must investigate both the initial variability of sexual deviancy narratives communicated in scholarly forums and the efforts made to make them appear convincingly informed and broadly useful. This chapter will, as a result, first contextualize course’s contents by

looking at documented patterns in introductory psychology courses at Canadian universities in the late 1940s. It will then establish that there was a multiplicity of disparate definitions and interpretations of homosexuality circulating within Canadian university circles at this time. It will subsequently consider the similarities and differences of these ideas by comparatively analyzing several textbooks which explicitly reference homosexuality and were employed in teaching at the University of Toronto in 1949. The chapter will then direct specific attention to how texts of this kind, as well as the accompanying instruction, homogenized disparate accounts to present declarative, empowered assertions as knowledge for the public. The prevalence of these assertions within a variety of curricula at UT demonstrates an emergent, concerted image of homosexuality on university campuses which, combined with intertextual erasures and homogenization, encouraged engagement and helped insulate pedagogy from contravening narratives and dissent from marginalized communities for decades.

Introductory Psychology Courses

Courses are a vital source for considering the university's capacity to promote specific pedagogical assertions about marginalized communities in this way. Despite this importance, they remain challenging because the professional detection, study and treatment of homosexuality was a decidedly cross-disciplinary affair by the end of the 1940s. Teachers, social workers, nurses, sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists, as well as 'intelligent' and 'well-educated' parents, all possessed a role in the reinforcement of sexual norms. Most notably, an increasing, interdisciplinary interest in psychology and its professional applicability would enable a variety of claims about the psy-disciplines' social value to manifest within course material in the years leading up to the MacLeod

report. UT, notably, integrated introductory psychology courses into a wide variety of curricula from a comparatively early date; as it was an established center of mental hygiene discourse and research, courses at UT in the immediate postwar are particularly representative of the sweeping, variable claims about applied psychology which MacLeod would condemn in 1955.

The MacLeod report was not, however, the earliest indication that psychologists in Canada were concerned about the quality and content of post-secondary education in their field. One can observe in the case of Roy B. Liddy and Leola Ellen Neal, two prominent psychology professors operating out of Western university, that Canadian psychologists made significant attempts to understand national trends in education in the late 1940s. Liddy was the founding president of the CPA, a psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario between 1931-1954 and a frequently published source of intradisciplinary commentary. He weighed in extensively on academic matters throughout his career and would go on to publicly support MacLeod's conclusions about a premature and dangerous focus on professional training among Canadian university programs.¹

Leola Ellen Neal was highly representative of Canadian education in psychology by virtue of her own background. Having been trained exclusively in Canada. Dr. Neal completed everything from high school to her M.A. in London, followed by a PhD and several fellowships at the University of Toronto. Beyond this, her role as Assistant Professor of Psychology and Dean of Women at Western in 1946 demonstrates an

¹ Robert B. Liddy, "The MacLeod Report on Canadian Psychology," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 9, no. 3 (1955): 145.

investment in the practice and teaching of psychology in her home country. To this end, Liddy and Neal would present a paper evaluating how universities across Canada were formulating and conducting their introductory courses in psychology by 1947 –two months prior to the publication of *Personality and Its Deviations*, one of the textbooks considered in this chapter.

In 1947, Liddy and Neal conducted a survey of introductory psychology courses across Canada, acquiring data via a questionnaire submitted to all B.A. granting institutions in the country (a list comprising 25 universities, 19 of which replied). Motivated by a postwar push among teaching staff “to examine the types and quality of their instruction, to study the content of their courses, and to give renewed attention to the aims of higher education,” the two professors investigated the number of introductory psychology courses offered at each institution, their length, how many students took them, whether those students were in Arts programs or not, the teaching methods employed, the textbooks in use and, finally, what both teachers *and* students thought of the courses’ contents.²

The survey found that most courses were built around the assignment of one textbook in its entirety, with only three institutions prescribing more than one text. A list comprising 9 used textbooks was provided.³ The authors note that “Woodworth and

² R.B. Liddy, L.E. Neal, “The First Course in Psychology in Canadian Universities,” *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1947): 61-62.

³ Liddy and Neal particularly note that “among those used are: Bernhardt, *Elementary Psychology*; Boring, Langfeld and Weld, *Introduction to Psychology*; Bridges, *Psychology, Normal and Abnormal*; Dashiell, *Fundamentals of General Psychology*; Klineberg, *Social Psychology*; Munn, *Psychology*; Murphy, *General Psychology*; Ruch, *Psychology and Life*; Woodworth, *Psychology*.” (Liddy & Neal, 63). Ruch and Munn’s texts are notably present at UT during the 1949-1950 school year and are analyzed below. The only two textbooks in this list which could be evaluated for relevance using keyword searches were Klineberg and Woodworths’ works which (while potentially relevant given Klineberg’s profound involvement with

Munn are the most commonly used, each being preferred by four institutions...In nine out of thirteen universities, the entire text is prescribed.”⁴

Liddy and Neal also noted that their peers frequently stated that the single-textbook treatment was “not entirely satisfactory” due to the overemphasis of specific topics and the omission of others.⁵ The nervous system, sense perception, animal experiments and mental tests were considered overemphasized in Canada to the detriment of topics including statistical analysis and, more notably, heredity and development. This dissatisfaction was accompanied by an outpouring of opinions concerning what should be granted more consideration. This included “learning, reasoning, productive thinking, history of psychology, effective attending, growth and development of the personality, normal adjustment without becoming sidetracked into abnormal psychology, certain phases of applied psychology, mental hygiene with reference to the psychoanalytic method and its results.”⁶

There is, therefore, at least one instance of postwar faculty across Canada opining, *en masse*, that productivity, normal adjustment and mental hygiene did not receive enough attention. This prefigures the intensification and popularity of the ideologies described by Chenier and illustrates the role educators played in the shaping of local discourse following the end of the Second World War. Professors teaching psychology across Canada in this period were often aware of their role in developing a variety of students’ understandings and attitudes towards psychology and particularly its

contemporary anti-racist critiques of psychometrics) were not apparently in use at UT and consequently fall outside the scope of this thesis.

⁴ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 63.

⁵ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 63.

⁶ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 62-66.

insight/utility in societal matters. The professed interest in emphasizing productivity, normality and mental hygiene demonstrates that, for some at least, psychology's capacity to encourage supposedly desirable qualities was pressing enough to be a point of curricular emphasis. The fact that this paper was read at an early annual meeting of the CPA also shows early discussions among its membership would influence the standardization of national education in the field and specifically concerned this rhetoric. The MacLeod report's objections would explicitly challenge psychology courses' application-focused "emphasis on hasty techniques for manipulating our fellow men" in favour of recognizing psychology's value in a liberal arts education as described by Liddy himself in 1955.⁷

The survey also provides an indication of both students and instructors' engagement with these courses, including their reasons for taking them in 1947. Faculties across Canada were first asked to provide their opinion of what an instructor's "chief objective" should be when running an introductory course. A variety of responses were grouped into four options: (1) To understand what psychology is; (2) To develop a sound point of view toward the study of human affairs; (3) To lay the basis for further study; (4) To show the pertinence of valid psychological knowledge to everyday practical affairs."⁸ Liddy and Neal then submitted a list of objectives drawn from the priorities emphasized at Western and asked them to rank the objectives in order of importance. These were "(1) To develop habits of critical thinking about psychological problems as they arise in everyday experience; (2) To help students in making more satisfying social and personal

⁷ Liddy, "The MacLeod Report," 145.

⁸ Liddy & Neal, "First Course," 64.

adjustments. (3) To prepare students for more advanced courses in psychology; (4) To teach the facts and principles of psychology.”⁹ The students reportedly ranked the second option as the most important and the third as the least, demonstrating that they, too, had a marked interest in psychology’s capacity to help them avoid maladjustment and prioritized it over any continued development of their own psychological expertise.¹⁰ If one accepts these findings as illustrative of student opinions at the time, *introductory* psychological knowledge was important to the majority of students enrolled in these courses –something which only further emphasizes the influence of the introductory textbooks considered in this chapter.

UT was recognized as somewhat unique among the universities surveyed. The article noted that, at UT, “introductory courses in psychology are provided for some, if not all, students in practically every faculty, including those who are more strictly professional such as Engineering, Medicine, Law and Home Economics.”¹¹ Psychology courses were not obligatory, but were integrated into a variety of programs and disciplines at the university –a fact corroborated by their presence in the 1949 course calendars for the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, Engineering, Household Sciences, the Ontario College of Education and the School of Physical Health and Education. This integration demonstrates an institutional acknowledgement not only of psychology’s validity, but of its value in virtually all human affairs throughout the decade following the end of the Second World War. UT’s students were, once again, distinctly impacted by

⁹ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 64-65.

¹⁰ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 64-66.

¹¹ Liddy & Neal, “First Course,” 62.

this practice and the institution's established recognition of psychology as a newly essential way of understanding the world.

Liddy and Neal's survey indicates that there was 1) significant and growing interest in topics related to contemporary discourse on deviancy and homosexuality on the part of instructors and 2) an interest in psychology's personal utility among students. To connect this insight to the rest of this chapter, an observed interest in personal *and* societal applications could be indicative of widespread engagement with material which would include declarative statements about sexual regulation's value. Although other topics were (according to faculty) "overemphasized," there is some indication of interest which would render discussions of sexuality far more likely.

Textbooks Referencing Homosexuality

The variability and incoherence of postwar psychoanalytic theorization on homosexuality has been well-noted, even within sympathetic disciplinary histories created by psychoanalysts themselves. Kenneth Lewes' work is a prominent example of this: his 1988 book, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality*, traces a landmark history of psychoanalytic publications on the topic and frequently notes the insularity, non-objectivity and internal inconsistency of the associated theories. Lewes contextualizes this phenomenon by observing "a freedom on the part of some analysts to engage in rather sadistic abuse and ridicule at the expense of their homosexual patients" springing from an increasingly common disciplinary tendency to publish descriptions of the character traits of the "typical homosexual" and the internally-incoherent "grafting" of an "interest in preoedipal development, a shift in understanding of the idea of

narcissism, and a new conceptualization of the perversions” onto classical theorization.¹² Although classical theorization continued—a subset of theory Lewes defends as emancipatory and compassionate, despite its many flaws—moralistic contempt for sexual deviancy became, consequently, “the major tradition in psychoanalytic discourse on homosexuality, or at least its most audible voice” after the Second World War.¹³ This perspective matches Herzog, Terry and others’ far more skeptical accounts of the various psy-disciplines: most historians have noted that any theoretical weakness within psychoanalysis’ “most audible” voice was not substantially challenged by contemporary peers.

Canadian universities’ contributions to the local ‘audibility’ of this voice are the interest of this thesis. Lewes has noted that “Much of the formation of psychoanalytic theory and technique takes place informally, at analytic conferences and symposia or even more privately in supervision,” arguing that any history of publications cannot approach “what analysts have actually thought,” only what they published.¹⁴ This chapter does not separate itself from this issue, but the intertextual and discursive patterns shared between texts are still relevant in considering how their credibility was created and preserved at sites like UT. The presentation of a seemingly *self-evident* ‘knowledge’ about homosexuality by the psy-disciplines would have socially and materially relied on their capacity to make those claims pervasive and seemingly concordant. The similarities and patterns within education on the topic, therefore, are just as relevant as the disparity and bias historians have frequently remarked upon.

¹² Lewes, *Theory of Male Homosexuality*, 97; 173.

¹³ Lewes, *Theory of Male Homosexuality*, 118.

¹⁴ Lewes, *Theory of Male Homosexuality*, 18.

This is where critical hermeneutics, and critical discourse analysis specifically, come in. This methodology has significant precedent in the investigation of textbooks' discursive impact in a variety of disciplines and has been largely used to substantiate the complex relationships which exist between individual motivation, cultural or institutional *legitimation* and broader social discourse.¹⁵ In this case, critical hermeneutics enables a greater consideration of textbooks' contents, authorship and readership while simultaneously situating them within the cultural and intellectual authority exerted by the university. By applying this lens to discursive *patterns* within textbooks in use at the University of Toronto prior to the publication of the MacLeod report, one can consider the variability of interpretations *as well as* shared biases. What patterns of thought or ideas did the university treat as current, useful and worthy of reinforcing in their students when it came to 'deviancy'? What rhetorical strategies were employed to invest those ideas with credibility or relevance? How would they impact students who would observably defend them decades later? Although one should be wary of considering classrooms as one-sided spaces of knowledge acquisition, instead of debate or the creation of individual relationships to theory, the contents of textbooks and the discursive patterns shared across them can provide a glimpse of the education taking place at this time.

The most consistent discursive pattern shared across the textbooks is the presentation of sublimation as a key factor in not only personal mental health, but also the success of 'civilization,' contemporarily Eurocentrically defined within the psy-

¹⁵ Jeffrey Stambaugh and Christine Trank, "Not So Simple: Integrating New Research into Textbooks," *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 9, no. 4 (2010): 664. See also Foster et al. (2014) and Byrne (2000).

disciplines and connected to racist binaries. Sublimation is an integral component of classical, Freudian psychoanalytic theory and refers to transformation of libido and/or societally unacceptable impulses or idealizations into societally acceptable or useful pursuits. In practice, however, the idea has rhetorically relied on troublingly biased definitions of utility and the threat of maladjustment. These notably included repression, substitution and overcompensation leading to ‘antisocial’ behaviour including delinquency, promiscuity, illegitimate conception, vagrancy, drug use and violence. Sublimation’s definition of societal utility has not, historically, been separated from a sexual or capitalist value systems. Lewes and other psychoanalysts’ defense of Freudian or classical psychoanalytic theory as emancipatory often ignores these historical realities, as well as the racist and teleological ideations of modernity and societal development that they upheld in these periods.

Within the explicit treatments of the textbooks considered, *Personality and Its Deviations* (1947) provides a particularly illustrative account of sublimation rhetoric as applied to homosexuality. *Personality and Its Deviations* appears to be the sole Canadian-written textbook explicitly addressing homosexuality employed as reference material by UT during the 1949-1950 academic year. As a cultural artifact, the book provides a unique and significant glimpse into *how* immediate postwar pedagogy stabilized declarative assertions about homosexuality’s appearance as knowledge. The established role of introductory textbooks is to provide a coherent and compelling account of the dominant discourses within a given field. This function requires a textbook’s authors to evaluate the significance, pertinence and communicability of specific topics for novice consumption. These value judgements exert influence, in turn,

over the senses and sensibilities of students who may or may not continue to engage with a given field; the intended contribution of any given introductory text and arguably a major contributor to any specific theory's continuing relevance. This was decidedly the case for Stevenson and Neal, who, in writing a "a book for people who are genuinely interested in the understanding of human behavior" sought to prescribe a substantial account of both psychiatric maladjustment and the underlying psychological principles which would have lasting impact on public understandings of both psy-disciplines.¹⁶

This text, like its counterparts, frequently associates sublimation with Eurocentric civilizing ideologies about progress, connecting the continuing 'advancement' of Western societies to the individual's capacity to adequately channel "primitive, unethical or unattainable" impulses into allegedly productive activities which reinforce the societal status quo.¹⁷ This conceptualization of mental health is frequently linked to athletics, capitalistic exchange, career advancement and pleasant social interaction. *Personality and Its Deviations* specifically states that sublimation "is the mark of the mentally healthy, fully civilized citizen. It has its origin in the emotional state of dissatisfaction with primitive things...Primitive goals are intensely selfish, and sublimation...means a willing effort to convert these...The progress of civilization and of the individual depends on capacity for adequate sublimation."¹⁸ Productive or worthwhile aims were clearly defined along the lines set out by contemporary mental and social hygiene movements, which transfigured earlier neurasthenic, eugenic and cultural degenerationist anxieties about mental illness into a new psy-vocabulary justifying behavioural and sexual

¹⁶ George Herbert Stevenson & L.E. Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), inside cover.

¹⁷ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 104-105.

¹⁸ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 104-105.

regulation. Julian B. Carter has successfully traced lines of continuity within American sexual regulatory ideals and particularly the emphasis upon individual self-control, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, demonstrating how the construction of the “primitive pervert” reinforced the responsibility of middle-class white men to supposedly “guard, protect, and foster the triumphs of white civilization” through the mechanism of sublimation.¹⁹

Thus, when *Personality and Its Deviations* labels homosexuality “only one of many developmental anomalies” which one must “endeavor to compensate for by using his psychobiological assets to their best possible advantage,” a number of white supremacist concepts concerning cultural degeneration which previously/concurrently found expression in eugenics are demonstrably transfigured and reiterated through psychological and psychiatric rhetoric on sexual deviancy.²⁰ The textbook presents a dichotomy between homosexuality’s sublimation, which “civilization is permanently indebted to,” and the uncontrolled, maladjusted and pedophilic homosexual included in the psychiatric case studies at the end of the chapter (which will be considered in more detail in the following subsection).²¹

Many of the textbooks outline sublimation as an integral component of emotional training for well-adjusted adults healthy enough to uphold the status quo. The textbooks’ treatments of sexual development, and homosexual drives specifically, were frequently grounded in Freud and included sublimation in some form or another –demonstrating the

¹⁹ Julian B. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 53.

²⁰ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 161.

²¹ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 161.

contemporary interrelation of psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Two texts presented to students within the Ontario College of Education, Marian Breckenridge and E. Lee Vincent's *Child Development: Physical and Psychological Growth Through the School Years* and Harry N. Rivlin's *Educating for Adjustment*, provide compelling examples of the contemporary application of psychoanalytic concepts in related fields. Breckenridge and Vincent were both employed at one time by the Merrill-Palmer School for Motherhood and Homemaking, a major site for child development research and community-based parental education in Detroit following its founding in 1920.²² Their text constitutes a collaborative and wide-reaching project which sought to bring a variety of viewpoints and findings to their reader's attention: the authors specifically caution against using it "as a text alone, but rather as a focus for vigorous class discussion of experiences and observations made by students."²³ Harry Rivlin is generally remembered as an architect of teacher training programs in New York and a particularly dedicated critic of how urban schools dealt with the socioeconomically disenfranchised. His text, published in 1936, predates his appointment as the education department head at Queen's College and most of this research.

Despite the 13 years between their publication dates, both *Educating for Adjustment* and *Child Development* stress the importance of mental hygiene programs to prevent maladjustment prior to the alleged intractability of adulthood. *Child Development*'s authors tellingly write that the imbalance between selfish and moral behaviour "soon ends [one's] usefulness to society," that "offenses repeated through a

²² "Our History," Merrill-Palmer Skillman Institute, Wayne State University, accessed 2021-07-10, <https://mpsi.wayne.edu/about/history>

²³ Marian E. Breckenridge & E.L. Vincent, *Child Development: Physical and Psychological Growth Through the School Years* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1949), iv.

long period of time indicate either that the development of conscience is defective, or that more basic lessons in self-control are needed” and that a “highly sexed, not too self-controlled” young person was “a problem to themselves, and not infrequently *a menace to their peers* (my emphasis).”²⁴ Rivlin, for his part, outlines the role of the school in distracting children from their urges by providing outlets for sublimating impulses along similar lines.²⁵ His text’s specific commentary concerning “definite homosexuality” was that such cases “require psychiatric and psychological facilities and techniques not available to the teacher,” specifically designating homosexuality as a problem for accredited experts and noting that “the school can do much harm by handling such cases for at the very least it delays the time when the child is referred to competent agencies.”²⁶ Homosexuality in children and adolescents was therefore *enduringly* constructed across multiple, disparate texts as something to be sublimated while also being characterized as a time sensitive threat which could jeopardize the emotional stability and social utility of *others*. The presentation of this narrative to students pursuing accreditation in education at UT would emphasize both the importance of them understanding preventative mental hygiene principles and the medical value of them knowing their specific role in the economy of professionalized management for these threats. Kristina Llewellyn has vitally observed that postwar secondary-school educators were “mandated to uphold liberal democracy” in their role of “forming apprentice adults into citizens.”²⁷ The synthesis of traditional and new (psy-disciplinary) techniques to create environments encouraging

²⁴ Breckenridge & Vincent, *Child Development*, 485; 494-508.

²⁵ Harry N. Rivlin, *Educating for Adjustment* (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1936), 194-195.

²⁶ Rivlin, *Educating for Adjustment*, 195-196.

²⁷ Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy’s Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 22-23.

normal emotional and sexual development in children and adolescents would practically depend upon educators' pedagogical exposure to ideas like Rivlin's.

The threat of sexual maladjustment among children and adolescents was, as Mary Louise Adams has previously observed, a major discursive element in the "limited world of the teen manual" which had begun to form in Canada at this time.²⁸ This world was, according to Adams, particularly prominent in Toronto and constructed by various professionals who had *themselves* been conditioned to view white, heterosexual normality as a guarantor of their children and society's continued success. The University of Toronto played an observable role in the local dissemination and re-iteration of these ideas within various disciplines as a locus for research and education in the Toronto area. *Educating for Adjustment* was offered as one of four textbooks within an Ontario College of Education "Science of Education" course –demonstrating an administrative/faculty argument that mental hygiene principles were valuable and *objective* knowledge for teachers.²⁹ It was also included as a reference text alongside J.D. Griffin, Samuel Laycock and William Line's *Mental Hygiene: A Manual for Teachers*, a book referenced by Jennifer Stephens as an example of "difference-as-deviance" mental hygiene principles and how the "leading proponents of vocational testing and guidance sought to constitute normative psychological standards for citizenship."³⁰

²⁸ Adams, *The Trouble With Normal*, 91-93.

²⁹ University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1949-1950. Ontario College of Education. University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services (UTARMS), *Internet Archive*, 36. <https://archive.org/details/uoftcalendaracad1949/page/n441/mode/2up?q=%22Personality+and+Its+Deviations%22>

³⁰ Jennifer Stephens, *Pick One Intelligent Girl: Employability, Domesticity and the Gendering of Canada's Welfare State, 1939-1947* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 80-83.

These three authors each exerted significant influence over the priorities and content of broader psychological education on both gender and sexuality in Canada during this period. Since Laycock will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 2, it will suffice here to note that William Line, like R.B. Liddy, was a major figure in wartime psychology applications (notably the design and administration of the “M” IQ test) and a faculty advocate for the psychiatric unit within UT’s health services in his capacity as the head of its Department of Veteran Affairs (VDA) advisory bureau.³¹ Patricia Jasen has observed that psychological authorities like Line were also architects of the VDA’s screening of returning servicemen applying for the living allowance and paid tuition offered as they returned from war; it was likely within these screenings, Jasen argues, that “those whose sexual orientation was in question were supposed to be weeded out...Gay men were not wanted among the nations future leaders, nor were they wanted on university campuses.”³² John D. Griffin was, like Line, a faculty member at UT and a particularly prominent voice in forensic psychology, medical education and public education on sexuality. Gleason has observed, based on Griffin’s archived lecture notes, that his summer school courses at UT primarily taught his students that mentally healthy people “demonstrate three basic traits: they feel comfortable about themselves, they feel ‘right’ about other people, and they are able to meet the demands of life. The vagueness of definitions such as Griffin’s made psychology eminently applicable...presented in broad, sweeping, nebulous language.”³³ Griffin’s educational work, combined with the Institute of Child Study’s research between 1945-1951, demonstrates how specific ideas

³¹ Jasen, “Heroes on Campus,” 299.

³² Jasen, “Heroes on Campus,” 296-298.

³³ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 107-108.

about normal emotional and sexual development in children were being constructed and communicated at UT. The inclusion of the mental hygiene manual alongside *Educating for Adjustment* therefore indicates that ‘scientific’ sexual and emotional regulation and, consequently, transfigured eugenic ideologies, was a prominent part of education courses’ content by 1949.

Adams, Gleason and others have historicized the pervasiveness of fears concerning the emotional and sexual regulation of children in postwar Toronto, frequently by invoking the influence UT’s major children’s psychology researcher and author W.E. Blatz.³⁴ It is clear that UT was, at the very least, a major site for public engagement with research into pre-supposedly normal psychology. As veterans returned, were screened for abnormality and were subject to motivated efforts to impress gendered ideals of citizenship upon them, a variety of vague, but powerful assertions about abnormality became common *within the classroom specifically*. This extended to ‘well-educated’, middle-class parents who were increasingly exposed to psychological ideas about child development as well. There is a shared approach to the topic of homosexuality within both the Ontario College of Education and uncovered psy-disciplinary curricula, a similarity encouraged by a variety of contemporary psy-authorities, including Blatz, Line, Laycock and Griffin. For the purposes of this thesis, this similarity is notable because it demonstrates the pervasiveness of sublimation rhetoric and its frequent association with homosexuality at UT; the interdisciplinary

³⁴ Adams, *The Trouble With Normal*, 74-77. See also Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 37-43.

consistency of this association undoubtedly contributed to psy-disciplinary declarations' *local* appearance as knowledge within a variety of academic and social circles.

Although preventative mental hygiene measures were virtually omnipresent within psy-discourse following the Second World War, psychiatry –as the explicitly *medical* psy-discipline— focused primarily upon the treatment of the observably, debilitatingly maladjusted. Among the Faculty of Medicine's textbooks in 1949-1950 were Edward A. Strecker and Franklin G. Ebaugh's *Practical Clinical Psychiatry* and the already-mentioned *Personality and Its Deviations*. Since *Personality and Its Deviations* features prominently within this chapter, it is more effective to turn to Strecker and Ebaugh's text.

Jennifer Terry has noted Strecker's role in rousing anxieties concerning parental influence on children's development in the 1940s. He particularly emphasized that the sons of overbearing, development-stifling mothers ('moms') failed to mature, becoming effeminate and homosexual in a way which supposedly disqualified them from military service.³⁵ The same could be said for their daughters, who were said to become lesbians due to complications in Oedipal development, tragically rejecting femininity and becoming fundamentally unhappy. Moms, in Strecker's view, committed "biological treason" against the institution of the family and the nation –a problem which could only be solved by a revamping of the entire social system to discourage the national disunity and poor citizenship festering within and spreading from mother's groups.³⁶ Terry connects this to Philip Wylie's infamous comments on 'momism' in *Generation of Vipers*

³⁵ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 317.

³⁶ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 318-319.

—demonstrating that psychiatrists’ ideas were often grounded in social hysteria and cannot be conceived to be separate from public discourse. Ebaugh was nonetheless remembered as an early architect of psychiatry and a major educational force in America over the course of his career.³⁷

Practical Clinical Psychiatry presents a collection of case studies intended to familiarize its reader with the “great army of the mentally unfit” which its authors and students would supposedly encounter.³⁸ The book’s introduction explicitly frames mental illness and the cost of institutionalization and/or healthcare as a “serious and far-reaching economic problem” —an assertion which finds parallel in other psy-disciplines through the contemporary edition of Munn’s *Psychology: The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment* (“Some psychotics get well, but there are always many more coming along to take their places. Not all these people are dangerous, but they are either unable to look after themselves or they are a burden upon those who must look after them”).³⁹ The concept of the ‘unfit’ vastly outnumbering mental healthcare workers is particularly notable due to its pervasiveness at the time and its deep interrelation to white, middle-class anxieties concerning modernity, self-control and the quantity/quality of their sexual reproduction.⁴⁰ Strecker and Ebaugh, for their part, explicitly justify their own *writing* of *Practical Clinical Psychiatry* through their perception of a looming mental health crisis. Their introduction frames the book as an intervention, noting the time-sensitivity of allegedly increasing numbers of mentally ill people and professing the hope that the book

³⁷ Francis J. Braceland, “In the Prime of Life,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 122, no. 12 (1966): 62–63.

³⁸ Edward A. Strecker & F.G. Ebaugh *Practical Clinical Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: Blakiston Company, 1940), 2.

³⁹ Norman L. Munn, *Psychology: The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 596.

⁴⁰ Carter, *Heart of Whiteness*, 25-30.

will prove “a relatively rapid method of grasping essentials of diagnosis and treatment, so that the novice, who has but a limited time to devote to the subject, will not be forced to grope overlong among the mazes of theoretical discussion.”⁴¹

Strecker and Ebaugh’s text explicitly associates homosexuality with mental disability and amorality as understood within this egregiously racist and ableist paradigm. They plainly claim that “there is a considerable amount of homosexuality in morons” and, beyond this, associate vagrancy, prostitution, delinquency, illegitimacy and drug addiction with mental illness (specifically Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority, an outdated and decidedly catch-all term for what is now known as antisocial personality disorder).⁴² There is a clearly observable interrelation of ‘anti-social’ or ‘deviant’ behaviour with mental illness and disability –up to and including supposedly amoral sexuality. This early framing paints vast swaths of people as menaces to society, demonstrating the interrelated nature of deviancy discourse and its capacity to direct therapeutic scrutiny towards a variety of marginalized communities.

In response to the ‘threat’ posed by two people allegedly suffering from Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority, Strecker and Ebaugh recommend that they be sterilized, placed into work colonies and that their children be removed from their care while overtly lamenting that this program likely could not be carried out on the behalf of society.⁴³ Although not explicitly connected to homosexuality, this element of the textbook demonstrates that eugenic treatments of deviancy/degeneracy still had notable influence on psychiatry’s rehabilitative manifestations during this time; it suffices here to

⁴¹ Strecker & Ebaugh, *Practical Clinical Psychiatry*, 2.

⁴² Strecker & Ebaugh, *Practical Clinical Psychiatry*, 485; 505.

⁴³ Ibid, 460-469.

note the enduring presence of positivistic, genocidal notions in university-ratified texts. In terms of the textbook's characterization of homosexuality, it connects it to psychological consequences resulting from emotional repression –paranoia, hallucination and substitutive behaviour – which it argues could arrest sexual development.

These ideas mark another shared discursive element within the textbooks surveyed: the presentation of homosexuality as a threat to *individual* as well as communal happiness. This is illustratively emphasized in two of the acquired texts, Floyd L. Ruch's *Psychology and Life* and Norman L. Munn's *Psychology: The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment*. Ruch's textbook has been historically lionized as "the bestselling introductory psychology text ever published" and its initial 1937 edition is held to have been one of the first psychology textbooks palpably written with students and future professionals in mind.⁴⁴ Ruch himself is recalled as an effective and well-accomplished psychologist, but more importantly one who foresaw the need for his discipline to change and actively attempted to determine students' personal motivations for pursuing psychology. *Psychology and Life* was written in cooperation with college administrators conducting surveys on hundreds of students and staff in order to rate twenty-two potential subtopics: Ruch "concluded that the most desired were comprised of a mixture...a self-interest on the part of students intent on adjusting themselves to life, while others revealed a quest towards satisfying their obligations as members of society."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ernest R. Hilgard, foreword to *Fifty Years of Psychology: Essays in Honor of Floyd Ruch*, ed. Ernest R. Hilgard (Glenview: Scott Foresman, 1988).

⁴⁵ William E. Gobble, "Remembering Floyd Ruch," in *Fifty Years of Psychology: Essays in Honor of Floyd Ruch*, ed. Ernest R. Hilgard (Glenview: Scott Foresman, 1988), iii-iv.

The widespread use of Ruch's text in Canadian psychology courses demonstrates the international success of this consideration of student priorities in both academic and public arenas. Ruch's 1941 account of homosexuality states that:

In certain instances [sic] the transition from the homosexual phase to the normal adult phase does not occur. The adult homosexual is not unfamiliar on the streets of our towns and cities. Women dressed in men's clothes or affecting extremely mannish fabrics and lines and men who use lip-stick and rouge and walk with mincing gait are advertising to the world their failure to get over the hurdle of homosexuality.⁴⁶

Whereas his 1948 edition, taking Kinsey into account, indicates that "It has been found, for instance, that one half of all adult males have had one or more homosexual contacts at some time in their lives. Far from being unusual, homosexuality is at one end of a continuum ranging from complete homosexuality to complete heterosexuality, with the great majority of the population falling near the heterosexual pole." While the academic usage of *Psychology and Life* surveyed by Liddy and Neal in 1947 was by necessity the 1941 edition (if not the original), it should be noted that Ruch (and Munn's) texts would change in subsequent editions—a remarkable exception to the usual consistency of disciplinary assertions on homosexuality observable in the other textbooks' subsequent editions.

Norman Munn was similarly concerned with student experiences of textbooks, including an argument for ensuring accessibility for both beginner and more advanced

⁴⁶ Floyd L. Ruch, *Psychology and Life: A Study of the Thinking, Feeling, and Doing of People* (New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1941), 580-581.

students in a 1948 article on the ethics of writing psychological textbooks.⁴⁷ His textbook, *Psychology: The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment*, is explicitly geared towards suggesting “how psychological knowledge and procedures are applicable in the solution of personal social problems, as well as many of those in business and industry.”⁴⁸ It is, in this way, emblematic of the pre-MacLeod report support for professional applications which characterized the immediate aftermath of the Second World War in Canada (despite its American authorship). The text notably includes an account of homosexuality which is more situated in contemporary literature: the revised version of the 1946 second edition notably references Kinsey’s 1948 *Report* but strictly employs his findings on the frequency of the male sexual outlet, curiously neglecting to connect it to homosexuality at all. He then states that “the satisfaction obtained from [early childhood stimulation by a member of the same sex] may lead the individual to seek a repetition...continued into adulthood, unusual directions of sexual satisfaction may prevent the kinds of sexual release sanctioned by society. The individual is then regarded as abnormal or perverted.”⁴⁹ Although these accounts would notably change in subsequent editions of these books, both authors contemporarily characterize homosexuality as an obstacle to both community acceptance and personal happiness.

The ‘advertisement’ of homosexuality is presented by Ruch in 1941 as a misplaced, arrogant withdrawal from community responsibilities, while Munn notes the capacity of groups to reject an individual on this basis. When considered in the context of contemporary discursive patterns, it becomes clear that homosexuality and deviancy

⁴⁷ Norman L. Munn, “The Ethics of Textbook Writing,” *American Psychologist*, 3 no. 3 (1948): 89.

⁴⁸ Munn, *Psychology*, ix.

⁴⁹ Munn, *Psychology*, 267.

played out as a health concern for both the community and the individual. Within the pedagogical accounts considered, this characterization becomes the clear product of contemporary views on what the community and the individual really *were* and, indeed, what the university understood and *claimed* them to be. The contemporary notion of mental ‘health’ was therefore founded upon the idea of comfortability within whiteness, heterosexuality, capitalism, gender norms. The unsublimated and unapologetic homosexual disturbed this comfort and defied these claims, interrupting their hegemony and questioning their self-evidence.

There was, therefore, a prevalent recognition and reiteration of homosexuality as a *societal menace* across a variety of sources in use at UT. These sources employed sublimation, a racist primitivity/modernity binary and the individual/communal threat of maladjustment to encourage and justify the isolation and treatment of homosexual people by a variety of professionals. Returning to Herzog, the remarkable accord between authors who had little else to agree on and the prevalence of these assertions in the education of students in significantly different departments (psychiatry, psychology, education) is significant because *it enabled a concerted, unilateral image* to exist within pedagogical literature at UT. Although contemporary homosexual subculture on campus will be considered in a later chapter, these similarities mark the university as a site where contravening narratives were, at least on paper, disqualified from legitimacy as knowledge. Lewes detected this pattern in 1988 while considering contemporaries’ response to Kinsey. He wrote that “the very fact that the Report had so little substantive effect on psychoanalytic thinking about homosexuality shows that it had by this time become impervious to influence from outside psychoanalysis. Henceforth, [sic] the

relation analytic thought on homosexuality would have to other disciplines would be distrust and enmity.”⁵⁰ This phenomenon comprises psychology and psychiatry as well. Textbooks like the ones considered here contributed to the creation of an insulated disciplinary project where contravening, often queer, narratives and experiences could be minimized, erased and technocratically disproved within scholarly circles.

Intertextual Homogenization and Erasure

At the time of *Personality and Its Deviations*’ publication, George Herbert Stevenson was an incredibly influential voice in Canadian mental health circles. He had, by 1947, served as the president of the American Psychiatric Association from 1940-1941 (he would also help found its Canadian counterpart in 1951), been elected to a Fellowship in the Royal Society of Canada, organized the first graduate course for nurses in psychiatry in the country, served as the superintendent of the Ontario Hospital in London and was a well-reputed and personally involved professor at the University of Western Ontario. His eulogist –J.D. Griffin, a former medical director of the CNCMH and, as previously mentioned, a significant contributor to sexual regulation and deviancy rhetoric in Canada— notes that “he rejected the auditorium lecture demonstration as a method of teaching medical students and instead used small bedside teaching clinics” during his 18-year career at Western. Stevenson had completed his initial medical training at the University of Toronto (briefly interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War) and pursued postgraduate study at Harvard –he was, in short, a decidedly

⁵⁰ Lewes, *Theory of Male Homosexuality*, 138.

prestigious contributor who shaped contemporary psychiatric publication, education and practice in Canada.

Although L.E. Neal's personal expertise and investment in education clearly had significant impact upon the text, Stevenson would be remembered as a particularly significant Canadian contributor to public understandings of sexual development by historians like Chenier. The combination of Stevenson's psychiatric and Neal's psychological expertise in a pedagogical tool of this kind is emblematic of the intertwining of their two fields at this point in history. Although professional and disciplinary divisions would become more starkly marked in the decades to come, psychiatry and psychology operated in close tandem in the late 1940s when it came to the development and dissemination of mental hygiene programs.⁵¹ The textbook's inclusion in the 1949-1950 course calendar under graduate reference literature should not, therefore, be taken to preclude its public prominence as mental hygiene initiatives were a major point of local, public exposure for the ideas the book espoused.

Personality and Its Deviations' account of homosexuality begins by stressing Freudian theorization, namely that homoeroticism constitutes a stage of normal sexual development. No one, the book argues, is as a result "ever completely heterosexual," there are "remnants, vestiges, patterns" which influence daily activity and drives, particularly the latent homosexual element which "seldom causes any unsuitable psychological effect" and can be sublimated in communally-beneficial activities.⁵² This reasonably orthodox account of Freud is followed by a section accounting for the threat

⁵¹ Sutton, "Kinsey and the Psychoanalysts," 6.

⁵² Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 159.

of “throwback” regressions to homosexuality in prisons, barracks and ships among a “very small percentage of mature men,” associating these throwbacks with autoeroticism and “childish irresponsibility.”⁵³ These are unsurprising claims for the time and conform to contemporary psychoanalytic notions about Freudian sexual development. Stevenson and Neal’s description of the causes of overt, adult homosexuality, however, reads as follows:

Not all adults reach mature heterosexuality. Perhaps one or two per cent, because of the relative preponderance in their biological make-up of the hormones of the opposite sex, remain permanently at the homosexual level...It is therefore probably correct to say that one or two per cent. of the population cannot advance to ordinary heterosexuality...It is seldom, if ever, a matter of seduction in childhood by a person of the same sex, or accidental association with homosexuals, that produces homosexuality. True homosexuality is usually due to a disturbed sex hormonal ratio, predetermined in the genes the person has received from his parents.⁵⁴

The authors do also contend that:

Homosexuality, however, is only one of many developmental anomalies...And whatever the defect or anomaly may be, its possessor has to accept it, do the best he can with it, try not to let it handicap him too much, and endeavour to compensate by using his psychobiological assets to their best possible advantage. And the homosexual has to do the best he can with his problem, which again

⁵³ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 159.

⁵⁴ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 160.

means self-control and sublimation...Such people may make a great contribution to the general culture and civilization is permanently indebted to many of them for their achievements.⁵⁵

The book's presentation of homosexuality as an endocrinological/developmental anomaly is worthy of close attention for a number of reasons.

First, this description is the most substantial treatment of homosexuality of all the books surveyed. It is also recognizably evidential of the transition between earlier 'inversion' theorization (based around the idea of homosexuality and gender dissent being produced by endocrinological difference) and postwar, environment-focused psychoanalytic accounts of maladjustment which were demonstrably present within psychiatry and psychology, given the authors' professions. Stevenson and Neal's textbook shows how contemporary pedagogical materials palpably presented an image of rigour and certainty to their audience, even in times of theoretical flux.

The text's commentary on compensating for developmental anomalies is also particularly indicative of the contemporary interrelation of the rehabilitative project and pedagogical material. *Personality and Its Deviations* had a wide, public readership, but was also acceptably used in the context of professional and liberal arts training at the largest university in Canada. Its presence among the reference texts in 1949-1950 does not demonstrate an enduring subscription to its ideals among students but *does* show that Stevenson and Neal's work was accepted as pedagogically *useful* by contemporary educators.

⁵⁵ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 161.

The authors maintain their apparently sympathetic tone in the remainder of the text, writing that “It is just as difficult for the homosexual to permanently sublimate his aberrant urges as for the heterosexual...but neither...has any right to indulge his unethical or antisocial sex urges...There is no justification for regarding homosexuals as a class as depraved or degenerate [sic]. They deserve...to be given the same sympathetic assistance given to all other types of congenital anomalies.”⁵⁶ By positioning psycho-disciplinary intervention as sympathetic and opposed to the *ignorant* vindictiveness of society, Stevenson and Neal develop an argument for their own benevolence which would mirror (and contribute to) the postwar embrace of the rehabilitative project. Although they note that homosexuals were not unilaterally depraved or degenerate, they notably do so in a way which maintains the need for sublimation (and, consequently, the need for psycho-experts), the primitivity/modernity binary and, although qualified, the threat of homosexuality to personal and communal happiness which justified rehabilitative efforts. Finally, as Somerville has noted, “both sympathetic and hostile accounts of homosexuality were steeped in assumptions that had driven previous scientific studies of race.”⁵⁷ *Personality and Its Deviations* is no exception: via its ratification as ‘scientific’ and professionally useful by UT, significantly augmented the currency of these assumptions.

Despite the sympathetic, assistive tone of the authors’ commentary, this account is followed by the inclusion of three case studies which demonstrate—in noticeably more ‘clinical’ terms—the maladjustment and social threat posed by unsublimated

⁵⁶ Stevenson & Neal, *Personality and Its Deviations*, 162.

⁵⁷ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 17.

homosexuality. The first two describe cases of poorly or completely unsublimated homosexuality among men (one working as a teacher), both of which allegedly led to the attempted seduction of children. The third describes a woman who, “shocked and horrified by the physical intimacy of [her] marriage” to a clergyman, left him for a woman with whom she continued to live with after her marriage’s annulment. The authors subsequently emphasize the importance of dancing and pre-sexual activity among young people to pre-emptively ascertain one’s own heterosexuality.

In context, their commentary is representative of attitudes which would only become more prominent in Canada throughout the 1950s. Chenier has noted Stevenson’s particular prominence in Canadian debates concerning the detention of ‘criminal sexual psychopaths:’ there was notably a consistent effort among Canadians to elaborate his child development theories as a means of connecting sexual deviancy to hidden early childhood trauma.⁵⁸ Conversely, the text argued that homosexuality was the product of an endocrinal and genetic imbalance –a position which would be dismissed as psychoanalytic and environmentalist explanations of sexuality achieved greater prominence in the mid-to-late 50s and early 60s. The TPHFC would play a significant role in the supplanting of endocrinological explanations in Canada, favoring psychoanalysis.

Chenier has argued that the threat of attacks against children “facilitated a paradigmatic shift that changed the way Canadians would think about human sexual behaviour in the latter half of the twentieth century” and encouraged a remarkable surge

⁵⁸ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 83; 123.

in grassroots liberal activism geared towards placing sex offenders in preventative and indefinite psychiatric care. According to them, the great shift in the 1950s' approach to sexual deviancy was not in the treatment of sex offenders or their victims, but in the consumption of psychiatric information by groups like PAL –information made available and compelling via its reframing in public lectures and textbooks like *Personality and Its Deviations*, which depended on academic infrastructure for credibility, publication and authority.⁵⁹ The authors' presentation of sublimated homosexuality as an arduous but societally-valuable existence, along with the invocation of paedophilic failure to sublimate, corresponds with the focus on preventatively 'intelligent' parenting and psychiatric rehabilitation which Chenier has observed in PAL's own public outreach.

Chenier, significantly, cautions their reader against reducing the various teachers, social workers, women's councils and parents "to mere foot soldiers marching in the service of Canada's medical elite" as it obscures "how the mental health movement was an expression of the interests and ideals of the postwar Anglo-Canadian middle class."⁶⁰ The discursive patterns described throughout this chapter are, instead, expressions of those interests *by* the medical elite. The presentation of unsublimated homosexual desires as a societal threat was never limited to expert literature, but Stevenson and Neal, among the other authors considered here, actively reinforced the societal imperative of maintaining a white, middle-class and heterosexual standard of behaviour in Canada by both claiming authority and harmonizing discordant psychiatric and psychological theorization in publicly engaging formats. The continuing relevance of the mental health

⁵⁹ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 75-78.

⁶⁰ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 75-76.

movement depended significantly upon these homogenized, public-facing formats and universities' recognition of their truth.

The book's currency as a *reference text* for the Faculty of Medicine in 1949 is indicative of the fact that any division between public, social criticism and introductory psychology/psychiatry manuals was also significantly unstable at this point.⁶¹ The difference in context is, however, still significant: Stevenson and Neal's assertions about homosexuality clearly carried weight within academic channels, which effectively granted their interpretations of theory knowledge status by determining it to be intellectually sound and pedagogically useful in teaching students. Stevenson's continued prominence in Canadian debates around sexual deviancy is partially the product of the academic sector's continuing validation of his interpretations' medical merit, as his public accreditation and social prominence is easily connectable to both his recognized expert status and his overall prominence in contemporary academic, medical and professional circles. Modern research universities' recognition of his theories as sources of professional knowledge played a significant role in rendering assertions like Stevenson and Neal's *convincing* to the public which demanded them.

The textbook, intertextually, homogenizes disparate assertions about homosexuality's pathology and effectively ignores (and perhaps even silences) the candid, subversive and autobiographical perspectives of homosexual people. Turning first to the process of homogenization, *Personality and Its Deviations* asserts that "true homosexuality is usually due to a disturbed sex hormone ratio, predetermined in the

⁶¹ The permeability of expert vs. public literature at this time has been noted in Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 21.

genes the person has received from his parents,” despite the authors’ inclusion of other, contradictory accounts of homosexuality’s etiology in its related reading list. Henry, specifically, notes the debated status of homosexuality’s causes, while Neustadt and Myerson indicate that the literature on hormones in homosexual people is “scanty.”⁶² Stevenson and Neal were, apparently, aware of the debated status of these claims and included varied sources in their citations as a nod to current research. They simultaneously, however, presented an opaque account of homosexuality in-text which *created an appearance* of consensus among experts for people engaging with psychology disciplines through the limited media of textbooks and introductory courses. A decidedly unambiguous assertion of homosexuality’s endocrinological cause would, for non-experts, obfuscate the vast variety of explanations which were current at the time of their publication. The chapter on ‘Race Preservation and the Psychosexual Development’ illustrates how discordant narratives concerning homosexuality were reframed to create a coherent and compelling account for public consumption. Rather than acknowledging debate and uncertainty among the (biased) accounts circulating at this time, texts like this one made conscious and consistent efforts to render homosexuality a ‘known’ by pedagogically entrenching the author’s factional or personal account of the topic through rhetorical techniques of this kind.

Turning to erasure, while the textbook’s related reading list *does* include works written by queer people in their own words, the book’s account conspicuously ‘speaks

⁶² G.W. Henry & H.M. Galbraith, “Constitutional Factors in Overt Homosexuality,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 90, no. 6 (1934): 1249-1250; G.W. Henry, “Psychogenic Factors in Overt Homosexuality,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 93, no. 4 (1937): 889-890; R. Neustadt & A. Myerson, “Quantitative Sex Hormone Studies in Homosexuality,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 97, no. 3 (1940): 532-535.

over’ those accounts.⁶³ The constellation of texts which Stevenson and Neal situate themselves within includes Radclyffe Hall’s *Well of Loneliness* and *The Invert and His Social Adjustment*, a practical guide to homosexuality written and published under the pseudonym ‘Anomaly’. Both texts, notably, employ sexological and psychological language as a vocabulary of public appeal: Hall’s text is commonly credited with popularizing the term invert. In the case of Hall, there is a (privileged, limited) appeal for societal acceptance which positions itself in line with sexological explanations of inversion.⁶⁴ For Anomaly, the danger of “half-truths” concerning sexuality is a vital concern: his entire text is predicated on “the extraordinarily opposed opinions which flourish in juxtaposition to one another” concerning the matter of same-sex attraction.⁶⁵ Anomaly consistently foregrounds his perspective, noting positionality and limitations of personal knowledge in order to provide an account of homosexuality, which he conflates with inversion in practical terms. Although Anomaly’s perspective often agrees with contemporarily privileged, ‘scientific’ ideas about sex and gender, the nuances of this account –and, indeed, any notable critique of psy-disciplinary claims and “half-knowledge,” any dissatisfaction with the expressive restrictions imposed by society or the concept of ‘sublimation’— are simply not included in *Personality and Its Deviations*, which resolutely subscribes to the cultural value of sublimation and sexual regulation.⁶⁶ We can, therefore, observe intertextual assertion which also actively erases potentially

⁶³ I am employing ‘queer’ here in reference to sexualities and gender identities which were historically subsumed under different diagnoses at different times: Radclyffe Hall and Anomaly each identified as an ‘invert,’ terminology which stemmed from late nineteenth and early twentieth century sexology and comprised a wide variety of interrelated gender identities and sexualities.

⁶⁴ Kathryn Klein, “The Well of Inspiration: Radclyffe Hall and the Growth of Popular Lesbian Fiction in America,” *The Journal of Popular Culture* 52, no. 3 (2019): 615.

⁶⁵ Anomaly, *The Invert and His Social Adjustment* (London: Ballière, Tindall & Cox, 1927), 1-6.

⁶⁶ Anomaly, *The Invert and His Social Adjustment*, 117-120.

complex, subversive or critical perspectives written by queer people themselves and, through the inclusion of threat-confirming case studies, makes an effort to convince its readers of the need for psychological/psychiatric intervention.

Both intertextual phenomena –the homogenization of debates for public/student consumption and the erasure of queer dissent— further demonstrate the techniques employed to make homosexuality’s pathologized status seemingly self-evident in university spaces. Textbooks, as technocratically-empowered media, had the potential to convincingly legitimate and affix particular ideas within the relationships making up the academic process. This would have lasting impact on debates around homosexuality’s pathologized status.⁶⁷ The creation of an insulated body of literature which students and other authors would reference as ‘true’ for decades thus arguably involved significant erasures which were enabled explicitly by university infrastructure and scholarly norms. The change in thinking described by Chenier and its considerable durability in psy-disciplinary circles was contributed to by textbooks and lectures employing these techniques.

Conclusion

To reinvoke Curtis’ post-Kantian reflexive historical sociology, the characteristic forms of what *passes* for knowledge and the material/social contributors to the public

⁶⁷ Irving Bieber and Charles Socarides, die-hard supporters of the pathologized model of homosexuality who fought the DSM change in the 1970s, are notable examples of how these ideas survived *specifically within classrooms and textbooks*. According to Kenneth Lewes’ 1988 work, “the most influential and lasting work of this period was Bieber’s 1962 monograph, *Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study of Male Homosexuals*. Though flawed and deviating in several important ways from traditional psychoanalytic theory...Almost every analytic writer, with the exception of the most orthodox, refers to it approvingly, and it continues to be read and taught in psychopathology courses in universities.” See Lewes, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality*, 206.

persuasiveness of those ideas is relevant in considering the impact of a given curricula. By analyzing explicit references to homosexuality within the University of Toronto's curricula in 1949-1950, one can observe the deep interrelation of mental hygiene agendas and contemporary arguments about the broad utility of psychological/psychiatric knowledge. Despite the variability of assertions on homosexuality, students were clearly exposed to a concerted image of psy-authority which, through tools like intertextual homogenization, insulated itself from contravening narratives and persuaded them of its own relevance. The combination of these factors –increasing public exposure to pathologized deviancy narratives and the sense that psychological and psychiatric knowledge on the topic was authoritative and well-informed— would lead to a remarkably durable belief in the capacity of mental health professionals to treat ostensible social pathology within Canada.

This belief would medically manifest in the founding of the TPHFC, following significant public support for the initiative. As a clinical space affiliated with the University of Toronto, the forensic clinic and its staff would exert significant influence over medical education concerning deviancy throughout the years of its operation (1956-1966). Although introductory courses and textbooks clearly demonstrate the reinforcement of psychology and psychiatry's authority within various disciplines' curricula, the clinical training of a generation of doctors who would professionally defend psychiatry's curative role and managerial authority over homosexual people is relevant in that it sought to standardize medical responses to homosexuality. Sites like the forensic clinic, by modelling specific responses, exerting scholarly influence and integrating biased assumptions into their clinical approach, would make impactful contributions to

specific theories on deviancy's currency as self-evident, 'scientific' and useful 'knowledge'.

Chapter 2: The TPHFC's Relationship to UT and Role in Postwar Psy-Disciplinary Education

In 1962, an anonymous contributor published an article in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* which provides an effective snapshot of student encounters with expertise concerning homosexuality. “The Other Side: Living with Homosexuality,” is a first-person account of a homosexual US émigré’s early life, university education and experience of contemporary Canadian psy-disciplinary infrastructure. Anonymous’ text is relevant here because it illustrates two phenomena: that psychology lectures and texts were notable points of exposure to disciplinary explanations of homosexuality and that such knowledge was not monolithically nor extensively held by psy-professionals by 1962.

First and foremost, the article illustrates that psychology lectures were sometimes the first exposure of university-attending homosexual people to psy-disciplinary assertions concerning their experiences; beyond “smutty jokes about queers” that he had not quite understood earlier in his life, Anonymous had allegedly never encountered vocabulary to describe his sexuality prior to a lecture in psychology and devoured every scholarly book he could acquire on the topic afterwards.¹ He subsequently and specifically reached out to his lecturer in psychology, confessing his homosexuality and asking to see the university psychiatrist. The lecturer referred him, but the psychiatrist “could do nothing for [him] at the clinic” and referred him, in turn, to a psychoanalyst who did not treat him due to a lack of finances.² We can here observe the second

¹ Anonymous, “The Other Side: Living with Homosexuality,” *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 86 (1962): 875-876

² Anonymous, “The Other Side,” 876.

illustrative element of Anonymous' story: theorization on homosexuality was generally present on campus in psychology curricula and clinical spaces. The lecturer and university psychiatrist both felt they knew enough to advise courses of action but its 'treatment' was considered a specialized undertaking requiring *expertise* in psychoanalysis.

Both elements of Anonymous' account are valuable for historicizing engagement with postwar constructions of pathologized homosexuality. Anonymous' personal experiences demonstrate that university-ratified knowledge was often important to young, homosexual people attempting to understand their experiences in that moment. Jennifer Terry has noted the importance of psychological vocabulary for some homosexual people's identity formation in the late nineteenth century, specifically noting that that university-educated homosexuals "constructed identities in relation to the authoritative knowledge being produced about them."³ Accounts like Anonymous' demonstrate that this had not necessarily changed in subsequent decades or in the Canadian context. Universities were therefore still sites of foundational and affecting points of exposure to these constructions during the postwar period and would render them relevant in contemporary debates on identity and political action within Torontonians homosexual circles.

This chapter will explore how the variability of psy-professionals' understandings of deviancy did little to detract from the pedagogical authority of their pronouncements on sex. Most notably, the TPHFC would be established as a local authority on the

³ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 69-70.

treatment of sexual deviation through its educational partnership with the UT Faculty of Medicine. This additionally demonstrates that the boundary between academic and professionalized psychology was far more permeable than the MacLeod report might suggest at this time. The TPHFC will be shown to have practically modelled discriminatory and rehabilitative models of mental healthcare and clinical treatment for the psychiatry, psychology and social work students they taught.

Reconstructing Student Experiences at the TPHFC

In the late summer of 1956, Robert Stoller delivered a report on the teaching of forensic psychiatry in the United States and Canada to the membership of the Medical Correctional Association in Los Angeles. He had conducted a survey concerning the place of forensic psychiatry within the curricula of 58 American and Canadian medical centers in the interest of providing “a general picture” of training on the topic, which apparently revealed that “the main question in the minds of those replying is whether the subject is important enough for more time to be given in curricula already overcrowded and straining under the load of too much to teach and too little time available.”⁴ The survey provides a useful account of undergraduate and postgraduate exposure to forensic psychiatry in a variety of North American learning environments, noting the frequency and general content of lectures, as well as patterns in clinical exposure to the topic. It also hints at a striking professional and pedagogical indifference for the nascent forensic applications among psychiatrists in postwar Canada.

⁴ Robert J. Stoller, “The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry in American and Canadian Medical Centers,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 115, no. 2 (1958): 150.

Stoller conducted the survey in response to an influential, pedagogy-focused conference conducted by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in 1952. This conference had concluded that “it was impossible to outline a specific teaching program for residency training in legal psychiatry because of the great variations in accessible facilities.”⁵ This, he argued, was representative of a “vicious circle” where psychiatry departments’ lack of interest in forensic facilities led to their sporadic, tenuous availability for medical students, who, without access to courts, prisons, delinquent-handling facilities, probation departments and forensic specialists, became even less interested in forensic psychiatry.⁶ In terms of Canadian historicization, this appraisal matches retrospective analysis of the period: Chenier, specifically, argues that the expansion of forensic sexology is attributable almost entirely to public pressure, rather than medical interest or advancement.⁷ Stoller held, however, that non-specialists (and even non-psychiatrists) would benefit greatly from exposure to commitment procedures, the M’Naghten rules and “[seeing] how problems of the delinquent are handled [and discussing] the legal implications of perversion.”⁸ Student interest in sexual or criminal psychiatry was, in Stoller’s account, treated as a matter of individual interest by administrations *despite* considerable public engagement at this time. Dissatisfied by this, he argued that psychiatry departments should put conscious effort into cultivating relationships with these types of facilities to supplement what clinical education already

⁵ *The Psychiatrist; His Training and Development: Report of the Ithaca Conference* via Stoller, “The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry,” 152.

⁶ Stoller, “The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry,” 152-154

⁷ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 117.

⁸ Stoller “The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry,” 151.

existed and integrate forensic considerations into both their undergraduate and postgraduate programs. In so doing, he noted McGill's forensic clinic as an exemplar.⁹

The omission of the newly-founded TPHFC from Stoller's review may just have been what spurred R.E. ("Ed") Turner, Harry Hutchinson and Lorraine Williams to reference the Californian professor's educational anxieties. In a 1958 profile of the facility they wrote for the *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, Turner and his colleagues specifically addressed Stoller's "plea" for "an improved undergraduate and post-graduate training in forensic psychiatry" and emphasized the TPHFC's "contribution to the teaching of forensic psychiatry, already established, to the undergraduates and postgraduates in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Toronto" as an example of effective education concerning delinquency, perversion and legal matters.¹⁰ Throughout the profile, Turner, Hutchinson and Williams outline and call back to four main categories of work which the TPHFC claimed to offer. These were 1) assessment and diagnosis for non-violent, convicted people suitable for outpatient care, 2) a unique outpatient psychotherapeutic treatment service for those deemed suitable by a battery of examinations, 3) teaching both undergraduates and postgraduates through its 'close affiliation with the University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine' and 4) research into the efficacy of their treatments and longitudinal studies into the psychodynamics of perversions.¹¹ The authors frequently remark on the instructive value of the forensic

⁹ Stoller "The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry," 152.

¹⁰ R. Edward Turner, Harry C. Hutchison & Lorraine O'Donnell Williams, "Forensic Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital," *Canadian Journal of Corrections* 1, no. 1 (1958): 15.

¹¹ Turner, Hutchison & Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 16-17.

clinic's processes for medical students, psychology graduates, social work undergraduates and the general public throughout this profile.

As an example of international discourse on pedagogy between mental healthcare professionals, this exchange indicates that the TPHFC considered its educational impact a significant component of its public and professional value. Turner was the new head of the clinic, but Hutchinson and Williams were its Chief Psychologist and Chief Social Worker, respectively, indicating the close cooperation of different fields in the space. The publication of a profile of this kind also demonstrates that the clinic was an active participant in the relevance of the 'knowledge' it espoused –which it (convincingly, at the time) argued had major educational value for students. This, too, has been corroborated by Chenier's in-depth account of the clinic's impact. They note, specifically, that despite its failure to treat its patients, "as a form of knowledge and power over the field of sexuality, forensic sexology was a complete success... Voluntary patients believed they had a sexual abnormality that could be, and should be, treated."¹² The clinic's contributions to forensic sexology's public credibility, scholarly currency and, returning to Curtis, the techniques it employed to make its knowledge *appear* self-evident and well-researched are, therefore, particularly relevant aspects of its history. These can be clarified by analyzing its pedagogical impact. Turner et al.'s reflection on their own operations reveals details of their relationship to UT and the priorities of their educational endeavours: these details can provide traces of the relationship between public demand

¹² Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 136.

and expertise which encouraged the technocratic marginalization of vulnerable or radical populations facilitated by the university sector in Canada.

Turner, Hutchinson and Williams specifically remark on the value of the clinic's social workers as community liaisons and educators and the participation of their clinical staff in undergraduate and graduate instruction. They also note that two postgraduates would receive experience in group and individual psychotherapy, along with tutorials in psychodynamics.¹³ The content of this education is not, however, readily apparent –and was in fact more ideologically and methodologically complex than it initially appears.

Psychiatrists working throughout the mid-twentieth century frequently noted the difficulties introduced by medical practitioners' personal revulsion to sexual deviancy –as did homosexual contemporaries recounting their experiences with medicine. In the case of the TPHFC, a substantial effort to abandon subjective norms and separate sexual *problems* (individually-distressing sexual behaviours) from sexual *deviancy* (defined in-house as sexual gratification where gratification was derived from non-sexual acts or otherwise interfered with 'normal coitus') manifested in response to that issue in the late 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁴ Chenier has noted that this sexual liberalism was particularly geared towards enabling more sympathetic treatment of the clinic's homosexual patients, but had the added side-effect of rendering the traumatic grooming of pedophiles' victims technocratically invisible and portraying those children as willing participants in their abuse.¹⁵ Turner and his colleagues likely viewed their educational role as an opportunity to encourage this mindset in generations of doctors being trained at the University of

¹³ Turner, Hutchinson and Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 17-19.

¹⁴ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 128.

¹⁵ Chenier *Strangers in Our Midst*, 128-130.

Toronto. As previously noted, however, the forensic clinic did not exclusively provide in-depth training for postgraduate specialists: a wide variety of (medical, psychology and social work) students would have been aware of the clinic and taught by its faculty in the context of their programs' relationship with it. This, as well as the marked issues in forensic psychiatry education, may very well have garbled their (already problematic) message to upcoming practitioners.

To begin with, the University of Toronto's Faculty of Medicine had been struggling with how to best integrate new psychiatric theories and methods into their curriculum since the late 1940s. These anxieties concerning medical innovations were not unique to psychiatry but manifested in particularly remarkable competition between different schools of thought within it. Edward Shorter retrospectively maintains that biological psychiatry, which focused upon the neurological expression of mental illnesses, was almost hegemonically dominant within the UT's medical curriculum. Noting the difficulty in getting psychiatric wards established in general hospitals, he attributes this to clinicians' fear of "insanity" and the association of psychiatry with asylums at the turn of the century.¹⁶ Neurology and biological psychiatry were apparently of greater interest for Canadian psychiatrists as well as the organizations which funded their work and, as a consequence, were reportedly the emphasis of the curriculum for the first half of the twentieth century. Shorter, somewhat dubiously, argues that the first lecture offered on psychoanalysis at UT was conducted in 1966, 6 months after A.B. Stokes (an eclectic but largely biology-centric chair of the department) stepped down.¹⁷

¹⁶ Edward Shorter, "Neuroscience and Psychiatry" in *Partnership for Excellence: Medicine at the University of Toronto and Academic Hospitals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 367-368.

¹⁷ Shorter, "Neuroscience and Psychiatry," 362-367.

Despite the inconsistency of those details with the functioning of the TPHFC in 1956 as reported by Chenier, Shorter's account is useful in terms of contextualizing their group therapy and psychoanalytical work as a public-driven innovation/aberration from more entrenched, bio-psychiatric trends in teaching and practice. The indifference Stoller describes is reflected in Shorter's account of psychoanalysis' reputation in the faculty.

This description also matches both Catherine Gidney and Gleason's characterizations of UT's historic contributions to psy-disciplines' growing influence. Gleason specifically attributes the local catalyzation of psychology as financially viable and concretely academic to UT's faculty and their involvement in the mental hygiene movement during the interwar period.¹⁸ Gidney, similarly, connects psychology's public prominence to the creation of the CNCMH in 1918, noting UT's involvement as one of two outliers for having an independent psychology department by 1920.¹⁹ Both authors agree that mental hygiene agendas' capacity to mandate applied psychological research projects and counselling through the invocation of mental deficiency or feeble-mindedness played a significant role in acquiring funding and status for psy-practitioners like Laycock, Blatz and Clarence Hincks. Psychoanalysis is somewhat surprisingly remembered as a controversial and slowly integrated subset of the psychiatric field at UT and implied to owe its prominence to its massive public appeal across the United States and among Toronto grassroots activist organizations like PAL.

It is thus probable that the forensic clinic (which is completely omitted from Shorter's history of UT's medical school) constituted an innovative, but unusual minority

¹⁸ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 42.

¹⁹ Catherine Gidney, *Tending the Student Body: Youth, Health, and the Modern University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 151-152.

among faculty. The TPHFC would have, in their embrace of both a complex sexual liberalism and psychoanalysis, stood at odds with what professional priorities have been noted in both Shorter's account of psychiatry faculty and Chenier's reference to scholarly indifference. It is incontrovertible that the clinic's staff approached homosexuality liberally, but it should be noted that their stance was often ignored in favour the more prominent normalizing discourses of their peers. Wake and Carleton's faculty stand as a removed example of far less tolerant stances which were certain to also exist at UT –as do the textbooks considered in Chapter 1.

One can surmise that multiple and at times contradictory priorities for psychiatric education existed among UT's faculty which would contribute to the variability of education on the topic of deviancy for students. The flux of these pedagogical priorities is an important piece of context: UT had, by this time, established public channels and generally served as a local center of psychological knowledge within Toronto *by levying the social causes of disease* within the context of mental hygiene. The TPHFC represented, among other things, a distinctly postwar era turn towards psychoanalytic research and counselling as a response to deviancy –a professional change which (as argued by Gidney) turned away from notions of reform and moved toward individualized care constructed/supported by medical examination.²⁰ The clinic's self-promotion as a cutting edge facility for forensic sexology may have been born, returning to Herzog, out of the need to compete with alternative accounts. UT cannot be thought of as exclusively in one camp or the other: as a local site of education, students would have been exposed

²⁰ Gidney, *Tending the Student Body*, 162

to a variety of accounts about *how* deviancy occurred, the threat posed by it and what was required to prevent it.

Education should be considered not simply in terms of what was *said* but also what was *understood*, *retained* and *perpetuated* by students. Public discourse, other forms of medical training and educational materials were (based on the engagement noted thus far) presumably contributors to the general student body's understanding of homosexuality. These influences likely competed with the sympathetic, if self-ratifying, accounts of the forensic clinic's staff: it is important to remember that pedagogy did not occur in a cultural vacuum and that there were a variety of influences shaping medicalized homophobia. The TPHFC demonstrates that homosexuality did, however, receive an affecting, formative recognition as a pathology, treatable by psychoanalysis, among medical educators and institutions throughout Canada. The extensive legal and medical infrastructure of surveillance, doctors' visits, referrals and evaluations which medical students were inducted into indicates that forensic psychiatry did historically little to change broader medical attitudes concerning 'perversion' in the 1950s and 1960s. This will be shown to have contributed to some of the worst abuses of technocratic authority in Canadian history by entrenching rehabilitative approaches to deviancy. Interpretability, uncertainty, indifference, half-remembered lessons: the slippage between 'expert' and public understandings of deviancy is relevant in considering the educational and scholarly impact of the TPHFC.

Beyond differing priorities among teachers, the content and structure of students' encounters with the TPHFC can provide some insight into what they were likely to retain from those experiences. Psychiatry (along with psychology) had been integrated into

UT's medical education by the time of the TPHFC's founding in 1956 and maintained that prevalence throughout the decade of the clinic's operation and beyond.²¹ By 1966, 16 introductory lectures were provided on psychiatry within a medical student's first year, focusing on successive stages of development throughout childhood, adolescence and adulthood. The second medical year surveyed biological, psychological and social foundations of psychiatry, paying particular attention to neurophysiology, examination techniques, clinical syndromes and "the role of familial dynamics in development."²² The third year reportedly emphasized psychiatric illness and dynamic factors, involving lectures, seminars and *supervised clinical experiences* where students could interview patients and take histories. The fourth year, via a rotation of specialties offered term-by-term, provided sixty hours of clinical experience "in an out-patient clinic and a mental hospital" where students assisted in a single course of treatment and continued in their examination of patients.²³

Based on these descriptions and Turner et al.'s account of their clinic's teaching value, the TPHFC's role in student education was likely backloaded into the third and fourth years of undergraduate students' medical training. It is also likely that it primarily involved examining patients through psychometric testing and personality inventories.²⁴ The TPHFC abandoned the traditional case study early on but testing of this kind would remain integral to the clinic.²⁵ The TPHFC was not the only site of clinical education at

²¹ University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1955-1956. Faculty of Medicine. University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services (UTARMS), *Internet Archive*. 45-46; University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1966-1967. Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services (UTARMS), *Internet Archive*. 27-28.

²² University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar 1966-1967, 48.

²³ University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1966-1967, 49.

²⁴ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 17-18

²⁵ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 125

UT, but also would have constituted one of the most prominent intersections in students' careers with homosexuality as a pathological concept.

The TPHFC's treatment of forensic psychiatry was apparently far more practical than most others provided within the United States or Canada at this time. Later 1950s undergraduate medical education in forensic psychiatry typically, according to Stoller, involved lectures on legal medicine or yearly conferences on specific cases. Both formats varied considerably in terms of content from school to school. Most of these exposures would also occur in the same year, meaning that students would cover medico-legal matters in one of four years of training. Three quarters of the schools surveyed in 1956 additionally offered practical work ranging upwards from watching court-procedures to working up and conferring on cases; Stoller notes that students were primarily observers in 4/5 of the schools who responded to his inquiry.²⁶ Judging by Turner et al.'s presentation of their facility as an answer to Stoller's "plea," however, it is reasonable to assume they sought to augment more common teaching methods with that practical experience. Placement at the clinic and encounters with its staff seem to have primarily involved psychometric testing, personality inventories and observation of group therapy sessions (the ideological outcomes of which are considered below).

Despite the hands-on nature of training at the TPHFC, there were certainly other aspects of psychiatry (and medicine) competing for medical students' attention. Psychiatry, though a frequent facet of their lives, was only subject to comprehensive, annual examination in the fourth year of a rigorous and competitive medical

²⁶ Stoller, "The Teaching of Forensic Psychiatry," 150.

undergraduate program.²⁷ Forensic psychiatry made up a small and (as noted by Stoller) scholastically unpopular part of that subject. If one accepts examinations as a point of concentration in students' studies, the fourth year, with its specialist rotation and (when placed at TPHFC) clinical experiences in personality and intelligence assessment, was likely a particularly impactful psychiatric experience for contemporary initiates.

Beyond illustrating the *success* of forensic sexology in appearing as a form of special knowledge concerning deviants, the TPHFC (along with other mental hospitals in Ontario) provided a brush with queerness, perversion, criminality and mental illness to upcoming professionals affiliated with 'managing' people labelled within these categories. As a component of a polyphonic set of discourses labelling homosexual people as the proper objects of quarantine, clinical experiences at the forensic clinic were not the magic bullet for homophobic bias that contemporaries (or historians) had hoped. They were, rather, a self-ratifying gauntlet which, in conjunction with textbooks and other scholarly experiences, legitimated an impactful construction of medical authority over marginalized communities to generations of medical professionals educated during the decade of the clinic's operation.

Pedagogy and the Intake Priorities of the TPHFC, 1958

The pedagogical details included in the TPHFC profile are significant because they help clarify the instruction Canadian students were receiving in 1958 on sexual deviancy. Since students were likely involved in the clinic's psychometric testing, the use

²⁷ University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1966-1967, 28; University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar 1956-1957, Faculty of Medicine. University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services (UTARMS), *Internet Archive*, 27.

of personality inventories and IQ tests in deciding a person's viability for the clinic's services constitutes a notable element of their clinical education. Turner and his colleagues provided an extensive account of the criteria they considered within internal conferences to determine who would be admitted for outpatient treatment; by including a description of a battery of tests and interviews based around specific questions concerning a prospective patient, the staff of the TPHFC have left a notable record of the priorities they modelled for students. I have compiled these into a flowchart (Fig. 1) to better visualize the intake processes they describe.

Fig. 1: Intake Priorities and Procedures at the TPHFC, 1958.

Intake procedures at the clinic fell to two influential processes. A patient's first contact with the TPHFC would take the form of an introductory interview with one of their social workers; this interview would communicate the clinic's mandate to the prospective patient, but the social worker would most importantly attempt "to gather 'social history' data essential to a broadened understanding of the patient; and to assess the patient's motivational level, need for help and ability to benefit from treatment."²⁸ The motivational level of the interviewee, their social resources and the overall health of their personality proved to be the most internally significant aspects of the social worker interviews. These impressions would have decisive impact within the context of cross-disciplinary intake conferences.

Prospective patients would simultaneously be subject to a psychiatric evaluation which would also employ forensic sexology in the form of Kinsey ratings and other tools. This was geared towards determining the answer to two specific questions. First, psychiatrists would evaluate whether one was pathologically inclined to 'deviant' sex acts. Chenier has, as previously mentioned, observed that the staff of the TPHFC eschewed legal classifications and borrowed from Freud, to define "a sexual act as deviant when the final gratification was derived from non-coital acts, or...when the act interfered with 'normal' coital relations."²⁹ If the patient's sex acts did not fit these criteria (as in the case of heterosexual oral sex or masturbation) the staff would tell them that the problem was "an individual struggle with moral and spiritual values" and advise them to seek "religious counsel."³⁰ The psychiatric evaluation of a prospective patient

²⁸ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 19.

²⁹ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 128.

³⁰ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 128.

would also, however, be attempting to determine a prospective patient's *capacity to benefit from psychotherapy*.

Within the context of these intake procedures, a patient's willingness to admit their 'offence' (criminally or otherwise) was considered an indicator of their motivational level. An unwillingness to confess was, in this light, a problematic obstacle. Psycho-technologies were, at times, leveraged to circumvent this obstacle. In incidents where a patient would not admit to their offence, "a thorough psychological appraisal, undertaken by the experienced clinical psychologist, can provide material which is of a distinct aid in the assessment of such patients."³¹ As the vast majority of the therapeutic approaches employed by the clinic at this time were psychoanalytic in nature (even later developments like the use of LSD were geared towards *facilitating* psychotherapy, prior to the advent of behavioural modification approaches,) non-confession was considered a damaging impediment to both understanding the patient and treating their deviancy.³² The clinical psychologists on staff were noted by Turner and his colleagues to be useful in situations which required special tests and procedures. The two examples provided within their profile were instances of non-confession and instances where specific referral issues would "focus the investigation upon probable brain damage, psychometric intelligence, or perhaps some limited problem of differential diagnosis."³³ Low intelligence and motivation had significant bearing on the clinic's judgement concerning a person's *capacity* for treatment via psychotherapy.

³¹ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 18.

³² Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 130-134.

³³ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, "Forensic Clinic," 18.

Capacity was the core concern of the final intake conference, where the information acquired by social workers, psychiatrists and potentially psychologists would be compared. Turner and his colleagues' account of these procedures matches Chenier's investigation of the clinic, which found that most homosexuals treated there were deemed 'ideal' patients because they were both intelligent and self-motivated to make a heterosexual adjustment. Chenier also notes that a "very small" number of patients were turned away because they were deemed to have *below* normal intelligence, although they do not substantially investigate this aspect of the clinic's functioning.³⁴

The question of one's ability to benefit from psychotherapy was a decisive one in the final outcomes of the intake process. In the case of perceived intellectual disability or pathological elements which were not likely to be altered via therapy, clinical staff pivoted to evaluating whether the prospective patient had a sufficiently 'healthy' personality to enable them to 'function' adequately within their environment. Although Chenier has argued that the treatment team at the TPHFC was arguably permissive when it came to homosexual patients, specifically claiming that they regarded them as a social *problem* instead of a social *threat*, the contemporary medical definition of mental health and functionality as comfort within settler, heteronormative and capitalist societal norms was nonetheless modelled here. In instances where the "healthy, positive aspects" of personalities were enough to "significantly outweigh the pathological elements" of one's condition (or where "pathological elements don't seem susceptible to change, but some measure of healthy personality remains"), social workers would adopt a casework-only approach –eschewing psychotherapy entirely in favour of "facilitating the conscious

³⁴ Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 127.

adjustment...of individuals to their (social) situation by means of individual relationships, group experiences and the provision of social resources.”³⁵ Turner et al. specifically note that a casework-only approach was effective in the case of mental disability and older male sex offenders.³⁶ If deemed suitable for psychotherapy at the intake conference, one would be placed in either a group therapy setting or see a therapist individually depending on one’s capacity to be non-disruptive.

The clinic’s response to those it determined unsuitable for psychotherapy is particularly notable because those lines were clearly drawn around psychometric intelligence, one’s Kinsey rating as determined by psychiatric/sexological evaluation and nebulous notions concerning the ‘health’ of one’s personality. One could argue that the sexual liberalism of the TPHFC and their permissive approach to homosexuality negated more common sources of trauma for victims of medical homophobia at this time. These intake procedures were, however, specifically the site of clinical training for an upcoming generation of medical practitioners. By modelling the use of biased intelligence and personality tests to determine one’s capacity to make a successful ‘adjustment,’ the staff at the TPHFC legitimated using this form of psychiatric triage for their students. This would reinforce narratives about citizenship which were previously (and concurrently) rooted in eugenics: Dyck writes that “intelligence, as middle-class social reformers had constructed its cultural value, was equated with whiteness, the English language and Western customs, middle-class values, thrift, and hygiene.”³⁷ I cannot actively determine whether prospective BIPoC patients were frequently filtered along these lines or

³⁵ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, “Forensic Clinic,” 18-19.

³⁶ Turner, Hutchison and Williams, “Forensic Clinic,” 20.

³⁷ Dyck, *Facing Eugenics*, 59.

conspicuously absent from the clinic within the conditions of the current pandemic. With that limitation noted, this record demonstrates that the process of separating deviants who could be psychotherapeutically ‘rehabilitated’ from those who could not was reified along discriminatory lines. The ideological impact of clinics like the TPHFC –cutting edge, well-funded and publicly supported clinics— institutionalizing ‘progressive’ clinical filters of this kind would manifest over subsequent decades in racist, ableist and classist targeting of social work vs. psychotherapy.

During the 1960s, Canada explicitly focused therapeutic scrutiny and behaviour modification on groups deemed pathologically unproductive, affectively disturbed or incapable of existing comfortably within settler, capitalist society. Dian Million connects the disproportionate concentration of social work ‘interventions’ on Indigenous communities at this time to the Canadian state’s desire to become “therapeutic and restorative as the law came to figure the victim and the perpetrator as sites of self-help or medicalized behaviour modifications.”³⁸ Social work and sociological language had extensive impact in the contemporary dehumanization of Indigenous people, a dehumanization Million juxtaposes with the centrality of *therapeutic* narratives in a postwar white, middle-class, ‘progressive,’ emotion-centric ethos.³⁹ In light of Million’s observations, the TPHFC’s divisions between those who could, through psychotherapy, adjust to societal norms and those who would have to be *professionally managed* indicates a dire trend in medical discourse at the time. As encountered in Chapman and Withers, the ‘rehabilitative project,’ the drive to assert heterosexuality within white,

³⁸ Dian Million, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 39-40.

³⁹ Million, *Therapeutic Nations*, 50.

male, middle-class nationals who would (if not for their homosexuality,) embody the state's ideal of citizenship was a major ideological takeaway of clinical education at the TPHFC. Within these lines, radical, QTBIPOC and disabled people were constructed as the proper objects of different forms of professional management by university-educated, 'progressive' and 'normal' members of Canadian society. By building the TPHFC's intake procedures around contemporary assumptions about psychotherapy's *effectiveness* for specific groups of people, the clinic pedagogically reinforced the validity of these foregone conclusions to its students.

Conclusion

Despite the noted tolerance of its clinical team and their support of decriminalizing homosexuality, the TPHFC made significant pedagogical contributions to psy-disciplinary authority over marginalized communities during the 1950s and 1960s by modelling discriminatory applications of sexological and psychological insight for their students. One can observe the success of psychological and psychiatric assertions in persuading the public about the capacity of mental healthcare to effectively treat sexual deviancy, given sufficient time and funding. UT played an integral local role in this persuasion by integrating the TPHFC's clinical space into their medical curricula: the clinic's educational influence thus constitutes an underexplored but important component of their historical impact.

My research has focused on how the TPHFC's involvement with UT helped create a concerted, convincing appearance of medical insight about deviancy among the students it taught; the impact of clinical education on Canadian medical praxis was not, however, limited to Toronto and the ideologies which manifested at the TPHFC were

hardly unique at this time. A more expanded project would juxtapose this relationship with other instances of interrelated academic and clinical authority over marginalized people in Canada and consider their pedagogical impact alongside UT. McGill's relationship with the Allen institute, particularly, would enable a more in-depth consideration of interactions of this kind across Canada.

Even when taking their ostensibly fringe status within the University of Toronto's Faculty of Medicine into account, the TPHFC modelled 'progressive,' targeted treatment of sexual deviancy for a decade's worth of students. As we will see in the next chapter, students encountering and embracing the assumptions underlying the TPHFC would have significant impact upon the shape of 1960s activism in Canada, setting the horizons of student organizing and reiterating colonial narratives within even subversive rhetoric. The ideological impact of contemporary university education thus shaped efforts to leverage psy-discourse for social justice and political change in Canada.

Chapter 3: Student and Activist Engagement with ‘Progressive’ Psy-Disciplinary Knowledge

Historians looking at the TPHFC have frequently noted that its staff approached homosexuality in complex, supportive and potentially affirming ways. This approach mirrors the broader historiographical argument suggesting that one should consider the emancipatory potential of psychiatric, psychological and psychoanalytic epistemology alongside discipline-wide abuses. As recently as 2014, Benjamin Kearl of Perdue University posited that the pseudoscientific assertions of the mental hygiene movement were rooted in its cultural connections to eugenics, not biases within Freudian psychoanalysis itself. In reviewing the social ‘misappropriation’ of Freudian theory by American and Canadian practitioners, Kearl claims that the assumed neutrality of medicine and the *scientific-sounding language* of hygienists’ social criticism drew the pre-existent cultural demand for a teleological model of societal and human development (which had been previously fulfilled by eugenics) onto psychoanalysis specifically and psychology more broadly. Mental hygienists were, according to him, the ones to medicalize psychoanalysis in the United States and Canada, offering it professional and scientific legitimacy by involving it in their efforts to eliminate social pathology.¹ This matches Gleason’s observations concerning the importance of the mental hygiene movement in Canada.

Psychoanalysis (and other, interrelated psy-disciplines) thus took its historical shape due to public support for its *therapeutic* project: the practical, clinical aspects of the discipline which aspired to scientific certainty, truth and, according to Taubman,

¹ Kearl, “Etiology Replaces Interminability,” np.

“persuading others of its ideals of health, normalcy and political rectitude.”²

Psychoanalysis’ skepticism concerning both epistemology and ontology was, according to Kearl, ignored or disavowed *specifically by the educational system*, which conflated its emancipatory and therapeutic projects to satisfy a public desire for an etiology reinforcing the deeply problematic status quo.

Kearl’s work thus recognizes the epistemological value of psychoanalysis while also acknowledging that the profession historically allied itself with oppressive sources of funding and credibility instead of consistently realizing its emancipatory potential. The educational system (including universities) materially enabled and encouraged the disproportionate targeting of therapeutic scrutiny upon marginalized communities by aligning itself with public anxieties concerning them. Although Kearl’s argument draws a problematic distinction between *accurate* understanding of Freudian theory and the psychobiological approaches of North American practitioners –the egregious racism of mental hygiene does not preclude the issues within Freud’s own accounts— his argument is valuable here in that it demonstrates the material and social influence exerted by educational institutions and their integration into contemporary systems of oppression. The mental hygiene movement’s influence over psychological research and education would thus have lasting, horrific and systemic impact upon marginalized communities throughout the United States and Canada.

Public understandings of mental hygiene principles and psychoanalysis would take on new significance on English-Canadian campuses as they became part of postwar

² Kearl, “Etiology Replaces Interminability,” np.

activism. Ontarian students would push for counselling services on campus in 1946, propelled by years of school-bound psychological testing, counselling and diagnosis which formed a self-perception of being at greater risk of sexual and emotional maladjustment.³ The educational system's contributions to these anxieties' appearance as *self-evident*, reasonable knowledge would play a significant role in the construction of the middle-class, psychology-informed 'ethos' (as argued by Million in *Therapeutic Nations*) linked to a variety of atrocities committed by the Canadian state in the name of progress.

To put Kears in conversation with Million and Gidney, psychoanalysis' emancipatory qualities did not systematically manifest in the Canadian educational system at this time –and particularly not in any way which substantially undermined colonial modernist values. Universities, as sites of both activism and technocratic assertions about marginalized communities by contemporary experts, were significant contributors to the broad, social embrace of psy-technologies' utility in 'understanding' (categorizing) psychic, cognitive and affective experiences. This lesson, well-learned, would help reshape social constructions of deviancy in Canada and enable ideologies of mental health to replace eugenics as a supposedly progressive and *rehabilitative* discourse which *transfigured* perpetual settler colonialism and white supremacy rhetoric without threatening their reproduction.

The interrelation of contemporary racism and activism is a complex historical subject which requires significant nuance. It is clear, however, that students' subscription to the colonial logics of the university would manifest in their activism. One can observe

³ Gidney, *Tending the Student Body*, 152-154.

activists at this time attempting to negotiate for their lives and wellbeing through a newly empowered academic language and attempting to substantiate their struggles through the use of research technologies. This chapter will, as a result, (re)consider the pedagogical impact of the university on the people within it, looking beyond specific curricula to students' *social* perspectives on the psy-disciplines. I will primarily argue that UT and other Canadian universities facilitated the integration of psy-technologies and their biases into both activist movements and colonial systems of oppression in Canada.⁴ It will first investigate the ideological underpinnings of mental health discourse on UT's campus across time, noting the university as a site where students and activists engaged with the psychological and sociological progress narratives that informed both middle-class activism in the 1960s and the abduction of Indigenous children by the Canadian state in the Sixties Scoop. It will then consider contemporary student publications as records of how and why students engaged with psy-disciplinary knowledge, providing a limited account of campus-bound opinions on sexual regulation and their internalization of UT's ideals concerning the professionalized management of marginalized communities. Finally, it will note the impact of these ideals and psy-discourse more generally on the University of Toronto UTHA's political strategies in the 1960s and consider how these attitudes set the horizons of activism among 'deviants' themselves on campus. In so

⁴ The Canadian use of mental health ideologies to perpetuate long-standing racist narratives concerning the constructed 'failure' of Indigenous communities to order themselves and their minds along the 'progressive' standards of settler modernity has been documented in two notable works: *Therapeutic Nations* by Million (2013) and *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* by Razack (2015). The re-conceptualization of student activism attempted in this chapter seeks to apply their insight and look for one historical moment (among many) that contributed to psy-disciplines' enrolment as the new core of deviancy-epistemology. Works emphasizing points of contact between critical race theory and Mad Studies considerations of psychiatric violence have been integral to asking these questions as well: see Pickens, *Black Madness: Mad Blackness* (2019), Gorman & Lefrançois, "Mad Studies" (2017), and Aho, Ben-Moshe & Hilton, "Mad Futures" (2017).

doing, this chapter will provide an account of how universities contributed to a pervasive acceptance of the ideological underpinnings of contemporary psy-discourse among students and activists in the mid-twentieth century.

Students, Progress Discourses and Psy-Expertise

Canadian and American student activism in the mid-twentieth century has been extensively researched by professional historians. This scholarship emphasizes the observable and international influence of off-campus movements upon student organizing. University students and faculty in the mid-to-late 1960s have particularly been recalled (if not mythologized) as highly impactful, progressive challengers to the authority of North American states.⁵ Although these narratives are not without cause – student activism had a profound cultural impact on a generation— the tendency to present the 1960s as a period of unilateral middle-class social engagement has played an integral role in sustaining the self-ratifying, teleological history of a progressive Canada.

Within Canadian scholarship on this phenomenon, two recent periodicals engage specifically with both the University of Toronto and activist campaigns for counselling services on its campus: Patricia Jasen’s 2011 “Student Activism, Mental Health and English-Canadian Universities in the 1960s,” and Tanya Titchkosky and Madeleine De Welles’ “University Managed Minds: The Colonial Reproduction of Students as Mental Health Problems,” published in 2020. Both articles historicize attitudes toward mental

⁵ See Roseanne Waters, “A March From Selma to Canada: Canada and the Transnational Civil Rights Movement,” PhD diss., McMaster University, 2015; Roberta Lexier, “‘The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened’: English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change,” *History of Intellectual Culture* 7, no. 1 (2007); Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1990); Steven Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities on Canadian University Campuses, 1917-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

health services by evaluating administrative and student perceptions of mental distress at the University of Toronto during this campaign, foregrounding how psy-technologies and experts were employed by *both* authorities and activists at this time.

Jasen, optimistically, credits an increasingly radicalized student body with challenging the conflation of mental health with social conformity. She substantiates this by invoking student groups' organization of national and local, campus-bound symposiums, along with the Student Administrative Council (SAC) of UT's use of unauthorized campus surveys conducted with the help of the CMHA and the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital.⁶ Jasen has notably observed an increasing dissonance between contemporary administrative and student perceptions of mental wellness on campus at this time. Postwar administrators at UT redoubled their argument that students from lower-income families contributed to the overall maladjustment of the student body while students, for their parts, viewed their mental crises as the product of a faulty training for *modern adulthood*.⁷ The article provides a useful account of these conflicts and the attitudes on both sides, but remains limited in its consideration of the interrelation of race, gender and sexuality (which it divides from the mental health activism) with the contemporary concept of health itself.

As Titchkosky and De Welles' text is founded upon critical disability theory and Mad Studies specifically, it explores the contemporary positioning of the normal student mind to delineate its deviant, unruly counterparts in greater detail. The authors researched how both students and the administration have recognized mental health issues at UT

⁶ Patricia Jasen, "Student Activism, Mental Health and English-Canadian Universities in the 1960s," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (2011): 467-469.

⁷ Jasen, "Student Activism, Mental Health," 469.

from the early twentieth century to the present day. They concluded that mental health initiatives on campus have historically been inextricable from 1) the fear of future resource extraction or labour being jeopardized and 2) the (re)production of comfortably modern minds which accept colonial values and reproduce status-quo stabilizing “cosmologies.”⁸ The observable fear of campus infiltration by feeble-minded and/or maladjusted students, as well as the destabilization of students by the campus environment thus dominated mental healthcare initiatives at UT across time. Titchosky and De Welles argue that this is because students of this kind *could not* or *would not* be successfully entangled in the colonial matrix of individualism, independence, health and teleological progress –an ideological matrix which informed mental health discourse across multiple shifts in psychological and psychiatric theory, rhetoric and methodology.⁹

At the very least, both bodies of research demonstrate that the students at UT cannot be historically conceived as passive, silent recipients of psy-disciplinary theory perfectly reproduced by its faculty. A portion of the student body actively sought out and organized symposia, attended seminars and conducted *unauthorized* surveys on campus in consultation with the CMHA and the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital.¹⁰ Major contributors to psychiatry’s growing prominence in Canada (including W.E. Blatz and J.D. Griffin) spoke frequently with the university’s psychology club and held authorized, broadly-accessible seminars on mental hygiene for the student body in the late 1940s/early 1950s. These UT professors, according to *The Varsity*’s report on these seminars’ contents, interpreted the social and economic value of mental hygiene practices

⁸ Tanya Titchkosky & Madeleine De Welles, “University Managed Minds: The Colonial Reproduction of Students as Mental Health Problems,” *Journal of Disability Studies in Education* 1, no. 1 (2020): 4-9.

⁹ Titchkosky & De Welles, “University Managed Minds,” 16.

¹⁰ Jasen, “Student Activism, Mental Health,” 468.

for the student body and Canadian society alike in the context of these talks.¹¹ *The Varsity* itself, as UT's major student newspaper, is well-known to have been engaged with mental health concerns at the time, placing J.D.M. Griffin's contributions to the World Mental Health Conference on its front page in 1948 and frequently reporting on the utility and import of mental hygiene topics.¹² If one is to argue that the university legitimated psy-technologies' and experts' capacity to speak for, categorize and manage the marginalized, then students pursuing university accreditation must be viewed as *participants* within that legitimization.

Although this might initially seem to run counter to the historiographical tendency to conceive of students in the mid-twentieth century as increasingly radicalized critics of modernity, the presence of counterculture elements among students does not preclude the influence exerted by contemporary sociological and psychological language. Even when considering the 1960s, a period of extensive countercultural activism, there has been significant questioning of the longer-term political impact of that organizing on Ontarian students.¹³ Conversely, the authority of psy-disciplines and a public (or at least middle-class) trust in their unbiased benevolence influentially took root in both Toronto and Ontario more broadly throughout the twentieth century. Canadian students observably

¹¹ "Claims Mental Illness is Usually Preventable," *The Varsity*. Feb. 4th, 1947; see also note 9.

¹² "The Meaning of the University is Subject of Van Wyck Talk," *The Varsity*, Dec 5th, 1951; "Says Consolidation Needed for World Mental Hygiene," *The Varsity*, Nov. 4, 1948; "Emphasize Need for Adjustment to College Life," *The Varsity*, Jan 17, 1949; "Gain Freedom, Add Stature," *The Varsity*, October 12, 1949.

¹³ For a problematization of this idea and a consideration of student liberalism among Canadian students and the absence of collective action with a political objective at Ontarian schools, see J. Grayson, "'Talkin' 'Bout My Generation': Political Orientations and Activities of a Cohort of Canadian University Students in the Mid-Sixties," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 26, no. 2 (2013).

made frequent appeals to authoritative psy-experts and accepted their capacity to provide a more ‘scientific’ and ‘progressive’ account of societal issues.

Contemporaries were not, however, completely unaware of the issues within psy-discourse. Jasen notes that major anti-psychiatric critiques were made within student organizations themselves in the later 1960s. The president of the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) specifically considered psy-technologies (counselling, surveys, symposia) to be effective means of “getting action” from the university administration but was concerned by mental healthcare’s propensity to condition students to the system instead of seeking change.¹⁴ Students, echoing contemporary debates concerning mental health, were also concerned by confidentiality, alienation and the individualization of systemic social issues as the 1960s drew to a close. Psy-experts individually dismissed, pathologized or validated these concerns as evidence of the need for disciplinary reform, demonstrating a variety of social and political opinions within the profession. UTHA (and its community counterpart CHAT) were similarly skeptical of pathological language and psy-experts. It is easily observable that the students and experts engaged in these debates were aware of the flaws in psy-disciplines, even as they sought to leverage those disciplines’ technologies for social change.

Titchkosky and De Welles hold that there are profound relationships which connect early mental hygiene initiatives, 1960s activism and modern wellness movements on Canadian campuses, disrupting the notion that students effectively or enduringly rejected psy-expertise at the end of the 1960s. There is, they argue, “a certain

¹⁴ Jasen, “Student Activism, Mental Health,” 474-475.

pedagogy at play” within each of these moments which reveals the power of the university as an educational and administrative institution –a pedagogy which paints students as targets of concern, transforms them into objects of care/caretaking or management and *instructs students in the management of such objects*.¹⁵ The advent of the Freshman Advisory Program in 1966 (a product of the mental health activism described by Jasen) sought to involve UT students from various programs in the counselling of new undergraduates, embracing a counselling dynamic from more ‘mature’ (or successfully ‘adjusted’) students as a means of answering several problems. Counselling, the authors note, is a “singular, authoritative and hierarchical form of support which can reproduce a singular story steeped in a Western epistemology, and often repeated today.”¹⁶ Student initiatives which involved older students counselling incoming undergraduates at UT are thus argued to be representative of an internalized problem/solution dialectic informed by the modern university and its goal of producing comfortably modern managers of these problems.

This rehabilitative dialectic impacted both students of psy-disciplines themselves and the efforts of student organizers like CUS and SAC, effectively setting the horizons of what was needed to deal with the mental health crisis and what was beneficial to ‘problem’ students. The students presenting themselves to campus counsellors as textbook Oedipus complexes (or, for that matter, bringing their homosexuality to the attention of health services) is indicative, more than anything, of the *success* of psychological and psychiatric knowledge in convincing people of its own utility and

¹⁵ Titchkosky & De Welles, “University Managed Minds,” 6-7.

¹⁶ Titchkosky & De Welles, “University Managed Minds,” 18.

morality. Tamara Myers has observed that the exclusionary mode of social control used on mature deviancy during the mid-twentieth century (stigmatization, incarceration) coexisted with and was magnified by an inclusionary mode (promoting obedience) centered around juvenile delinquency.¹⁷ In Canada, strategies influencing youth to self-police (both in terms of delinquency and, I would argue, juvenile deviancy) “held the promise of greatly influencing youth behaviour and gaining compliance with established rules, law, and order.”¹⁸ Student counselling initiatives and self-admission to medical authorities are indicative of how influential these ideals, once internalized, could be among students with a stake in being comfortably normal. It is important, however, to avoid focusing on and solidifying an essentialized subjectivity connected to a “white mad subject” –far more troubling are the colonial ramifications of contemporary activism’s embrace of a “therapeutic turn.”¹⁹

1960s activism, as noted in *Therapeutic Nations*, played a central role in Canadian neoliberalism’s embrace of first-hand affective witnessing for justice and the turn to therapeutic culture in countercultural circles.²⁰ The centrality of therapeutic narratives in the postwar development of a white, middle-class, ‘progressive,’ emotion-centric ethos is not coincidental: psy-technologies (counselling, expertise-informed examination of feelings and experiences, self-help discussions) were increasingly integral components of contemporary feminism and activism. These epistemologies –the definition and understanding of societal trauma through a therapeutic dynamic and medicalized

¹⁷ Tamara Myers, *Youth Squad: Policing Children in the Twentieth Century Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 12.

¹⁸ Myers, *Youth Squad*, 12.

¹⁹ Rachel Gorman and Brenda A. Lefrançois, “Mad Studies,” in *Routledge International Handbook of Critical Mental Health*, ed. Bruce M.Z. Cohen, (London: Routledge, 2017), 109.

²⁰ Million, *Therapeutic Nations*, 50.

language— impacted activists’ understanding of their own experiences and ultimately their political activities.

Million observes, for example, that grassroots activism for greater policing of sexual violence led to an intensification of state action in Canada during the mid-twentieth century, placing greater legal and *therapeutic* scrutiny on women and Indigenous women most of all. As activist networks (like PAL) sought legitimacy and funding for operations, they began to cooperate with and rely on a state which sought to become “therapeutic and restorative as the law came to figure the victim and the perpetrator as sites of self-help or medicalized behaviour modifications.”²¹ Canadians, influenced by the mental hygiene movement’s construction of rehabilitative, progressive ideals attached to ostensibly objective psy-technologies, focused mid-twentieth century interventions specifically on those deemed pathologically unproductive or affectively disturbed –the *deviant*. Myers has demonstrated that social workers (‘case workers’ in the interwar period) had *operationalized* this social control over both sex and young women in Canada during the 1930s. The professionalization of social work at this time was also interconnected with mental hygiene and psy-technologies; Myers specifically notes that caseworkers in Montreal “sent troublesome teens for mental and physical tests” or “helped incarcerate them in reform schools,” acting as a point of surveillance and influence over families and potentially unruly (and/or deviant) young women.²² Activist organization’s consumption of psy-disciplinary literature and the broad, postwar

²¹ Million, *Therapeutic Nations*, 39-40.

²² Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal’s Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 28.

acceptance of practitioners' claims about behaviour modification would intensify the public demand for the intervention of social workers, as well as psy-experts.

Simultaneously, white, middle-class activists integrated psychiatric, psychological and sociological language into their own internal deliberations on how to best alter society, reflecting the development of what Kearsley referred to as the emancipatory project of psychoanalysis. Skepticism directed towards traditional forms of emotional epistemology and ontology, however, came with an acceptance of technocratic assertions dividing those *suitable* for psychotherapy and introspection from those who could only be *managed* via social work (as described in Chapter 2's appraisal of the racial and ableist biases within those divisions). However valuable in terms of challenging established systems of thought, psychiatric and psychological knowledge was contemporarily inextricable from the biased assumptions informing a vast amount of its applications.

While, as we have seen, homosexuals were set up to be rehabilitated via psy-disciplinary means, Black, Indigenous and people of colour's communities, specifically, became pathologized objects of professionalized management by social workers in the mid-twentieth century. This division was pervasive within contemporary institutions *and* activist circles because both groups were increasingly informed by psy-experts' moral assertions about social pathology. Vast numbers of settlers in mid-twentieth century Canada renewed their commitment to a transfigured racist imaginary (previously upheld by eugenics) by embracing the contemporary *rehabilitative project* which legally, socially and morally demanded that QTBIPOC people "achieve moral, social, and political worth by working to get closer to nondisabled norms and white ruling class

cisheterosexual mores.”²³ Chapman and Withers have specifically noted that the development of the welfare state in Canada following the end of the Second World War enabled psychiatry and social work to align a vast array of bodies, minds and identities with pre-established, white supremacist notions of normalcy; they particularly observe that the rehabilitative project of both of these ostensibly benevolent professions was *complementary* to the eugenic project in terms of their ties to discourses of mental, moral and corporeal normativity.²⁴ Social workers, they note, “served a medical, rehabilitative, and policing role within psychiatric care, thus extending the social control of the medical profession beyond institutional walls” – a phenomenon we have already observed in the case of the TPHFC).²⁵

Psychiatric and psychological praxis thus positioned white sexuality, capitalism and a developed sense of what was mentally normal in opposition to the menace of the unapologetic QTBIPoC person, painted in their maladjustment as threats to themselves, others or the progress of society. Chenier’s description of PAL’s impact on sexual deviancy laws and treatment in Canada demonstrates the influence exerted by activists at this time: rather than being a conservative re-entrenchment, activist circles employed the psychological and psychiatric knowledge they had acquired after the Second World War to select and support the most progressive (compassionate or benevolent, scientific in appearance, pre-supposedly objective) measures possible. The expanded education efforts made by psy-experts across the United States and Canada at this time were, therefore, integral to the institutional and public embrace of this rehabilitative dynamic. The

²³ Chapman & Withers, *A Violent History of Benevolence*, 239.

²⁴ Chapman & Withers, *A Violent History of Benevolence*, 266-270.

²⁵ Chapman & Withers, *A Violent History of Benevolence*, 265.

university, as a major contemporary source of sociological, psychological and medical language/ideology, played a too-often tacit role in producing and communicating these narratives. Students, as a willing public who demonstrably embraced the rehabilitative values associated with the contemporary therapeutic project, constituted some of the greatest proponents of the progressive ideals used to justify deviancy's treatment.

The primacy of these assumptions among both activists and state institutions precipitated a variety of abuses for marginalized communities who become extraneously defined via psy-disciplinary languages of trauma and would subsequently attempt to negotiate for their own survival through that language. The Sixties Scoop reflects, in Million's appraisal, "mainstream social work's ideation of a profaned, sexualized Indian mother in contrast to its own 'femininity' produced again and revitalized in moral terms updated in sociological language."²⁶ All three authors suggest that the creation of a standardized sociological and psy-disciplinary language, promulgated within professional *and pedagogical* circles, enabled its ideologies and rehabilitative logics to appear self-evident.

Thus, regardless of whatever misgivings emerged within organizations like the SAC concerning the biases of psy-experts themselves, the measures they undertook (and which would continue in their absence) indicate the presence of an underlying, enduring subscription to the colonial structures reproduced within the university project.

Universities functioned as sites where even radical students were pedagogically alerted to the need for (or at least the social leverage of) more precise, managerial and 'scientific'

²⁶ Million, *Therapeutic Nations*, 46.

approaches to abnormality, as well as their own professionalized roles in that struggle. Activism which leveraged psy-technologies or expertise would have included an experiential crash course in technocracy, reinforcing its already-mythologized capacity to solve the social problems which it, ironically, often reproduced or worsened. Universities were major sites for the assertion of sociological/psychological language and praxis as superior to other options, if for no other reason than being viewed as more capable of inciting societal change. We can clearly observe that these lessons were learned and carried forward even by critics who were fundamentally aware of their limitations.

Encountering the Psy-Disciplines on Campus

Students encountering psy-expertise at UT were frequently informed of (and sought it out for) its social and personal utility: campus-bound rhetoric between the late 1940s and mid 1960s was largely based around how scientific knowledge of peoples' minds had professional and personal applications. Two key elements of this are noted in Liddy and Neal's survey of 1940s psychology classes: 1) that UT, subscribing to psychology's general utility, integrated it into a variety of their programs and 2) that students were themselves concerned by their own adolescent capacity for making bad adjustments.²⁷ The integration of introductory psychology courses into a variety of curricula would have significantly increased the number of people encountering psychology and being *pedagogically alerted* to its importance to modern society. This, in turn, enabled an explosion of personalized relationships to the new conceptualizations of mental health. Education, as noted by Gleason, was a major source of not only a supply

²⁷ Liddy & Neal, "First Course," 61-62.

of professionals but an increased public *demand* for experts: anxieties about who could legitimately claim expertise (exemplified in the MacLeod report and subsequent conflicts over the right to certify practitioners) emerged out of a contemporary boom in zealous, but undertrained, students of psychology.²⁸

This recognition of psy-disciplines' authority and personal utility clearly manifested on an individual level within the social networks of student body at the University of Toronto, particularly in matters connected to contemporary sexual anxieties. *The Varsity* published a response to a letter to the editor expressing concern about the potential of nude swimming at Hart House to spread overt homosexuality among the student body.²⁹ The anonymous author writes:

First of all; accuse me of having a "twisted mind," a distorted sense of values, an erroneous conception of psychology, or whatever you will, but I firmly contend that nude bathing encourages homosexuality, a disease (and I emphasize the word 'disease,') which, unfortunately, is in firm control of some and is merely dangerously latent in many other persons and only requires very slight encouragement to enable it to show its despicable and disgusting visage openly.³⁰

In a mocking response, *The Varsity* consulted the Director of Physical Education at the Toronto Central YMCA and, more importantly, Drs. Arthur Miller and John Davidson Ketchum of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital on the topic. Ketchum posited that "homosexuality would be encouraged only among those who are already homosexuals,"

²⁸ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 34.

²⁹ Hewitt, *Spying 101*, 54.

³⁰ "Bathing Nude OK Authorities Agree," *The Varsity*, Nov. 5th, 1953.

with Miller following that “Nude swimming rarely ever produces a homosexual. There is very little, if any, truth to the charge.”³¹ Both the letter and the newspaper’s appeal to experts are telling: the letter’s anonymous author anticipated an accusation of misunderstanding psychology, which was exactly the tactic that the newspaper employs to settle the matter. Ketchum and Miller’s position as arbitrators of what might lead to homosexuality on campus was also sufficiently solid by 1953 for the student newspaper to employ them to settle the matter.

By doing this, *The Varsity* simultaneously acknowledged that practices which encouraged homosexuality among students could conceivably exist, that psychological expertise was valuable in determining what those practices might be. The threat of student maladjustment was relevant enough for the newspaper to publicly dismiss it. Regardless of the rarity of the letter author’s position on nude swimming at Hart House or the likelihood that his peers would criticize him on a variety of grounds, a common conception of adolescent development and mental health underpins the entire exchange – and, consequently, a recognition of psychology’s importance in their lives and a reflection of its integration into students’ consciousness. Students may have differed in how prone to corruption they considered themselves, but the discursive construction of late adolescence as a menaced point of development observably impacted their thinking, indicating widespread discussion and the formation of opinions on psy-disciplines’ personal and social utility.

³¹ Ibid.

Subscription to the *therapeutic* elements of psychoanalysis, which did little to challenge the assumptions underlying previous attempts at correcting social pathology, seems to be an effective description of other faculties' approach to the topic throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Practical 'scientific' technologies and supposedly objective observations about human behaviour appear to be the core of most extra-disciplinary courses on the topic at UT during this time.³² This is observable in the integration of psychological clinics into the primary and secondary school system which began with the discipline's involvement with mental hygiene. Gleason writes that "like the schools, the clinics helped to position psychological expertise within an expanding web of social surveillance that was part and parcel for the developing welfare state"—and notes that these clinics treated high school, university and teacher's college students as well as primary school children.³³ The presence of clinics of this kind and the psychological work undertaken in schools, two major pre-war developments in the Canadian psychological scene, contributed to the discipline's growing prominence and the long-term social appeal of its therapeutic construction of white, middle-class normalcy.

Gidney, additionally, notes that Canadian universities, viewing themselves as responsible for the moral and physical fitness of their students, actively sought to police and blockade external influences. Referencing Gleason, Gidney details how psychology gained influence on campuses and in other schools through psychological testing, counselling and diagnosis informed by a perception of university students at greater risk

³² For an account of contemporary psychology courses and their contents, see: University of Toronto Academic Divisions Calendar, 1947-1948. Courses of Instruction. University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services (UTARMS). *Internet Archive*, 193-195.

³³ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 28-29.

of maladjustment without parental supervision.³⁴ By 1946 (as mentioned by Jasen) there was significant push from students themselves for the creation of counselling services on campus which was met with administrative indifference; by 1948 the Health Service provided lectures on mental hygiene topics by psychiatry/psychology/social work faculty (mentioned previously in this chapter and frequently the subject of *Varsity* reports) and by 1966 a survey of 49 campuses indicated that 44.9% had a psychiatrist available to students.³⁵ Gidney has argued that what changed, fundamentally, in this time was a switch from addressing social causes of disease to the promotion of individualized care over social reform, as well as an increased process of differentiation between medical experts and lay people which led to new and different understandings of how students developed and what they needed. Many students themselves, as already indicated, internalized, agreed with and integrated these ideas into their lives between the 1940s-1960s.

Students at UT, therefore, often took a number of lessons from their pedagogical exposure to psychiatry and psychology in the mid-twentieth century. Mental health professions' nascent claim to an overriding understanding of affective experiences via categorization and homogenization became well-recognized and compelling sources of social commentary. Everyday psychological and psychiatric care-interactions (like those conducted within schools) reinforced the disciplines' aura of medical benevolence. Generations of students, including parents, veterans and increasing waves of late-adolescents, began to think of the world in terms of individual adjustment, (ab)normality

³⁴ Gidney, *Tending the Student Body*, 152-154.

³⁵ Gidney, *Tending the Student Body*, 158-161.

and their social/economic impact on society at large –and organized, politically and personally, around those ideas.

Parental education conducted at UT’s Institute of Child Study (ICS), along with the integration of psychology (and psychiatry) into schools, guidance clinics, the public health system and the home, strengthened Canadian receptiveness to increasingly-common “technologies of normalcy” described by Gleason: hierarchization, homogenization, exclusion, comparison and differentiation became unremarkable parts of how Canadians thought about human behaviours, thoughts and feelings.³⁶ This new, naturalized language would unevenly transfigure the existent rhetoric oppressing QTBIPOC communities.

UTHA, Modernism and the Postwar University

The history of the UTHA’s founding and development is a contested one. In 2009, Anne Perdue, then an History MA at York University, published an article entitled “Out and Proud: How Students, Faculty, Staff and Alumni Brought Queer Activism to the University of Toronto and Changed Its Campus Forever” in *University of Toronto Magazine*, a non-academic periodical aimed at alumni. The article recounts multiple Canadian gay rights milestones at UT, including a 1974 forerunner gay studies class taught by Dr. Michael Lynch (then an English Literature professor at St. Mike’s, soon the founder of the Toronto Centre for Lesbian and Gay Studies). Most notably, however, it contains an account of UTHA’s inception and activities on campus.³⁷ Perdue primarily

³⁶ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 9

³⁷ Anne Perdue, “Out and Proud: How Students, Faculty, Staff and Alumni Brought Queer Activism to the University of Toronto and Changed Its Campus Forever,” *University of Toronto Magazine*, June 11, 2009,

consults two of the organization's first executive board, Ian Young (a gay writer and publisher) and Charlie Hill (then an art history graduate), to learn about the organization's beginnings. Hill's commentary is particularly notable, as he states that "we were an invisible minority, and as long as we were invisible, people could create their own theories about us."³⁸ Perdue also quotes Jearld Moldenhauer, who placed the initial ad in the *Varsity* to gauge interest in forming an association.

Hill's appraisal appears accurate: UTHA strove to educate, speak up and be seen/understood on their own terms through weekly info tables at Sidney Smith Hall, as well as organized meetings, lectures and dances. Perdue places UTHA in a long lineage of gay and lesbian activism connected to UT, presenting the school as an "incubator and a catalyst for the visibility, liberation and celebration of sexual diversity."³⁹ The article maintains a memorial tenor and seeks to solidify UT graduates (and the school environment itself, however hostile) as major contributors to sexual liberation in Canada. She notes, for example, that the manifesto "We Demand" which was read on the steps of Parliament in 1971, had been co-written by Herb Spiers, who would graduate with his PhD from UT 8 years later.⁴⁰

This narrative was contested in 2011 by Jearld Moldenhauer himself, who self-published a blog response entitled "Just an Advertiser or a Founder?" to provide a

<https://magazine.utoronto.ca/research-ideas/culture-society/out-and-proud-history-of-gay-lesbian-activism-toronto-anne-perdue/>, np.

³⁸ Perdue, "Out and Proud," np.

³⁹ Perdue, "Out and Proud," np.

⁴⁰ Patrizia Gentile, "'We Demand' Protest (1971)," *Global Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History*, eds. Howard Chiang, Anhali Arondekar, Marc Epprecht, Jennifer Evans, Ross Forman, Hanadi al-Samman, Emily Skidmore, Zeb Tortorici (Farmington Hills: MacMillan, 2019): 1720-1724.

personal, first-hand account of UTHA's inception. The polemic emphasizes that Ian Young had little, if anything, to do with the founding of UTHA and was in fact deliberately excluded from the initial meetings due to his Apartheidist defense of racist segregation policies and his problematic subscription to Ayn Rand and other "Western Guard" works.⁴¹ Moldenhauer juxtaposes these qualities with his own friendship with a Black Torontonians draft-dodger, John Mitchell, and his self-conception as "a sort of "sport," a hybrid with the right combination of genes, class and education to push my society a tiny bit forward."⁴² 'Black Friend' defence and troubling class commentary aside, a grudge apparently formed between Moldenhauer and Young early on. According to the copies of letters written in the 1970s and produced by Moldenhauer on his website, this led to Young repeatedly referring to Moldenhauer as 'sado-masochistic' in a successful effort to discredit him, preventing his membership on the executive board.⁴³ These interactions, at the very least, demonstrate that contemporary racism and psycho-discourse impacted homophile groups' priorities and internal conflicts. Moldenhauer, after writing a published response to a *Globe & Mail* article which criticized the SAC for their authorization of UTHA, was (in his own words) left "high and dry," having "asked for, nor received, any overt support from Charlie or the group. It was a fledgling organization still learning to find its way and, internally, the waters were already murky

⁴¹ Jearld Moldenhauer, "Just an Advertiser or a Founder?" *Jearld Moldenhauer* (blog), <https://www.jearldmoldenhauer.com/canadian-gay-movement/founding-of-the-university-of-toronto-homophile-association/>, 9-10.

⁴² Jearld Moldenhauer, "Just an Advertiser or a Founder?" 24.

⁴³ Jearld Moldenhauer, "Letter to Frank Kameny, Jan. 10, 1970," *Jearld Moldenhauer* (blog), <https://www.jearldmoldenhauer.com/letter-to-franklin-kameny/>, 1-2.

thanks to Ian Young's obsession over my leadership."⁴⁴ Moldenhauer was subsequently fired from his position as a research analyst in UT's Department of Physiology.

The purpose of history should never be to make us complacent –and sources detailing UTHA's founding and operations are underused by simple memorialization, given their utility in indicating the priorities and conflicts of university-educated, white gay activists in the late 1960s and delineating the ideological implications and erasures emanating from those priorities. The initial founding of UTHA, which included Moldenhauer, has been understood as a call for community and visibility in known historical accounts. It is unsurprising that divisive power dynamics emerged which involved psy-discursive elements: the question of who could *effectively* (both in terms of personality and optics) lead the fledgling organization clearly weighed on UTHA's early membership and was answered via the technologies, concerns and ideals of the university.

Young calling Moldenhauer a sadomasochist to disqualify him from leadership hardly demonstrates a group-wide, unproblematic subscription to psy-technologies. It does, however, indicate that the generation of activists who began organizing within universities were students and, however opposed to elements of Canadian society, were at times influenced/informed by the assumptions and organizational requirements of the university environment and pre-existing homophile movements. The *internal* concern with Moldenhauer's psychology demonstrates that extraneous optics and the capacity of UTHA's leadership to appear respectably normal were relevant to the fledgling

⁴⁴ Moldenhauer, "Advertiser or a Founder?" 14.

organization. The schematic of a student organization (and the politics of visibility attached) was leveraged (and thus embraced) in the interest of constructing a compelling, recognizable, and effective movement which could capture student interest and maintain the “momentum” which Hill and other organizers recognized as vital to change.⁴⁵

Returning to the *Varsity*, psy-technological assumptions also appear to have played a role in UTHA’s earliest efforts at student outreach. The article noting the organization’s official ratification by the SAC describes their plans “to work toward the acceptance of homosexuality on social and personal levels and to set up an informal counselling service. This will be done partly by maintaining a table in the foyer of Sidney Smith Hall...discussion groups...and prominent guest speakers.”⁴⁶ Without access to the UTHA documentation present at the Toronto ArQuives, it is not currently possible to determine what was meant by counselling or whether this was UTHA’s term or not. With this limitation noted, however, the article provides an indication that UTHA’s advisory initiatives were either conducted or simply understood through the hierarchical, authoritative and singular forms of care already entrenched within Canadian culture by professional psy-experts.⁴⁷ Informal counselling has not been a service remarked upon by activists like Hill or Moldenhauer and was likely never a major priority for UTHA, but the inclusion of this specific language in the *Varsity* article is demonstrative of how psy-disciplinary language characterized UTHA’s efforts to educate the student body and resist heteronormative invisibility. This model would impact the homophile organizations which followed UTHA’s example: Wayne Thompson, a 3rd-year sociology student, stated

⁴⁵ “SAC supports homosexuals,” *The Varsity*, November 5th 1969.

⁴⁶ “SAC supports homosexuals,” *The Varsity*, November 5th 1969.

⁴⁷ Titchkosky & De Welles, “University Managed Minds,” 18.

that the nascent University of Western Ontario Homophile Association planned on establishing a counselling service for people “unsure of their sexual orientation.”⁴⁸ It is additionally important to note that UTHA was one among many nascent homophile movements on campuses in Ontario at this time: Western, York and UT’s associations often cooperated with a broader Ontario Homophile Federation, which organized the “Sexuality and Civil Rights” conference at York on 28-29 January 1972.⁴⁹

The fact that these groups referred to themselves as ‘homophile’ organizations is a point of historical interest, as by the 1960s and 1970s the vast majority of homosexual activism involved strategies associated with the developing gay liberation movement. Homophile movements are more typically associated with the late 1940s and 1950s. Homophile organizations most frequently stood against the lobotomization, incarceration and murder of homosexual people. The majority of their resistance strategies centered around visibility, respectability and establishing homosexual peoples’ equal value within modern society. These strategies were largely informed by their membership’s privilege and were often insufficiently critical of societal values: homophile organizations would be viewed by radical gay liberation activists as backwards and embarrassing, a phenomenon which Warner attributes specifically to the “organizational models developed in the 1950s.”⁵⁰ The strategies employed by UTHA and similar university organizations appear to be holdovers of this kind of organizing: while other organizations

⁴⁸ “Gay Lib Union Comes to Western Ontario,” *The Varsity*, Mar. 8, 1971.

⁴⁹ This information is drawn from Jearld Moldenhauer’s blog, which also claims that 40 people (mostly Ontarians) attended the conference. See Jearld Moldenhauer, “Gay Student Conference at York University, Jan. 28-29, 1972,” *Jearld Moldenhauer* (blog), <https://www.jearldmoldenhauer.com/gay-student-conference-york-university/>

⁵⁰ Tom Warner, *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 60.

adopted gay liberation strategies while still operating under the homophile label, UTHA seems to have largely maintained its conformity to earlier models.

Homophile-informed goals forwarded by UTHA –educating the community, combating discrimination and encouraging social and personal acceptance of homosexuality— also influenced later community applications. Their meetings, discussions and activities led to the foundation of the CHAT in December 1970. CHAT, fascinatingly, is described recently by Tom Warner as an answer to UTHA members’ concerns “about how to establish social service programs for gays and lesbians, assist gay men arrested for consensual sexual activities, and provide information and assistance to doctors and lawyers about the gay community.”⁵¹ Far more oriented toward community action but still arguably wedded to societal values and acceptance, CHAT existed concurrently with UTHA’s ongoing outreach and throughout the 1970s. Ultimately, gay liberation’s critique of the societal ideologies and structures homophile movements appealed to would win out and render both organizations obsolete. UTHA and CHAT’s own membership detected these problems and redirected their support towards the gay liberation movement as a result. Although efforts to educate the public concerning their humanity would continue, gay and lesbian organizers in Canada would purposefully draw greater inspiration from women’s liberation and civil rights activism than earlier homophile activism.

Homophile organizing generally involved no small amount of interaction with psychiatrists and their capacity to define homosexual experiences for a wide variety of

⁵¹ Warner, *Never Going Back*, 59.

audiences. Chenier notes that “In 1964 members of the Vancouver-based Association for Social Knowledge, one of the country’s first gay organizations, invited Director R. Edward Turner to speak with them about [the TPHFC’s] work, and subsequently lobbied their provincial government for a similar treatment program in Vancouver.”⁵² Chenier posits that homosexual people at the time likely viewed the TPHFC’s clinic as a positive social, intellectual and political space. Simultaneously, Sara Ellen Dunlop, a popular lesbian singer, community figure and owner of the Music Room (a gay club in Toronto) invited psychiatrists to talk about homosexuality at discussions which drew increasing numbers –organized activities which, influenced by an international exposure facilitated by travelling activists like Jim Egan reflected “a new consciousness.”⁵³ UTHA, for their part, frequently brought in medical authorities to give their opinions on homosexuality, including a doctor from the VD control branch. The contents of these discussions and how much of an opportunity to ‘talk back’ they were remains unclear, but UTHA also frequently held discussions in Nursing or other medical department auditoriums.⁵⁴ The recognition of medical experts’ prospective value in influencing the state was everywhere at the time; it is possible that Canadian homophile groups drew significant inspiration from the strategies employed by similar organizations within the United States.

This is reflected in a *Varsity* article from 1973, where Paul Pearce, a former staff member for CHAT, gave a talk stressing the importance of gay organizations’ educational and lobbying activities while simultaneously disapproving of the “tendency for homophiles to define themselves solely in terms of their sexuality” and describing gay

⁵² Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst*, 130.

⁵³ Tom Warner, *Never Going Back*, 54.

⁵⁴ “Classifieds,” *The Varsity*, March 10, 1971.

liberation as “better equipped *to assist in the development of the total personality of the gay individual*” (my emphasis).⁵⁵ Although certainly more critical of societal structures, gay liberation was also conceived of as a process of personal development/liberation in Toronto at this time: it frequently interacted, therefore, with self-help discourse. It is observable that, owing to the ideological context of the time, contemporary activists embraced (and perhaps appropriated) certain psy-concepts as measures of humanity and health. This would be reflected even in the intensely-radical Gay Liberation Front’s cascading schism over whether action should be focused on ‘self-enlightenment’ or political revolution –an issue which continues to draw racist, classist and ableist lines around who deserves 2SLGBTQ+ activists’ attention and care today.⁵⁶ Pearce’s assumptions about what makes a ‘*total personality*’ indicates that contemporaries’ subscription to colonial health-logics and the rehabilitative project described above were not aberrations, but instead products of homophile strategies’ appeal for white, middle-class gays with a stake in the status quo. A contemporary tactic for ending discrimination and personal shame was setting out to establish the potential, credentials, sensibilities and cultural value of homosexual people as members of society: equality discourse which sought to prove homosexual people’s worth in this way would function by substantiating their value *as defined by colonial institutions* (institutions *like the university*). UTHA’s membership sought to prove their worth –indeed their humanity— to the rest of the student body through visibility, but this tactic depended upon their capacity to publicly and convincingly appear ‘normal.’ In adopting ‘respectability politics’ strategies to prove that they did not need psy-disciplinary intervention and management to openly and

⁵⁵ “Gay Lib. Not the Same as Homophile Groups,” *The Varsity*, January 19, 1973.

⁵⁶ Warner, *Never Going Back*, 63

happily exist in society, UTHA's membership reinforced the notion that there were others who did.

University-bound conceptions of health and normality, informed by psy-expertise, observably played a role in this campaign. An opinion piece from Charlie Hill declared (faced with the scorn of the "great student liberals" of UT) that their lives were "as valuable as anyone else's" and that "we're not faggots and dikes, [sic] we're people and we're proud to be gay."⁵⁷ When considered in the larger course of radical queer activism in Canada, this statement is particularly emblematic of UTHA's anachronism: gay liberation would appropriate such slurs and seek protection for those deemed unruly and undesirable by society (the deviant) but Torontonians student activism around the summer of '69 had not necessarily abandoned certain assumptions informed by their pedagogical exposure to psy-disciplines (or, for that matter, ideas rooted in homophile strategies and class divides within the gay community more broadly). The changes in queer activism and social consciousness associated with the end of the 1960s are complicated by UTHA's presence.

Returning to Million, Razack, Chapman and Withers's appraisals of the mid-twentieth century rehabilitative project's interrelation with activism, the consistent image of the pathologically deviant homosexual created on university campuses throughout the first half of the twentieth century was the explicit target of UTHA's visibility strategies. By seeking to discredit assertions about the typical homosexual with examples of modern excellence within the community, UTHA attempted to provide incontrovertible evidence

⁵⁷ "We're Not from Mars –We're People," *The Varsity*, February 8, 1971.

that *they did not need rehabilitation* to their peers. Although this strategy had limited success in addressing contemporary issues of discrimination based on stereotypes and assumptions about homosexual people, these victories came at the notable cost of reinforcing the validity of the societal status quo and the righteousness of applying rehabilitative efforts to other oppressed groups. UTHA's public statements and activities, therefore, were limited in their discursive opposition of psy-experts' claims about social pathology, toeing the line of earlier homophile groups' foci. By claiming mental, corporeal and moral similarity to the rest of the student body, UTHA emphasized that white, middle-class and able-bodied homosexuals could comfortably conform to societal norms *without the therapeutic intervention of psy-experts*. This strategy sought to substantiate, above all, the capacity of homosexual people to be assimilated into contemporary society without behavioural modification and exist without challenging the structures which disenfranchised those on the societal margins.

Conclusion

How did psy-technologies and expertise come to be considered an effective source of leverage by UTHA's membership in their attempt to negotiate for their survival? The *how* remains unclear, although there have been indications of inspiration from Frank Kameny or the United States groups Jim Egan maintained contact with. What *is* clear, however, is that universities, socially and institutionally, demanded specific, hierarchical schematics of organization from campus homophile movements and that the students comprised within those movements (initially, at least) operated within the value system which universities entrenched.

Perdue's appraisal of UT as an incubator and/or catalyst for change aside, the existence of a vibrant, angry and politically-minded gay subculture on campus is clearly observable –but that engagement does not preclude the colonial, psy-discursive and modernist ideologies which influenced their conception of 'effective' organizing and the horizons they initially set around their activism. The early subscription to the belief that psy-experts could be potent allies, abandoned early in the 1970s, was based on their utility in convincing the public of homosexual people's value. I tentatively argue that this belief was founded in contemporary social realities *and* pedagogical exposure on-campus. This would define (even in opposition) a great deal of contemporary activism in Canada. Homophile associations in late 1960s Toronto attempted to define a specific subjectivity in the interest of engaging the public and convincing them of homosexuals' humanity and social worth: that that subjectivity was presented as white, middle-class and willing to support societal structures –not unruly, not *deviant*— was no accident at all.

By juxtaposing UTHA's foundation and outreach strategies with a broader picture of student relationships to psy-expertise, deviancy and race, this chapter has sought to analyze how the university environment generated social knowledge of and desire for psy-expertise within 'progressive' activist circles as described by Million. Psy-expertise became integrated into neoliberal racism in part through its interrelation with student activism on university campuses –including gay rights activism's attempts to substantiate the societal worth of their lives. Students on Canadian campuses in the 1960s were, in this way, contributors to the demand for psychiatry/psychology-informed social projects which resulted in greater police and therapeutic surveillance of QTBIPoC communities.

Conclusion: Knowing Deviants

This study began with a glimpse of how the students of postwar universities, guided by their own interest, were inducted into professionalized violence against some of the most isolated and vulnerable members of their society. Although frequently backgrounded in histories of ideas, modern universities exerted palpable influence over such interest, often by presenting psy-disciplinary theorization as self-evidently true, ethical and professionally/personally useful. The longstanding, transnational rehabilitative project, which sought above all to condition and adjust a multiplicity of human experiences to a privileged, normative standard, relied significantly on university's capacity to define advanced, rigorous and objective knowledge.

Curtis' reflexive historical sociology has indicated that political ideology passed, at various points in Canadian history, as this kind of knowledge within educational institutions. My research has redirected this critique specifically towards the capacity of the university environment to present oppressive social commentary from its faculty and/or associated scholars as knowledge in a similar way. Although efforts to exert control over the university environment and the people within it were always flawed, the student perspectives considered here demonstrate the successful accreditation of these discourses. Cultivating interest in psy-disciplinary knowledge, as well as belief in the benevolence of professions setting out to 'scientifically' manage marginalized communities, was clearly an outcome of UT's pedagogy in this period.

This thesis has argued that the psychiatric, psychological and psychoanalytic content of UT's curricula and clinical education enabled a disparate collection of

declarative assertions about homosexual people to be convincingly presented as internally consistent to its students. The pedagogical purview of the university allowed a greater public engagement with pathologized accounts of homosexuality and contributed to the local prevalence and durability of queerphobic deviancy rhetoric in Toronto. By recognizing psy-disciplinary theorization about sexuality as scientifically sound, pedagogically relevant and professionally useful (and organizing curricula accordingly,) institutions like UT augmented the public currency of the rehabilitative project in Canada.

Psy-disciplinary professionalization in the first decade after the Second World War was accompanied by a varied set of pedagogical claims about what Canadian practitioners could offer their students and their society. The integration of introductory psychology courses into several different programs at UT by the late 1940s has been shown to have been connected to these claims. The various textbooks employed in the 1949-1950 academic year demonstrate the presence of a concerted, and therefore seemingly self-evident, body of declarative assertions on the nature of homosexuality and the threat it posed to Canadian society. The inconsistency among these texts was minimized, if not concealed, from their readership through intertextual and rhetorical conventions which additionally erased queer dissent. Despite the presence of semi-tolerant arguments about sublimating homosexuals' cultural value within textbooks like *Personality and Its Deviations*, rehabilitative rhetoric which encouraged individualized adjustment to a normative standard flourished at UT between 1949 and 1950.

The evidence for UT's non-clinical pedagogy at this time could be challenged on the grounds of its short scope. A year is not enough to substantiate a trend within the

methodology of history. One of the possible limitations of my work is that the texts used during 1949-1950 could be anomalous, rather than indicative of any enduringly concerted or prevalent claims about sexuality circulating within UT's classrooms. While this remains a possibility that I have not been able to rule out under my current research conditions, my findings remain significant regardless of specific trends' uncertain continuation. The discursive patterns shared among these textbooks are indicative, more than anything, of the postwar university's *capacity* to present accounts of this kind as knowledge to many people. The social role of the university, psy-experts' rehabilitative approach and the prevalence of discourse labelling homosexuals as menaces to society did not radically change in Canada between the 1940s-1970s. It is reasonable to assume that universities (and UT specifically) continued to contribute to the local acceptance of the authority of psy-experts in the manner indicated by this evidence. As I intend on continuing this research in the context of doctoral study, I will be contextualizing and reinterpreting these initial findings in the near future.

It is additionally clear that the line between professional and academic psychology was not as impermeable as previously estimated following the publication of the MacLeod report, despite the intradisciplinary assertions of psychologists about the historical course of their discipline within Canada. The involvement of the TPHFC in the clinical education of medical, psychology and social work students demonstrates the pedagogical influence of applied, professional settings long after 1955. The modelling of biased, rehabilitative rhetoric within the context of the forensic clinic clearly contributed to the intergenerational perpetuation of racist, queerphobic and ableist assumptions within ostensibly progressive Canadian mental healthcare. The use of clinical psychology

to evaluate and *speak for* patients who were suspected of being intellectually disabled or would simply refuse to admit to a sexual offence indicates the extent to which the overriding objectivity and insight of psy-technologies had been normalized by this point. Any distinction between ‘professional’ and ‘academic’ psychology from 1955 onwards ignores how professional applications informed pedagogy.

Belief in objective and progressive psychological insight would spread broadly among Canadian students in the 1950s and 1960s, manifesting at UT in several *Varsity* articles and even the resistance strategies of local homophile organizations. The progressive, white, middle-class ethos which took shape at this time would rely significantly upon student exposure to sociological and psychological rhetoric about social pathology. This took place, as frequently noted by historians, in a wide variety of settings which comprised school clinics and classrooms. Students’ engagement with these discourses demonstrates the systemic failures of contemporary fulminations by the “great student liberals” Charlie Hill sought to win over at UT. Universities were material and social points of contact for models of political change informed by white, middle-class sensibilities, which circulated prominently during the postwar period and had an unequivocal role in state and social violence against QTBIPoC communities in Canada.

A point of historical significance for these findings lies in their capacity to elucidate the transfiguration of eugenics into progressive ideologies following the end of the Second World War. As Chapman, Withers and Somerville have observed, the relationship between psychology and eugenics is far more complicated than previous historiography has suggested. Universities like UT were sites which previously supported eugenic claims about societal hygiene, advocating for the sterilization and

professionalized management of disabled, queer and racialized people. Their role in the transfiguration and perpetuation of these ideas across generations has too-often remained tacit, folded into an image of best-attempt objectivity which belies the motivated attempts to attract students' material/social interest and increase the profile of one's specific profession. Recognizing the continuity of the rehabilitative ideals comprised within the eugenics, mental hygiene and anti-deviancy movements is vital to Canadian historiography because it enables greater critical engagement with the intergenerational intractability of medicalized oppression.

Beyond this, however, one can also observe value in the deconstruction of two key mythologies: that of the benevolently progressive, objective university and that of the 1960s middle-class activist. Understanding how the rehabilitative project has effectively set the horizons of liberal political progress itself, as well as 'modern' ideas about benevolent, effective and objective knowledge-production, is an essential component of challenging the endemic issues within the academic sector and university structures. The moralized pressures, normalized whiteness and ladder altruism described by anti-racist theorists like Kendi can and should be integrated into the historiography of the modern university.

This thesis has additionally focused on how white, middle-class Canadians incorporated psy-rhetoric into both their own worldviews and their efforts to politically organize around their ostensible role as benevolent managers of QTBIPOC populations. The proliferation of psy-experts' social critiques as knowledge by postwar universities was clearly a contributor to the vast social currency these ideas enjoyed and their reinforcement of existing inequalities within the nation. As a constituent of the

mythology of Canada's sympathetic benevolence today, understanding the historical university as a site where hierarchies of management and 'care' were ideologically reinforced following the Second World War is potentially valuable to social critiques of this image.

There has been, at times, a noticeable lack of scrutiny directed towards the history of modern universities and their systemic contributions to the credibility and legitimacy of specific knowledge. These institutions logistically enabled experts to assume social and medical authority over marginalized communities in postwar Canada. They claimed, quite simply, to 'know' deviants better than they understood themselves – a claim which has not disappeared within the academy during the intervening decades. The characteristic forms of psy-disciplinary pedagogy which circulated on campuses like UT attracted students' interest and entrenched these specific, hierarchical models of mental healthcare for generations. The intractability of these power dynamics and the intergenerational recreation of oppressive mindsets among students was observably contributed to by these postwar phenomena.

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