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Ripeka Evans: Analyse History and Get A Whole Vision of Society

In January, 1985, Ripeka Evans talked to Margot Roth about her family, her involvement in action for political and social change and her work as a tutor for the Auckland Workers' Educational Association (of which Roth is a vice-president)[1] She said:

I first started tutoring on a part-time basis for Auckland WEA in 1980. That was when I was working in a resource centre set up for Polynesian people by the Auckland Trade Union Centre. In the midst of working there someone from the Education Sub-Committee of the Auckland Trades Council suggested I should do some courses for the WEA.

At that time what I was actually running was a number of different courses on a voluntary basis for different organisations. I was involved mainly with Maori activist type organisations and a variety of women's groups. There were a number of Maori women that I'd either worked with or been involved with on some issue or other and

already there was a core group of us pushing for the setting up of a type of Maori women's movement.

Were they all about your age?
At that time we'd have been in our early twenties. Some were a little bit older than that. A number of them had been through university and some had, like myself, become disenchanted with that. There were a couple of us that had been through some rather unique political experiences. We'd been overseas to a number of conferences, we'd become involved with different women's groups on campus.

Where overseas?
We went to a lot of women's conferences, feminist conferences in Australia, one in England which was one of the first women in media conferences they had there. Then three of us, who were the only Maoris in the group, went on a delegation to Cuba in 1978. We were involved in Nga Tamatoa and organisations like that. Nga Tamatoa means the young warriors. It was an organisation that was set up in the early seventies with a number of different names, some of them very similar to the names of organisations that are around now.

One of the main aims of Nga Tamatoa was to look for some civil justice and at such issues as racism in the courts, the education system, social welfare and most of the other government institutions. Another way it was very active was in looking at some of the more root causes of oppression and racism, especially to do with land. We had a high profile when it came to civil rights as well as on land activities, and those two broad areas have been areas which all Maori activist organisations have spearheaded.

I seem to remember there was a petition about Maori language in schools.
Yes. One of the things that stood out in these organisations of both Maori men and women was the remarkable role women played. I think of people like Hana Jackson who, along with Te Reo Maori Society in Wellington spearheaded the campaign for Maori language. In Auckland and then in Wellington there was a Te Reo Maori society.

The language petition was begun I think in 1970 or '71 when a petition calling for teaching Maori at school was peddled around a number of different schools and government organisations seeking the teaching of language as well as five minutes of television time per day. Last year, 12 or 13 years later, one of the aims actually came about when we had the setting up of Te Korero, Maori news. There wasn't even five minutes to begin with and this year it's going to be eight minutes.

I heard Donna Awatere say recently that she put a lot of time into that

petition, but it's something she would not do now.
I'll tell you some of the background to that. I first went to University in 1974 and that year or the year after Ivan Ilich came out here and gave a series of lectures about deschooling. Then Nga Tamatoa had a meeting with him. I remember disagreeing that we should have our language in schools because I thought it would be something quite destructive. Ilich came along to one of our meetings and I said this to him. He said that if we fought for the teaching of our language in schools that would be the easiest way to kill it because the education system was based on Pakeha things and we should have taken the argument much further and foreseen that we were asking for something that was going to be implemented by Pakehas who were not familiar with the language. They would not be teaching it for the same reasons that we wanted them to, anyway.

But I do think that petition was far sighted. And there are always two sides to this sort of action: on one side you fight for what you want, in this case the incorporation of Maori language into the institutions; on the other side you rely on your informed networks outside the system to maintain what I call the authentic spirit. And some 10 or 12 years later we got the setting up of te kohanga reo programmes, language nests, which arose from women's ideas and are carried out almost completely by women, except that now there is an executive body called the Kohanga Reo Trust which has a few men on it. Kohanga reo is an organic thing in a lot of ways. It's grown out of the frustration of young Maori women, the largest single group within Maoridom who have heeded the call to retain our language. There are a lot of young women who have been through adolescent pregnancies and for them it is a cathartic thing. It's not just for preschool children.

Tell me about your upbringing.
Well, I thought that it was absolutely natural for women to play a very dynamic leadership role because that was the role I had always been thrust into as a child. I was never ever told there was anything unusual in anything I'd done. Not by my mother or my grandmother. A lot of women members of my family, aunts and things like that, were active in organisations at home.

Where's home?
In the Hokianga, which is one of the first areas in the country that was colonised by the Pakeha. I grew up with an understanding that land was a very crucial question to us as a people, that somewhere along the line the balance of who controlled what in this country was turned upside down. I grew up with a very in-depth understanding of the

history of Hokianga.

Who gave this to you?
A number of elders around Hokianga from my Grandfather's family, which is a community that I grew up in — my mother's father's family. Also on the other side of the valley was my grandmother's family who had connections not just within Ngapuhi but also from the East Coast from Ngati Porou so there was a very unique understanding of things in the North as well as an ability to reflect and relate those to other predominantly Maori populated areas in the country.

Where did you go to school?
I went to Northland College after refusing to come to Auckland on a scholarship because it would have meant being away from my grandmother and the environment that we lived in. So I went to school up there and came to university down here and began an arts degree and a law degree.
  I went to Cuba in 1978 and came back with the feeling that it was no longer possible for me to remain at university or any other institution like that and at the same time pursue some of the political beliefs that I wanted to pursue, so I left and worked full time for a number of years. For five to six years I worked for a variety of political organisations like Tamatoa and doing research with Te Matakite which is a Maori land organisation that led the Maori land march in 1975. Then we established a Maori women's movement in the late 1970s.

What did you use for money during this time?
We did all our own fundraising, begged and scraped and borrowed whatever we could. We set up a system of tithes within Tamatoa whereby each person who could would contribute a certain amount. That sometimes worked and sometimes didn't. We used to have a number of regular fundraising events. We never got into the business of applying for funds until very late in the play. I think I had always foreseen the dangers of becoming tied to government funding or even non-government funding.

Could you talk some more about Cuba
We were in Cuba for five weeks in 1978. We went there for an international festival of eastern students which is an event that's held every four to six years in different socialist countries. Youth and student organisations throughout the world are invited. By and large they are organisations with some socialist connections. We went there as members of Tamatoa and part of a delegation of 10, three of us Maori women. We went via a very long route and visited a number of countries before and after. The festival was nine days of the five weeks.

We found it tremendously difficult to work with the Pakeha members of our delegation, for two reasons. Firstly because of an immature and non-existent respect for us as indigenous people that gave rise to some very racist attitudes towards us, and the political issues that we wished to raise. It was just after the eviction at Bastion Point. The other reason why they got off balance with us was because they had no respect for us as women and no respect for what I consider very fundamental feminist principles.

Were all the pakeha members students?
One or two were students. The rest were professionals or semi-professionals in training and a couple of them were factory workers.

Because of the publicity when you came back about Cuban trained Maori guerrillas I was unaware that you were actually part of a delegation that included Pakehas. So you were analysing New Zealand's political situation within your own group and you were also getting a lot of input from the Cubans?
Not so much from the Cubans. We had a lot of help from them when we were there, they were very hospitable people. We visited a number of institutions and there were the formal functions of the festival to attend.

We actually broke away from the rest of our delegation because of the severe differences and teamed up with the only Aboriginal from the Australian group who was having similar difficulties and also with the East Timorese, some people who were in exile from the Philippines, people from Fiji and Papua New Guinea, and we formed a Pacific delegation. We set about boldly seeking meetings with different organisations.

One of the first was the Palestine Liberation Organisation because we'd made some links in the short time we had been there. That was a unique experience because during the time we were meeting with them one of their comrades was shot in Paris. That led to a very intense exchange between our groups and it ended with them inviting us to go and stay with them in their villa because they had to shift out members of the opposition who were in the organisation that was responsible for the assassination of their comrade.

So we lived with them while we were there and that opened doors to situations where we would otherwise have been spectators. The other thing that was reinforcing about that experience was that we were able to live a very interesting political life with them. We spent a lot of time with women who had been active in the Arab/Israeli war. We talked not just about our rights as indigenous people but also about women's issues. Talking with the PLO women moved my politi-

cal thinking on from where I thought about making piecemeal demands, like at Bastion Point, Raglan, the land march and so on to sewing these together into a coherent political philosophy.

We were sitting around one day talking about different issues and I remember one PLO woman said to me that we shouldn't be thinking in terms of just having a little patch of land there and a patch here. We had to look at this country as being our country — that really should be the basis of any political philosophy that we had.

I think that took a long time to sink in but it really confirmed for me what I had felt a long time before when I used to sit in huis when I was a kid hearing some of the things that were said in defferent ways in waiata and stories that have been told and retold. The feeling that comes through is that it's very much a retelling of history. History based on the fact that this land is ours, this country is ours. Once that sort of feeling transpires into a political philosophy it gives a tremendous feeling of satisfaction; that you are not operating in a vacuum and that your theories are not detached from the things that you are fighting for.

I used to feel in some of the organisations that I was involved in, like feminist organisations where there were mostly pakeha women, also in civil rights activities and especially student politics, that I was floating on an island. The Cuban experience turned the world upside down for me and made me feel that perhaps everyone else was an island floating on top.

Was Donna Awatere with you in Cuba?
Donna, myself and Josephine Keelan. That was the beginning of *Maori Sovereignty*[2] for Donna. Afterwards there were a number of other experiences that also triggered it: during the build up to the Springbok tour there were a number of things that happened that led to the writing of those three articles in *Broadsheet* and eventually the book.

So there's your childhood as an indigenous person, your activist and overseas experiences and the fitting of everything into a political philosophy which have come together to make you an educator for Auckland WEA.
In some ways you could say that. I've never figured I was anything like an educator, just that I've been given special tasks to do.

Who gave them to you?
I think that the only person, if you want it tied down to one, who ever said I must do something, who stands out as sort of pointing a finger at me was my grandmother. There were also people from her hapu

who gave me a tribal responsibility when I left home and said whatever I did was to be for the benefit of the tribe. They gave me a lot of backing to go to university. I need to return some of the support they gave me in my childhood as well as in my education.

I'll always continue to do things that are going to benefit our people as a whole. People within Tai Tokerau need to start looking at ways of benefitting our people more directly. I do not think that the men are going to do the work that will bring together different tribal groups. I think it's going to take the leadership of women and it's certainly something I would like to contribute more time to over the next few years. Within two tribal areas federations are being made now.

You certainly don't seem to subscribe to the Pakeha notion of individual achievement.
One feeling I thought was just a natural phenomenon was that any achievement I had would always be measured in relation to the benefit that accrued for those I was achieving on behalf of: it's a corporate or community benefit. There's no such thing as individual achievement.

It seems that you had a thoroughly Maori upbringing
A lot of it was geared towards education. A lot of my mother's family's ideas were moving away from teaching Maori, but not so much away from the values. I had to do what a lot of people in my age group had to do and reteach myself the Maori language since leaving home. Maori was spoken at home by my grandmother and taught by her to a few, but she didn't see it as something that was going to benefit me. I know I certainly grew up with the values. It was a completely Maori community I grew up in, it was all whanau. The whole valley we lived in was surrounded by our ancestors. They were buried from one side of the valley to the other. We were surrounded by our different battle sites too. There was a pa directly behind us that was one of Hone Heke's inland pas and everywhere you went within a stone's throw there was one sacred site and one battle site. Around where I lived was the area where Hone Heke and Hongi Hika were both from originally, so it was a very interesting place to grow up in.

Can you suggest why it is that men are not spearheading the conservation of Maori culture?
There are a lot of Maori men involved in those sorts of things but I think that the conditioning that women have, particularly in relation to roles, gives us the unique qualities of nurturing and I'm not saying this just in relation to the mothering role but as something that all women are embellished with, the quality of preservation and reten-

tion, of sowing seeds and resowing, the whole planting process and the process of birth. When you look at the issue of land for example, within Maori culture women are equivalent to land, and the process of birth and rebirth is the same as that of life and generation and regeneration. I think that would be the only explanation I would be prepared to give for the disproportionate number of women that have played a leadership role in action to do with land or language or the retention of our culture.

Do you think that these qualities that you ascribe to women are stronger among Maori women?
Well, Maori women have a very strong instinctive drive towards the issues. I'm not saying they go around asking for leadership. Part of the drive comes from the position we are in as a people when it comes to issues such as mortality — this has a subconscious effect of creating a very strong drive for survival and survival means that you have to step into roles in a stronger and more strident fashion.

Death is almost an everyday part of life for a lot of Maori families, no matter how alienated they are from their turangawaewae.[3] I think that creates something because what they are seeing is the threat of their children dying or being taken away at some stage or another. So a lot of Maori women have a strong protective drive that makes them active.

One really interesting group that I took two or three years ago was one where we worked on assertiveness training. There were about 10 women and it was a 10 week module. What happened was that at each session we took out the European and middle-class Pakeha examples and put in our own. Another thing we did was to look at a number of the different situations — the politics of housework stuff is very much based on nuclear family type households and a majority of women in that group had to deal with men in an extended family. So we had to do more than just alter some of the examples. The philosophy behind assertiveness is to equip women with some sort of weapon to make their personal life easier and nicer. We took it out of that vacuum[4] and looked at the Maoriness of situations and talked about it in those terms. We added some structural analysis. The majority of the women who did the course are now very good assertiveness instructors.

In whatever I do I am not working on an individual thing. I want to create a learning situation from which women will feel comfortable enough to go out and teach other women. This is really what happened with that group: for most of those women it was a spiralling thing, it gave them some sort of solution to their own immediate situations, but what gave me the most satisfaction was that they went

out and created other layers of learning, through teaching. They went away with a hunger for more understanding of wider things outside the home situation, outside their work, outside particular political groups into the broader arena and a desire to see change on a wide front.

A lot of the courses or sessions that I've run have been a combination of my own political philosophy that's jelled together over the years and that's been infused into my teaching. Also with any group I've taught I've wanted the women to change or shape whatever knowledge it is that they are learning. I didn't know that this thing was called structural analysis until someone told me. But it is in fact what structural analysis is about, the theory that oppressed people will develop their own ways and means of teaching one another and learning from one another. It also teaches ways of analysing power and structures in society and its institutions.

I had always thought that my priority was to work with Maori people. When I was first approached to do some courses for WEA I was told that I'd have to work with Pakeha people, so I thought I'd give it a shot. The first class I ran was 'The political economy of Maori women'. I ran this twice and there were only Pakeha women who attended, then somehow or other I wanted to organise Maori-women-only courses. This led to a debate on the WEA District Council where the only Maori woman on the Council spoke out against it. When I considered afterwards I though the best thing to have done would have been to set up the courses and use my power as a tutor to make sure that only Maori women were there.

I wouldn't agree with that, I think it's essential for these principles to be established. We had to fight to establish that only women attended the women's studies courses unless the tutor wanted it otherwise and it was very important to establish the policy of being able to have courses for Maori women only.

I remember one course where I barely got to the end of the first session before I had proof that we needed courses just for Maori women when a Pakeha woman burst into tears and said that I hated all Pakehas and why was I doing this to her, why was I putting her through all this misery, it wasn't her fault that these people had come and done this to our people and anyway it wasn't true, that sometimes we bloody asked for it. Which I ignored and just carried on teaching.

I asked them to split up into pairs to discuss a couple of questions. I went out of the room until they had done the exercise and a couple of the other women from the class approached me and said they would speak to her and do what they could. Well, the same thing happened

in the second session and I thought, this is getting a bit much, we can't go on like this. I was refusing to give her any individual attention, I would not accept responsibility for her guilty conscience, so I left it, and what happened was the women actually asked me to leave the room and the whole group actually sorted her out, which I think was a good idea. I never asked them to do that, the dynamic in the group was to do it. In any situation where there's disagreement or conflict or tension I leave it with the group or encourage them to deal with the situation. The woman stayed and at the end of the course in the evaluation she said that she had learnt a lot but she did not quite know what.

Anyway some months later she wrote to me and said that she had learnt something that she assumed I had not set out to teach and that was that she had to reach an understanding about the role she had to play as a non-Maori person and that really I should be teaching Maori women.

You have run structural analysis courses which aim to take people from wherever they are and show them that they can make political changes.
Structural analysis is something I have taught to non-Maori groups. There was an understanding I gave to the WEA before I went to Paris in 1983 to a Structural Analysis Seminar that I would share some of that when I came back. And again I found it very unsatisfactory for me. I had understood that people that signed up for the course were people with some vague understanding of what Maori Sovereignty was, or at least wanted to understand it. I was prepared to work with that type of group to find out what their interpretation of Maori Sovereignty was and whether or not it was what I would consider to be a warped version. There was a group of people within that group that were committed to developing their understanding and analysis of what Maori Sovereignty is.

I mean no insult to different people, non-Maori people, that I've taught but I find that often they don't have a vision for society, or what vision there is is in a million different pieces with a million different names to it. I'm not saying that people should have one vision and one name, but at least something coherent to base their politics on. This must be worked out from a basis of history, your history is the turangawaewae in your life: without knowing your history you are operating in a vacuum. Without analysing your history — your past history and your present history — there is no future, no way forward. The future isn't based on dreaming dreams, it's based on the past. And that's all Maori Sovereignty is when you come down to basics. In the book (Awatere, 1984) Donna has given some analysis of things such as Pakeha materialism, but the basic argument is that

it's something that is based on our history as a people. Some Pakehas get hung up on guilt because they can't argue with the fact that when they put their history alongside our history there are a few obvious questions and a few obvious answers!

How do you find working with the Auckland WEA?
The WEA aims are broad enough to embrace the sorts of things that I'm teaching and certainly the structure of the organisation allows for it. Before I move out of Auckland WEA I would like to see one or two other people taking up the things that I do, especially in the area of language tutors, and make it a permanent thing.

You have to be flexible to operate in a Maori environment. I run sessions or courses at the drop of a hat, sometimes at hui. And I think, maybe it will require doing a structural analysis session, which it has a couple of times in the past six months, and so I do. Because of the organisations that I'm involved with I've got a permanent clientele if you like, of people to take courses or to run courses with. That sets up a situation of reciprocity whereby people that I know come to the courses that I take and I also link into some of the things that they are doing. Once that sort of thing is established it acts as a base. I also work outside that network.

We have not talked at all about some of your political activities, like all the hard work you did about the Maori Secretariat for the Women's Ministry. You were in a group of women who did that in an incredibly short time.
Yes. There were some things we had to our advantage. I utilise a lot of the things that I teach in a group like that. It was an interesting exercise to go through because it involved a huge debate right from the beginning. By and large I've always operated outside the institutions and what we were doing was asking for the setting up of something within the government. I still think the Secretariat holds a tremendous amount of potential but it is something that is going to have to be treated with the utmost care in getting it set up, especially if it's to be set up in the way we wanted.

We didn't just argue for it from a Maori philosophical basis but also for the setting up of it to be done in a uniquely Maori fashion. And when you put people in a place to make the dream that you dreamt come true you don't always know whether it will happen. Whether or not the head of the Ministry will approve the establishment procedure that we're advocating is not known yet. It was a valuable exercise debating whether or not we should be doing something like this. I think the pressure of time forced us into saying yes.

That is interesting because your whole conversation has been about saying no to any kind of establishment exercise.
I wouldn't like to predict what will happen, it's all in the future.

What you have asked is that appointments to the Maori Secretariat of the Women's Ministry should be carried out up and down the country at a series of hui and that Maori women should be responsible for choosing. A question that has arisen for Pakeha women as well is how far the appointments will have to conform to public service regulations.
There is a precedent in the setting up of the Maori Advisory Unit for Social Welfare here in Auckland last year, which was in some ways difficult, but it was in the end done with the same sort of hui process. The only condition that was laid down by the Department was that one position should go to a departmental employee, but applicants for that job had to go through the hui process as well.

For me the Ministry has exciting possibilities so I was willing to give it a trial. It has come out of the sort of feminist environment that I've grown up in. Of course, with my usual cynicism, I don't hold out much hope that it will do the things that would fulfil the feminist dream I have. Nor do I hold out any hope that it will do all the things that women expect. There has been an assumption by some Maori and Pakeha women that this Ministry will carry forward all their dreams and hopes and aspirations.

My feeling is that it will be part of a process. It will be like any other institution and suffer the same sorts of constraints. But of course there is the potential for us to make it much more than that. We just have to wait and see whether or not we can.

Notes

1. Many thanks to Alla Malama, of the Auckland WEA, who transcribed the interview tape, and to Pat Rosier, editor of the WSA (NZ) Newsletter, who edited it.

2. The overall title of a series of articles written for *Broadsheet,* which were subsequently published as a book.

3. New Zealand's vital statistics support this statement. More Maoris than non-Maoris die at every age level. Maori women have a life expectancy of approximately 70 years compared with 77 for non-Maoris. One of the most striking differences among adult females is in both the 25-44 and 45-64 age groups. In the younger lot, for every 10,000 of population 20.2 Maori women died compared with 9.4 non-Maori; for the older group the figures are 128.9 and 65.1 — that is, in 1982, just over and just under twice as many Maori women died in the respective age groups as their non-Maori coun-

terparts. (Statistics Department, 1984). The 1982 figures also showed that the Maori infant death rate of 19 per 1000 live births was 73% higher than the non-Maori rate of 11 per 1000. (National Health Statistics Centre, 1982).

4. The Auckland WEA Women's Studies Sub-Committee detected this same vacuum and for this reason also designed an alternative course: 'Making changes: self-esteem for women.'

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WHICH Girls Are 'Learning to Lose'? Gender, Class, Race In the Classroom.

Alison Jones

Boys dominate 'formal' classroom talk. Overseas, at least, this has been well documented.[1] This research indicates that in co-educational classrooms, girls not only speak less but also get less of the teacher's attention than do boys, whose words, ideas and interests dominate classroom interaction.

It is argued that these patterns form an important aspect of the hidden curriculum from which boys and girls learn quite different things. Spender (1980a:14) argues that, via this hidden curriculum (as well as the overt curriculum), knowledge is 'distributed differentially' to girls and boys in the classroom: 'students receive knowledge which is considered "appropriate" to their sex'. Spender's central

point is that the knowledge made differentially available rewards one sex and penalises the other. Through classroom interactions with the teacher, which boys' voices and actions habitually dominate, the knowledge made available to boys works in their favour. Boys learn that their words, their opinions, their experiences are interesting, valid, worthwhile and important. This boosts their confidence and reinforces their assertiveness. On the other hand, what girls learn from co-educational classroom interaction is that *their* words, knowledge and experiences are not very interesting and of peripheral importance. They come to see speaking up as 'unfeminine' and the prerogative of the boys. The girls' relative 'silence' in the classroom, it is argued, contributes to a reduction in girls' self-esteem, self-confidence and aspirations (Roberts, 1976; Spender, 1980a); girls in school are 'learning to lose'. Hence, the hidden curriculum in the classroom helps train girls (and boys) in the dynamics of gender relations in a sexist society where males are authoritative and whose words usually 'describe the world', and where females are still largely invisible as authoritative, knowledgeable and capable people.

Spender praises the single-sex environment as one where girls have the chance to speak. She says:

> In single-sex schools, girls do not experience the same constraints upon talk. In an all-girls classroom, those who talk are girls. A range of verbal roles is available, not just subordinate ones. (Spender, 1980a:153).

I want to argue that Spender has made a serious mistake here. She assumes that in a single-sex school, because males are absent, the operation of structural power relations which relegate females to subordinate positions are effectively banished — in that context, anyway.

Spender fails to recognise *other* power dynamics at work which mean that some groups of girls *do* only have 'subordinate roles' available to them, even in a single-sex environment.

Spender's myopia arises from her feminist assumptions. She assumes that women/girls are a unitary group, and that therefore girls' experiences — in particular contexts, for example classrooms — are generally uniform. This assumption forms the basis of a feminist position which identifies society as patriarchal and then focuses (often exclusively) on the dynamics of gender relations within that society. In doing this, feminists often divide the population into two primary

groups: women-as-a-group (or 'class') oppressed by men-as-a-group. Women's membership of economic class and race groups is considered as an adjunct to their main unifying feature: their shared position as subordinate to men in the patriarchal organisation of society. It follows that in an exclusively female environment, once the gender power-dynamic is removed, so is the primary (only?) source of dominance. All-girls schools can therefore provide 'a range of verbal roles . . . not just subordinate ones'.

With reference to my own research I want to challenge this statement, and the assumptions which underlie it. I want to argue that the same sort of power dynamic that according to Spender and others, disadvantages girls in the classroom, also happens *amongst* groups of girls, and with the same effect: that knowledge is 'differentially distributed' *on the basis of race and class* to different groups of girls in the classroom. Girls as members of race and class groups receive quite different knowledge about learning and teaching and about their own ability.

I recently undertook some ethnographic research in an all-girls New Zealand secondary school, documenting the experiences and beliefs of two groups of girls. As part of that research, I attended lessons with the girls over a period of four terms, observing their interactions with their teachers, and other activities. The two groups of girls were from two different fourth form classes in the school. One (a 'mid-to-low' stream) was made up predominantly of working class Pacific Island girls.[2] Most of these girls were born in New Zealand, their parents having immigrated here from Samoa, Tokelau, Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue. The other group (a 'high' stream) was made up almost entirely of middle class Pakeha (European) girls.

In the fifth form, these girls sometimes came together in the classroom in mixed 'option' classes, made up of about equal numbers of Pakeha and Pacific Island students. I will focus here on the interactions in these option classes. Most of the girls in these classes were 'working hard' at school, and keen to do well.

The patterns of interaction between the teachers and the Pakeha and Pacific Island students in these classes differed markedly. Both groups were learning very different things about 'what to do' in the classroom, and 'how to be a student' — that is, how to learn school knowledge. They were also learning quite different things about the value of their own ideas and words.

Although I collected information on a range of activities in the classroom, I will focus here on the 'public' verbal interaction I observed between the girls and their teachers. The majority of verbal interactions I observed in all the classrooms were initiated by the teacher. I divided these interactions into the following categories:

DR 'Direct routine' interactions where the teacher asked a 'routine' question (one which did not involve interpretation, but reference to notes or the text book) of a named student.

DS 'Direct substantive' interactions where the teacher asked a substantive question (one which involved interpretation, or called on opinion and the student's own ideas and thought) — asked of a named student.

GR A 'routine' question directed at the entire class.

GS A 'substantive' question asked of the class as a whole.

Over the three months I went to 14 fifth form option lessons (accounting, economics and two history classes). These were each attended, on average, by about 10 Pakeha and 10 Pacific Island students. During this time, the teachers asked the students 95 directly addressed routine questions. About one third (36%) of these were asked of the Pacific Island girls. About the same proportion (39%) of the few (N=23) substantive questions were addressed to the Pacific Island girls in the classroom. Over 60% of the teachers' questions were asked directly of *Pakeha* girls.

An even more marked difference was evident in those questions not addressed to any particular student but asked of the class as a whole. Teachers asked more of these sorts of questions. Only about one quarter (26%) of the general routine questions (total N=141) were answered by the Pacific Island students, and a mere 15% of the 125 questions which demanded interpretation by the student were answered by these girls. Table 1 summarises the differences in the rate of answering the teachers' questions by the two groups.

TABLE 1
Percentage of questions answered by Pacific Island and Pakeha girls

				Pacific Island	Pakeha
type of	DR	direct routine	N=95	36%	64%
question	DR	direct substantive	N=23	39%	61%
from	GR	general routine	N=141	26%	74%
teacher	GS	general substantive	N=125	15%	85%

These figures alone indicate that the two groups of girls were not

getting or taking the same chances to speak in the classroom.

There are at least two effects of the fact that Pakeha girls speak more in the classroom that Pacific Island girls. One is that the Pakeha and Pacific Island girls are not getting the same opportunities to learn school knowledge; another is that they are learning different things about the process of learning and their role and ability in this process.

The first effect is suggested by Douglas Barnes (1976:19) in his work on communication in the classroom. He argues that talking is a central ingredient in learning, that through talking we 'remake knowledge for ourselves'. The more the learner is given the opportunity to 'think aloud', the more she can formulate explanations and interpretations, and evaluate her own knowledge.

To learn, we need to 'know what we know' and talking gives us the chance to represent our knowledge to ourselves. Talking, says Barnes, might not be essential for 'recipe' learning which demands only memorisation, but for the sort of knowledge ultimately most valued and rewarded at school, talking is essential. The modern school curriculum tests and rewards skills of interpretation and expression; in exams and essays, students are expected to use their ideas and knowledge in a variety of ways, rather than merely repeat a string-of-facts. Talking gives the student important praactice in these skills.

Pacific Island girls get (or take) less opportunity to 'talk their knowledge into place' than do Pakeha girls. Their relative silence in response to teachers' questions means their chances of learning new knowledge are reduced; that they do not practise the skills of interpretation and expression which are central to being able to understand and use school knowledge, and achieve school success.

The second effect of the different patterns of verbal interaction between teachers and Pakeha and Pacific Island girls in the classroom is just as important as the first. From their communication with the teacher, students learn what is expected of them as students. They learn from their verbal interactions with the teacher such things as whether they are expected to have ideas of their own or only to remember what they've been told. That is, they learn how far they're expected to take part in the formulation of knowledge, or whether they're to act mainly as receivers. (Barnes, 1976:15).

The Pacific Island girls learn that it is 'appropriate' or acceptable for them to be silent, to listen, to receive. Through their teachers' participation with them in patterns of talk in which these girls are relatively silent, the Pacific Island girls do *not* learn that it is important for them to have ideas and express them.

The Pakeha girls on the other hand, having gained most of the

teacher's attention, are learning that their role as students in the process of 'getting school knowledge' does include expressing one's own thoughts and ideas; that their ideas are relevant and important.

This is not quite as straightforward as it seems, however. The school does not merely impose differential patterns of communication, and definitions of 'being a student', on neutral individuals. As members of different class and race groups, students bring with them to the classroom a range of cultural values and beliefs. The Pakeha girls dominated verbal classroom interaction not *just* because the teachers 'picked them out' more often to answer questions, and generally gave them more attention. These girls' dominance and their command of the teacher's attention were a product of their competitive and assertive behaviour which arose in part from their class-cultural beliefs about 'how to be a student' in the classroom.

When a teacher asked a question of the whole class, it was most likely that a Pakeha girl would reply. In general, the Pakeha girls in the option classes were enthusiastic about answering questions, and spoke more loudly and called out more than the Pacific Island girls. They looked at the teacher directly most of the time when she was talking to or questioning them.

For these girls 'being a student' meant using the teacher as a resource, developing understanding of curriculum knowledge and expressing that publicly. They had learnt that engaging with the teacher in question-and-answer interactions was part of 'being a student'; and that verbally expressing their knowledge was a normal part of learning in the classroom. These girls' enthusiasm for expressing their knowledge was also a function of their competitiveness: showing others and the teacher what they knew as individuals. One girl, who wasn't chosen to reply very often, told me bitterly

> I know that old bat hates me. She never asks me questions. She thinks I'm dumb and never gives me a chance.

When the teacher asked questions which demanded interpretation of individual students she learnt (and so did the class) what the student knew and what needed to be extended, built on or filled in. More importantly, through her interaction with the teacher, the student had the opportunity to learn and practise the skills of interpretive thinking.

For the Pacific Island girls whose cultural ethic is *not* individual competition[3], being asked a question as an individual can be excruciating:

I hate it when they ask you questions. Ma (shame), man.
Everyone looks at you. Shrivel, man.

Consequently these girls tended to avoid eye contact with the
teacher, they spoke up very little, muttered more often and rarely
called out an answer as individuals. This is reflected in the relatively
few 'generally addressed' questions answered by Pacific Island girls in
Table 1. In addition, the teachers were apparently sensitive to the
discomfort their questioning caused — as one teacher said to me:
'Those Pacific Island girls tend to be shy and don't like being singled
out.' (This may account for the disproportionately low number of
times the teachers questioned Pacific Island girls directly.)

By asking the Pacific Island girls fewer questions, and by generally
giving them less attention than Pakeha students, the teachers rein-
forced the Pacific Island students' working model of being a student.
In turn, the teachers ultimately penalise these girls' knowledge of
'how to be a student' in that it contributes to the girls' failing to
master curriculum knowledge.

Conversely, the middle class Pakeha girls' cultural environment has
already provided them with expectations about appropriate teaching
methods, and modes of communication, which the school rewards.
There is a congruence between what these students demand of the
school and what the school provides, which works in their favour[4].
These girls' beliefs about learning, and their subsequent behaviour in
the classroom is reinforced by the teachers' (usual) participation with
them in soliciting and listening to their words and ideas; then it is
rewarded by these girls' increased opportunity to practice skills cru-
cial for academic success.

The effects of the teachers' legitimation of Pakeha dominance in
the classroom are compounded when the pattern of *pupil-initiated
communication* in the classroom is examined. During the 14 option
lessons I attended the students asked their teachers very few ques-
tions. Of the 110 questions asked, most (89) were asked by Pakeha
girls. Students hardly ever spontaneously expressed their opinions in
these classes. But when someone did give her unsolicited opinion, it
was almost invariably a Pakeha girl. An aspect of the middleclass
Pakeha girls 'cultural knowledge' about school was that their teachers
are manipulable resources — paid to be available to them, to 'give
them what they need'. Hence they ask the teacher questions without
hesitation, and argue with her if they disagree.

The Pacific Island girls on the other hand, have different norms of

'respect'. Many have learned from their parents that the teacher, like the priest or pastor, holds valuable knowledge and as such is to be respected, not questioned by mere students. Indeed, to ask a question can be a sign of lack of attention and disrespect.

> Linda: I don't ask questions, even when I don't know something.
> AJ: Why not?
> Linda: Well, she's already taught it so I should know it. I should! She'll think I'm rude and not listening and that.

Hence the Pacific Island girls did not 'try-out' their opinions publicly or question the teacher very much — either to clarify a point or to ask for further information.

One result was that the Pakeha girls' concerns, needs and interests defined what was talked about in the classroom. The Pakeha students were enabled to control how the teacher explained curriculum knowledge and the pace at which she did so.

Another outcome of this pattern of pupil-initiated communication was that the Pacific Island girls were penalised heavily; the teaching process used by the teachers *assumes* as an aspect of learning that the girls 'ask when they don't know'. In other words, the cultural norms of the dominant (middle class Pakeha) group form the basis of the process of teaching and learning with which the school operates.

Another reason why many of the Pacific Island girls were silent in the classroom was because they considered themselves 'too dumb' to ask questions. Unlike Pakeha girls, they had learned from their school experiences that they 'do not know' and that their thoughts are relatively unimportant.

This lesson was learned not only by the relatively small amount of attention their verbal ideas received from the teachers, but also from communication in the classroom other than that involved directly in instruction. The interests of the Pakeha girls were also able to dominate these other forms of communication in the classroom. For example, even such things as where the overhead projector was positioned, and when it should be turned off were controlled by the assertive Pakeha girls. My field notes show how these girls' assertiveness was rewarded by the teacher, in that their interests were catered for. For example:

> (Ruth and Daisy are Pacific Island girls; Wendy, Fern, Simone and Clara are Pakeha).
> Ms R. asks if the overhead projector is in the way. She's written notes down to the bottom of the board in front of it. From where

I'm sitting with Ruth it is in the way, and Ruth and Daisy have to crane their heads to read the blackboard. From further along, Wendy and Fern say: 'No, it's okay'.
'Good', says Ms R. Ruth and Daisy say nothing, and keep craning.

The students copy notes on taxation from the overhead projector. Ms S. suddenly turns it off, she seems to assume they've finished. Simone and Clara and a couple of other Pakeha girls complain loudly. No Pacific Island girl says a thing — they wait. Ms S. looks at Simone and co: 'Haven't you finished yet?' 'No!' 'Where are you up to?' Simone and Clara explain, so Ms S. turns the machine on 'for a few seconds'. No other girls are consulted in this interaction.

It would seem likely that these sorts of interactions would reinforce the Pacific Island girls' perception, expressed by Christine, that:
Those (Pakeha) girls are brighter and they know what they want . . . they know more about school work and that . . .
The Pakeha girls' ability to control 'what happens in the classroom' might engender in the Pacific Island girls the belief that their opinion is *legitimately* less valuable, and their needs of less importance, than the 'brighter' Pakeha girls. One teacher in particular reinforced this sort of idea. The eight Pacific Island girls and six Pakeha girls in her class tended to sit in separate groups, which was the usual pattern in all the classes I attended. By her comments, this teacher could not help but show that she divided the class racially on the basis of 'importance'. For example, referring to exercise questions in the text book, she said, looking at the Pakeha girls: "You six can do the first question, the rest can do the second". She glanced at 'the rest' at the end of her statement. On another occasion, when the class was noisy she said:

(To the Pacific Island girls): Do you think you've all run out of ideas over there?
(To the Pakeha girls): How are you going over there?

She invites the Pakeha girls to share their work with her, while closing such chances for 'the rest', with a subtly deprecating remark.
The Pacific Island girls often told me that they found this particular subject difficult, that they couldn't 'do it'. Not surprisingly perhaps, this perception meant that they remained silent in the classroom. The school, via the differential verbal interactions between the

teachers and their students, both *produces* and *reinforces* particular knowledge about 'how to be a student'. That is, although Pakeha and Pacific Island students have the same 'problem' — how to get the teachers' (school) knowledge, they learn different ways of solving this problem, and different beliefs about their own ability to do so. In a complex way, the school simultaneously *rewards* the middle class Pakeha cultural norms of learning and communication, and also helps to (re)produce those "successful" patterns in these students. Conversely, the school is active in *penalising* the cultural patterns of communication of the Pacific Island girls, at the same time (re)producing those very patterns it penalises.[5]

The Pacific Island girls' conception of their role as learners and the silence it engenders reduces these girls' opportunity for engaging in the sort of learning rewarded by the school. The school rewards those skills which it denies to a certain group (the Pacific Island girls) through the teachers' systematic participation in communication patterns in the classroom which disadvantage these students.

An *interaction* between the students' norms and behaviours and the teachers' (school's) 'pedagogic mode' contributed to the patterns of communication which advantage Pakeha students by their having (demanding) more opportunity to exchange ideas with the teacher, and disadvantage Pacific Island students who remain relatively silent. In doing little to modify these patterns, the teachers in effect *legitimated* them, and colluded in maintaining a situation which penalised one group of girls and rewarded another.

The patterns of communication I observed in the all-girls' fifth form option classes suggest that, contrary to Spender's suggestion, there are *not* 'a range of verbal roles' available for all girls in a totally female environment.

The power relations that exist between race and economic class groups in New Zealand continue to operate in the classroom, whatever the gender of the participants, such that working class Pacific Island girls *do* have only a 'subordinate verbal role" available to them in a single-sex classroom.

It could be suggested that we turn Spender's support for all girls' schools over again : that as gender-segregation gives girls the chance to speak (and thus gain confidence, assertiveness, knowledge etc), dividing girls on the basis of class and race might do the same for Pacific Island girls.

At the girls' school I attended, limited segregation by race and class

actually did occur, in the non-option streamed classes. I do not have the space here to report my findings in these classrooms in detail, but I found that the Pacific Island girls' opportunities to 'speak their words and knowledge' were *not* enhanced by this segregated environment.

Rather, in the ('lower stream') classes made up predominantly of Pacific Island girls, verbal communication with the teacher was almost exclusively narrow, routine 'reporting' talk. Most verbal interaction consisted of individual or mass replies to simple questions which demanded no more than memorisation.

On the other hand, in the classes which contained mostly middle class Pakeha students, the girls *did* discuss their ideas with the teacher and each other and question the teacher, and generally used language to learn, to interpret, explore and gain new knowledge.

Thus, the patterns operating in the classes where the Pakeha and Pacific Island students were largely separated were the same as the discriminatory patterns occurring in the 'mixed option' classes.

I have no doubt that a single-sex environment *does* provide especially middle class Pakeha girls with more opportunities to increase their learning and their aspirations, improve their self-concept and assertiveness, and so on. (Probably working class Pacific Island girls would be disadvantaged in a classroom containing boys, in that even their 'reporting talk' might be reduced.) However, it cannot be assumed that a single-sex environment will automatically provide the same benefits for all girls.

It must be realised that the school system benefits some economic class and race groups rather than others,[7] and that middle class Pakeha women are members of those privileged groups. Hence classroom verbal interaction patterns will reflect not only the gender hierarchy — boys' talk will dominate girls' talk in the classroom — but also the structural power relations which exist between economic class and race groups.

Alison Jones is a part-time assistant lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland. She is also working on her Ph.D. in the sociology of education and is the mother of a four year old son. She belongs to Women for Aotearoa.

Notes

1. Parker (1973), Eliot (1974), Spender (1980a, 1980b), Sarah (1980).

2. The majority of these girls' parents worked on the factory floor. For this reason, amongst others, I have referred to them as working class. The middle class Pakeha girls' fathers usually held professional/managerial positions, while one quarter of their mothers were housewives, the rest ranging from nurses and clerks to teachers and university students. As there were very few Maori and Asian students in the classes I attended I have excluded these girls from my sample.

3. See Fairbairn-Dunlop's work (1981) also Ritchie, J.&J. (1979).

4. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) identifies this process as the operation of 'cultural capital' — which is central to the school's role in the production of the economic class structure. 'Cultural capital' refers to those 'instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth' (1977: 488) — those class-specific norms, values and knowledge which are the pre-requisite 'tools' for deciphering the educational messages of the school. Cultural capital, like economic capital, is distributed amongst the dominant classes. According to Bourdieu education becomes the monopoly of the dominant classes whose cultural norms and interests make up the basis of the content of the academic curriculum, and the intrinsic form of communication by which it is transmitted. The values and beliefs about learning school knowledge ('cultural capital') which the middle class Pakeha girls bring to the classroom are those presupposed in the educational encounter and are *necessary* for the success of that encounter. The Pacific Island girls' models of learning cannot lead to 'success' in teaching interactions. whose very *accessibility* is predetermined by the dominant (middle class Pakeha) group's control of pedagogic transmission.

5. This is exactly Bourdieu's point when he says that academic success 'depends upon the previous possession of the instruments of appropriation . . . (the school) explicitly and deliberately hands over, in the pedagogic communication itself, those instruments which are indispensable to the success of the communication, and which, in a society divided into classes, are very unequally distributed among children from the different social classes . . . By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give.' (1977: 494).
Bourdieu here points to the dual role of the school in both providing to the dominant class the skills it (the school) then demands for school success, *as well as* rewarding that class' 'previously possessed' 'educational' beliefs and behaviours ('instruments of appropriation').

6. This suggests caution to those who believe non-streamed classes might provide a panacea for reducing class- or race-based discrimination in education.

7. Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bourdieu (1976, 1977), Lauder et al (1985), Walker (1984), Apple (1976).

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Maternity and Morality: Homes for Single Mothers 1890 — 1930.

Margaret Tennant

In 1912 Mrs Grace Neill, retired inspector of hospitals, described how the idea of state maternity hospitals 'Run by women and doctored by women' had originated some years earlier. Neill had been on a tour of inspection in Christchurch and had asked a local woman for directions to St Mary's Home, an Anglican institution for 'fallen' and 'uncontrollable' girls. Along with this information Neill received a tirade against the iniquities of certain charitable institutions. The woman's indignation was directed against homes where unmarried girls could, she claimed, get rest, good food and nursing care, whereas:

> the lawful wife of a small wage earner was fleeced by doctors, her own health and that of the baby often ruined by the ignorance and uncleanliness of the sort of woman that she could

call in, and that the arrival of each child was a much dreaded occurrence.

No wonder we don't want babies and try to stop them. Why should women with lawfully begotten children be so penalised whilst the girls have every comfort? (*Evening Post,* 1912).

In fact, it was doubtful whether 'the girls' in these establishments did have every comfort — they were certainly short on rest and pain relief for a good many years — but the woman's complaint fell upon receptive ears. Neill went on to found the St Helen's Maternity Hospitals, emphatically restricted in their early years to 'the respectable wives of working men.'

The whole exchange was distinctly short on female solidarity, reflecting punitive attitudes toward single mothers that are still prevalent. Fears that the unvirtuous might actually profit from their indiscretions have recent parallels in calls to deny single mothers the Domestic Purposes Benefit and access to state housing, or to force the adoption of their infants. But the Christchurch women were making a valid enough point. Institutional maternity care *was* provided first for unmarried women in New Zealand. The shelter and medical attention which so outraged her were, however, incidental to the main purpose of these homes.

Moral reform was the primary aim; maternity care a later development, the means by which a reluctant clientele was forced to their doors. The admission of married and unmarried women to public maternity wards on the common basis of prospective motherhood came later still, a development associated with medical intervention in childbirth.

Recent work by Philippa Mein Smith (soon to be published) contains a definitive account of maternity care in New Zealand during the 1920s and 1930s when medical control over childbirth was confirmed and hospitalisation became the norm. (Smith, 1982). In this paper I intend to focus upon a slightly earlier period in the development of maternity services, concentrating upon the options available for single mothers and, most particularly, on the voluntary or church administered homes established for this group. These homes illustrate the growing tension between medical and moral definitions of maternity, pressures to eliminate distinctions between married and unmarried women, and the tenacity of moral assumptions which continued, until very recent times, to determine the treatment received by women in childbirth.

As recent research has indicated, (and many a genealogist can affirm) unmarried pregnancy was not a rare event among our parents and

grandparents. The total illegitimacy rate was relatively low during the nineteenth century (9.30 births per 1000 unmarried women in 1896, compared with 43.23 in 1981). The *Yearbook,* which first provided statistics on ex-nuptial conceptions for 1913 gives a rather different picture, however. Where maternity occurred within a year of marriage, almost two-thirds of births to women under 21 took place within seven months of matrimony; 42 per cent, where mothers were aged 21 to 24. (Statistics Department, 1914; 1983). For many women a hasty marriage was obviously the response to pregnancy.

Those who failed to make it to the altar were forced to consider alternatives, none without risk. They might decide not to have the child, in which case illegal abortion was available and, compared with the hazards of childbirth, relatively safe. (Brookes, 1981; Levesque, 1981). If the pregnancy went to full term, the child might be disposed of after its birth. Infanticide was difficult to prove, but the woman might be convicted of concealment of birth, a charge which assumed the likelihood of infanticide. (Anderson, 1981).

Some single mothers may have managed to conceal their unmarried status, if not their pregnancy, by passing themselves off as widows or deserted wives in districts where they were little known.[1] For most, however, the discovery of pregnancy meant moral condemnation, social rejection and economic hardship, and there are indications that the stigma attached to unmarried pregnancy may have increased over the later nineteenth century. At the very least, it took on a different form as communities became more settled and concerned with issues of respectability. The public debate over moral issues, which in the 1850s and 1860s had focussed upon the wanton doings of a prostitute class, had shifted by the 1890s to the 'problem' of illegitimacy which, it seemed, could affect even 'decent' families. Illegitimacy, said the Christchurch *Press* (1900) was a social cancer, encouraged by agencies which made things 'especially easy and comfortable for the viciously inclined'. Thomas Norris, secretary of the North Canterbury Charitable Aid Board put it even more brutally: the country was getting 'overrun with bastards' whose erring mothers were only too keen to divest themselves of their natural responsibilities.[2]

It was the public support of 'bastards' which caused the greatest outcry and claims that 'social offenders' were able to avoid the consequences of their misdeeds. Paternity orders were rare; even more unusual was their successful enforcement. Failing a paternity order the support of an illegitimate child was the responsibility of the

mother or the mother's parents who, often as not, would have de-
pendent children of their own to support.

As a last resort, support would come back upon the local charitable
aid board or the state, through the industrial school system. Nearly
one-third of all children committed to industrial schools were il-
legitimate, many admitted because their mothers were too destitute
to maintain them. (Beagle, 1974). To contemporaries, illegitimacy was
a legal and financial issue, as well as a moral one.

Despite calls from women's groups that both parents should
shoulder the blame for illegitimate children, it was in practice the
mother who bore the full effects of public recrimination and who
suffered the emotional and financial burden of her 'fallen' status. The
first institutions for unmarried mothers were more concerned with
these 'social' problems than with the health of mother and child.
Since nineteenth century public hospitals often refused to admit
women in an advanced state of pregnancy, there were basically two
kinds of home to which single women could turn for shelter. These
were the benevolent institutions, run by local charitable aid boards,
and the women's homes, most of them associated with particular
church groups.

Though the latter provide the focus of this paper, it is worth noting
by way of contrast the provision made in benevolent institutions.
These had begun as local shelters for a range of destitute persons, not
specifically for women. Their function was to provide support for the
sick and incapable and work for the able-bodied. In this respect they
paralleled the English workhouse and, like the workhouse, they were
rapidly turning into homes for the elderly by the 1890s.

Unlike the women's refuges, the lying-in wards provided at be-
nevolent institutions did not aim specifically at moral reform (though
incarceration with an assortment of social undesirables was supposed
to have its deterrent aspect). Women were admitted in the later
stages of pregnancy because they could not support themselves or
were in need of medical treatment. They were expected to work while
in the institution and to leave the place within a short time of their
confinement.

A woman entering a benevolent institution would deal almost
wholly with male officials whose main concern was with questions of
financial responsibility and reimbursement and, apart from the man-
ager's wife, she would have little female company. The majority of the
occupants of benevolent institutions were elderly men, many of them
characterised by drunken, violent and disruptive behaviour. It is
likely that a lifetime's experience of male-dominated frontier life pro-

duced a fair share of elderly misogynists. It is also likely that their own lowly social status did little to increase sympathy for the young, pregnant women who were forced into their company and, as the Inspectors of Hospitals wrote in 1909, 'By the time single girls leave these Homes they must have lost the little self respect left to them.' (AJHR, 1909). The mixture of old people and maternity cases was one which appeared increasingly inappropriate in official eyes and other options were sought for destitute women either in public hospitals, by providing midwives for home deliveries, or by sending single women to voluntary homes.

While the benevolent institutions provided little comfort and support, it is likely that some inmates found impersonal officialdom infinitely preferable to the intimacy of womanly concern. Womanly concern was offered in plenty at the church homes, however. By the 1900s there were a number of these voluntary institutions, most of them located in the four main centres (see the Appendix). Some, like the Alexandra Home for Destitute Women and St Mary's in Auckland, had begun their existence as rescue homes for prostitutes, but soon found that prostitutes chose not to be rescued. They then sought more tractable cases, directing their attention toward younger women[3]. The Salvation Army was one of the few denominations to continue with rescue work, but from the 1890s it too opened separate maternity homes for first time unwed mothers. These later expanded into the Bethany Hospitals, a number of which continued as maternity hospitals into the 1970s. The idea here, as in most of the homes, was to separate young, pregnant, 'reformable' women from older, often alcholic cases.

Unlike the benevolent institutions the maternity homes emphasised female management and influence, and the separation of inmates from male society.[4]. The maternity services provided in the 1890s and 1900s were still very basic and they were more likely to employ a laundress to supervise inmates in laundry work than to engage a midwife. At this stage maternity care was the means to an end: the return of repentant sinners to the paths of virtuous domesticity. As the matron of one home acknowledged:

> There is no time when so great an influence for good can be exerted on a girl on the downward path, as when she is about to become a mother[5].

The vulnerability of the single mother, isolated from her friends,

sometimes ill and distressed, laid her open to subtle and not so subtle influences, and the rules of the homes were written in such a way as to encourage inmates' total dependence.

Most homes insisted upon a stay of at least six months, though this could not always be enforced. In theory, a prolonged stay was needed to expose the women to sustained moral influence, religious training and prayer. In the process, it allowed some institutions to nicely exploit inmates' labour, usually by taking in commercial laundry work. By the 1900s this practice was frowned upon by Labour Department inspectors, however, and the homes began to justify inmates' work on the basis of domestic instruction for later life. St Mary's in Auckland had refined this 'training' more fully than most. Young women were admitted to St Mary's only if they committed themselves to a course of training which included laundry work, cooking, cleaning, gardening and needlework. These duties were graded so that no woman was kept at a particular task once she was proficient at it. The inmates' day began at 5.30 a.m. and ended at 8.30 p.m., during which time they took turns at acting as laundress, cook, housemaid or parlourmaid.[6]

By World War One the unmarried mothers were also being 'trained' as children's nurses under the Plunket system, and went out into the community 'qualified to help mothers bring up their children'. (Mothers themselves, of course, this meant leaving their own infants behind in the Home's Campbell Nursery).[7] Clearly, one aim of the maternity homes was to produce satisfactory servants for the kind of person who endowed such institutions. Domestic work fitted in well with contemporary definitions of appropriate female behaviour and would prepare inmates either for employment in approved households or for the management of their own homes. Ironically, a majority of inmates were already in service at the time of their 'first fall', and the homes' insistence on a domestic training continued into the 1940s and 1950s when the domestic service economy had been well and truly undermined.

As well as being expected to work, and to work very hard in some instances, inmates were kept under close personal surveillance. All private mail entering the Alexandra Home was censored by the matron. At the Linwood Refuge in Christchurch, clergymen and their nominees were the only males permitted contact with residents, though from 1892 it was decided that girls might be allowed out with a relative or friend 'of approved respectability'.[8] At Linwood even routine maintenance was delayed because of the security risk involved ('it would be most undesirable', the charitable aid board concurred, 'to send casual labourers to such a place')[9] To prevent movement in and out the lower windows were barred, and only the matron

was supposed to open the front door.[10] Like the Linwood Refuge, most institutions were surrounded by a high wall which separated inmates from the street. (Echoes of this are found even today in the design of the Alexandra Home, a modern building opened in 1974. The Home is built around a central courtyard, clearly designed to ensure privacy and to remove residents from public view.)

Despite these restrictions, the religious homes soon cornered the market in care for unmarried mothers. A set of case records from the Wellington Salvation Army maternity home gives a glimpse of the process whereby a single mother of the 1900s arrived at her 'unfortunate state' and took up the option of institutional maternity care. By this time the Army was more heavily involved in rescue and maternity work than any other denomination, and case notes reflect the Army's more 'professional' approach to its task. A detailed questionnaire sought information on the inmate's age, occupation, state of health, family background, literacy, whether she was given to drinking, her later employment, and the health of the baby born in the Home. The applicant for admission was asked 'how long fallen', 'cause of first fall', 'when expecting', whether she had ever been in prison and for what offence, and whether she had ever been dishonest. Some questions were superfluous in a home which had restricted its services to 'first falls' and others were seldom answered, but these records provide an intriguing insight into the unmarried mother of the 1900s as perceived by the Salvation Army.[11]

Taking a sample of 100 cases admitted between 1900 and 1901, we find that the average age was 21, the age range 15 to 32. Apart from three married women admitted on the basis of their destitution, this was a preselected group of women having a first child outside marriage. Two found to have given birth previously were smartly transferred to the Army's rescue home in Cuba Street, where we would expect to find an older age group. Most women entered the Maternity Home in the later stages of pregnancy at seven to eight months, when their condition was probably, but not necessarily, obvious to all. Significantly, the one and only lawyer's daughter among the group was sent from Tasmania when only three months pregnant, doubtless to hide her indiscretion. There was probably a similar movement of women from better-off New Zealand families taking 'overseas trips'. The pattern which became established in later years was for women to enter the Salvation Army homes three months before the birth and to stay for at least three months afterward.

A lack of family support was apparent in a good many instances. Only 23 women were sent by relatives, usually their mother, whereas

36 sought admission of their own accord. A further 18 were sent by Salvation Army personnel in other districts and the rest by their employer, a woman acquaintance, doctor or minister. Many came long distances, from Sydney, Auckland, Christchurch, and from rural towns in the Wellington, Marlborough and Hawke's Bay provinces — Dannevirke, Feilding, Palmerston North and Nelson. Only a third came from Wellington city and its immediate surroundings.

Despite the requirement of a six month stay, the women remained only four or five months on average. Seven of the short term cases were discharged to the public hospital, three married before or shortly after the birth and four ran away. (One of these, described by the officers as 'rather a nice girl, but very deep' took her baby 'and left the home one beautiful moonlight [sic] night, when her child was 13 days old'.) One 20 year old had not told her parents of the pregnancy; the matron notified them of their daughter's whereabouts and the mother came and removed her immediately.

Overall, the longstay requirement was coming under pressure, since it did not suit the purposes of inmates who saw the Home as a place to give birth, rather than a place to be reformed. Even so, 23 women remained longer than the six months stipulated, two of them for more than a year. One of these two residents was a 16 year old whose mother would not let her be sent to service. Nor did she want her daughter home, for although the baby had died the 'man responsible' for her daughter's condition was still in the neighbourhood.

The language used in the Salvation Army case notes is fascinating, and suggests a good deal about management's and inmates' perceptions of one another. Loss of virginity had a tremendous significance, and the questions 'how long fallen' and 'cause of first fall' related to this event. (Most inmates had become pregnant remarkably soon after their 'first fall', if case notes are to be believed.) Given the conditions placed on entry and the need to appear 'reformable', it was obviously in the woman's interest to present herself as a passive partner in a relationship. There were very few like the young woman who admitted (ambiguously) that she had led a pretty fast life over the previous two years but was anxious to do better! The most common reason given for pregnancy was 'bad company', but other standard responses were 'foolishly led astray', 'seduced', and 'ruined under promise of marriage'. The term 'ruined' was especially loaded, with its obvious connotations of loss and lifelong damage.

Girls similarly 'got into trouble', were 'taken advantage of', and 'insulted by a man'. The latter appears to have been a euphemism for rape, as where case notes record: 'A. was insulted by a man who came for a drink', or 'B. was insulted by a man at the railway station,

who afterward left, but has not been seen since.' The Salvation Army officers could be more direct:

> It seems that at the same place where this girl was employed was a young man, who several times made indecent proposals to her. She refused but [he] at last effected his purpose by forcing her. C. is a rather simple girl.

C's case, one of the very few identifed in the case book as rape, points to the pressures some young women were under in their workplace and family life. In five of the 100 sample cases and in other case notes pregnancy was directly attributed to a servant's employer or to the son of the household who asserted his 'rights' to the full:

> M. is a homeless and friendless girl who was sent to a situation where the son took advantage of her.

> D. was working at the . . . Hotel, when the manager came into her room and took advantage of her.

> This girl was ruined by her master a married man.

The high proportion of domestic servants (86 per cent of the sample) suggests a fallacy behind one popular assumption. Domestic service was supposed to offer greater safeguards to morality than factory work, where women were exposed to uncouth male employees and the temptations of the street. In practice, it could create conditions where women were particularly lonely, isolated and vulnerable to sexual pressures (we need only refer to Mary Findlay's *Tooth and Nail* (1974) for a telling account of this). There may, of course, be other reasons for the high representation of domestic servants in maternity homes. Domestic service was the largest single employer of female labour, providing approximately 42 per cent of the female workforce in 1901. (Statistics Department, 1901). Live-in domestic positions may have undermined family ties, causing women to rely on outside agencies in time of distress. But neither the Salvation Army nor other religious bodies attempted to explain the preponderance of domestic servants among their clientele in the 1900s. Any closer analysis might have undermined their whole approach to reform as they continued to send women out to situations which, the statistics suggest, involved a fair degree of 'risk'.

Many women had been 'ruined under promise of marriage', sometimes by men with whom they had been walking out for as long as

five years. As statistics on extramarital conceptions show, it was not uncommon for sexual relations to occur in expectation of marriage. The women who ended up in maternity homes were those whose partners had broken their part of the 'bargain' implicit in such relationships, either by running away, or accusing the woman of having other lovers. Some were in no hurry to marry simply to protect the woman's reputation, though they did so after the birth of the child, and there were instances where the man died before marriage could take place. Letters from the matron of the Salvation Army Home show her energetically pursuing the interests of 'her girls' against absent, unwilling, and all too often self-righteous male "offenders":

> Sir,
> Your letter is to hand re Miss . . . & in reply I wish to state the girl denies emphatically having had anything to do with any other man than yourself & feels very much hurt at your adding insult to injury.
> I might say that we have no ground to suppose the child was prematurely born . . . [12]

And, as another letter, this time to an inmate's father, states with some vehemence:

> I tell you Mr. . . . to see the grief of these poor girls when they realise their shame & feel that they are abandoned by the one who should have stood by them makes me feel like dealing very firmly with the offender when I get hold of him . . . [13]

Comments like this point to another side of the homes' activities, and to a need for caution in evaluating their work. Many of those involved in rescue work were, like this matron, women of energy and broad sympathies who attempted to challenge the sexual double standard. They were only too aware of the price women paid in emotional suffering and ill-health for heterosexual relations in a pre-contraceptive age.

While accepting that there was 'guilt' involved in extramarital sexual activity, they at least attempted to apportion that guilt evenly and in this they were a good deal more advanced than some of their contemporaries. If conditions in the homes seem severe, even exploitative from a modern perspective, the alternatives for single mothers and their infants were often a good deal worse, and it would certainly be anachronistic not to acknowledge this. For servants entering the Wellington Salvation Army Home in the 1900s the possible alternative was lonely concealment and infanticide.

At the same time, there were limitations on what could be achieved

through individual sympathy and support, and the mere existence of homes for unmarried mothers helped to perpetuate the double standard. Whatever a matron's personal views on male irresponsibility, social and legal codes ensured that the male 'offender' usually got away with his actions. In only 28 of the 100 Salvation Army cases was the baby affiliated, and even when money was extracted from the father, there was no guarantee of its continuation. Without a direct admission of guilt from the child's father, there was no evidence to support stringent legal requirements. Increasingly too, young women's parents did not want to add to scandal by a paternity suit, and they would block proceedings. Twenty-one of the babies in the sample were, in any case, dead within five months, while another three were stillborn — a fair indication of the mortality associated with illegitimate births. One of the mothers died on the premises. In three instances the parents married, and 24 babies left the Home with their still unwed mothers and were alive five months later. In only three cases were babies adopted. Three stayed temporarily in the Home and 25 went out to foster mothers. Three were born to married women and went home with their mothers. In the remaining cases the fate of the child is not given.

The future of illegitimate babies was of increasing concern, however, just one of a number of changes that modified the homes' moral focus. In benevolent institutions the death of an illegitimate baby had been dismissed as a merciful release. The dead babies were regarded as the sickly offspring of diseased and depraved mothers who would, more than likely, farm them out to a slower end.

From the 1890s there were signs of a change in official attitudes. The white settler community had always been subject to population anxieties, but as the birth rate declined these reached almost hysterical levels. In this situation even ''illegitimates' of the right colour and quality were worth saving. In 1904 the Liberal Premier Seddon issued his *Memorandum on Child-Life Preservation* which condemned the wastage of infant life in the colony, noting, in particular, the death rates associated with illegitimate children and with baby 'farming'. (Seddon, 1904). Soon after, maternity homes for single mothers began to stress their role in saving 'two lives, two souls, two futures here and hereafter', as the committee of St Mary's put it.[14] Emphasis on child life gave the homes a strong public profile and an emotive appeal which provision for 'bad girls' lacked. Some went on to establish nurseries in which babies born in the homes could be placed while their mothers went out to work.

As a kind of emotional insurance, nearly every home encouraged inmates to breastfeed in these early years. This was done not simply for the convenience, or to give the infants a 'good start', but in the hope that breastfeeding would awaken maternal affection and stop the women neglecting or abandoning their babies. Unmarried mothers of the 1900s were actively encouraged to *keep* their infants, though the reasons had more to do with the baby's chance of survival than with the mother's welfare or wishes — in the days before state benefits it may simply have prolonged and increased the pain of an inevitable separation.

There were plenty who thought that the burden of child care was an appropriate punishment for lack of chastity, but even more important was a lack of demand for ex-nuptial babies. Adoptions were rare, since illegitimate children were thought to be tainted by the circumstances of their birth. Small babies were uneconomic, adoptive parents of the 1900s still preferring children of 'useful' years.[15] As regulations reduced the profitability of baby 'farming' and made foster homes subject to government inspection, the maternity homes also reported difficulty in finding foster mothers. The natural mother was needed to care for her baby, at least in the first years of its life and despite the fact that sheer economic necessity might later force her to give it up.

This, of course, contrasts markedly with the more recent situation described in Joss Shawyer's *Death By Adoption*. (1979). By the 1940s even the Child Welfare Division had begun to suggest that some maternity homes were in business mainly to provide small babies for married couples to adopt.[16] The shift is no doubt linked to the changing value of child life in an urbanising society and, especially, to the reduced importance of older children's work in the family economy.[17] It also reflects a new ideal of motherhood, which may have opened up the adoption market for newborn babies while it compounded the pressures on single mothers. The early twentieth century is recognised as a time when the ideology of motherhood took on a particularly intensive cast; when, as Australian historian Jill Matthews (1984) has pointed out, a woman's role as mother overshadowed her earlier usefulness as 'wife, as sexual partner, economic assistant, companion, servant'. In New Zealand under the Plunket Society the maternal ideal was prescribed and promoted to a degree previously unknown. 'Mother' was virtuous, housebound and, of course, married. As new standards of motherhood were formulated, the unmarried, and especially the 'repeat offenders' among them, were seen to debase the maternal ideal. Matrons of church homes might occasionally wax lyrical about the 'ennobling' effects of motherhood on flighty young girls, but the harsh reality was one of

goals unattainable by women who had to work to support themselves and their child. For 'second falls' the gulf was even wider. Mother-hood had patently failed to 'ennoble' them, or to raise their minds above the baser aspects of sex. The removal of the child, already seriously disadvantaged by its birth, might save it from further pollu-tion by the parent. And who better to provide for the care of illegiti-mate babies than childless married women, whose unfulfilled state was everymore emphasised by the new ideology?

These developments initially posed a dilemma for the maternity homes. In terms of their moral purpose, the homes aimed at the reform and rehabilitation of unmarried mothers into society. Mater-nal responsiblity was an important aspect of reform, and they be-lieved that their clients should acknowledge their sin, face up to their responsibilities, and be guided by the knowledge of past consequ-ences. However, the moral dictates of the time meant that rehabilita-tion might best be achieved through the pretence that no 'fall' had occurred. It was possible to deny that an unmarried pregnancy, hand-led properly, had ever occurred, and even before World War One the homes were being used as places of retreat. This was a role which caused them considerable discomfort, and which they tried to resist. As a matron of St Mary's complained:

> A strong check has to be exercised, or the home would be filled with girls, quite decently connected, anxious to make use of the place to hide their 'misfortune' and to get over their 'trouble'.[18]

Pressures nonetheless continued from parents, employers and single women, who had themselves internalised on oppressive moral code, to provide a screen from judgemental local communities.

This kind of screening meant, however, that the father of the child escaped a paternity suit and that mother and child were separated. There were other consequences which have reached down through time and which relate to recent debates over the Adult Adoption Information Bill. The staff of maternity homes were concerned even in the 1900s lest infants' rights be overlooked in the rush to protect the mother, and as early as 1910 one home reported on the 'pathetic anxiety of grown men to find out their parentage'.[19] It is the archivists and administrators of these institutions who have inherited the di-lemma, in demands to allow access to past records.

The very existence of maternity homes for single mothers helped, then, to colour and define attitudes to ex-nuptial births. They rep-resented a more organised approach to the management of unmar-

ried pregnancy, part of the rituals and pretences which, from the 1890s seemed increasingly likely to surround the 'problem' of illegitimacy. Until very recent times single mothers wishing to retain respectability might remove themselves to the discreet isolation of a home in the country or retire to one of these city institutions for unmarried women. As these options became more entrenched, it is possible that the single woman who decided to brazen it out in her own community was all the more stigmatised for her lack of decency.

The homes which restricted their attention to 'first falls' helped to reinforce another distinction. In the eyes of social workers, women's groups and religious bodies, the demarcation between first and second time unmarried mothers took on a tremendous significance. Single women with only one child might be regarded as the unfortunate victims of male lust. More cynically, they might be viewed as inexperienced girls who had failed to clinch a sexual deal that was supposed to end with marriage. 'Second falls' were vulnerable to a very different set of labels, and under the influence of the eugenics movement were likely to be branded 'degenerate', inherently lacking in self-control (Fleming, 1981). From the 1900s various recommendations were put forward by hospital boards and by women's groups, advocating the enforced restraint of 'second falls'. Aspirations exceeded achievement and 'oversexed girls' continued then and in later years to alarm eugenists and moralists. Increasingly, women having a second or subsequent child out of wedlock were set apart, not only from the respectably married, but from the first time unwed mother.

The moral dimension was only one aspect of maternity care for the unmarried, however. Intersecting with these developments was a growing medical interest in maternity which, in theory, worked against moral categories. Medical involvement began to gather strength in New Zealand from the 1890s, quickly impinged upon the activities of the voluntary homes and brought them into a broader constellation of maternity services.

When institutions for 'fallen' women first started, their unquestioned focus was the spiritual well-being of their clientele, not their physical condition. Until the 1900s some sent pregnant women to local benevolent institutions to give birth, readmitting them soon after. They found, however, that this procedure interfered with moral reform, for in the benevolent institutions women were exposed to the 'most undesirable' of influences. In order to maintain control over inmates the homes were forced to provide lying-in facilities, often no more than a separate room. In this way another, more costly component was added to their work, since institutions which had started out in family homes soon proved unsuitable for large numbers of maternity cases.

Involvement in midwifery made the homes vulnerable to Health Department pressures. With the passing of the 1904 Midwives Act and subsequent private hospitals legislation, they became subject to Departmental inspection and standards. Those which did not have a registered midwife began to call upon nurses from the state maternity hospitals, and to send their own staff to lectures at St Helens. By the 1920s most of the Salvation Army homes had shifted into larger premises. They and the Alexandra Home had been recognised as training schools for maternity nurses and there were moves to associate antenatal clinics with their facilities. (AJHR, 1910-30). They had, in essence, become 'hospitals' as well as 'homes'.

As medical intervention became a feature of maternity, the old distinctions between married and unmarried cases were undermined, at least in an institutional sense. When Grace Neill opened the first St Helens Hospitals in the 1900s, it was assumed that respectable married ladies would somehow be tainted by proximity to the 'fallen'. Realising that institutional maternity care was still associated with poverty and moral transgression, Neill had been careful to impose restrictions on entry and to ensure that a fee was charged for services. Married and unmarried mothers were to be kept carefully apart; the former in St Helens, the latter in voluntary maternity homes. (Tennant, 1978).

For doctors keen to raise the status of obstetrics, these distinctions were irrelevant. Over the 1920s and 1930s childbirth was to become an illness requiring the hospitalisation and medical supervision of *all* mothers, regardless of moral and financial status.

As Health Department codes required increasingly specialised facilities, the two strands of maternity care became more closely entwined. The cost of building and equipping these specialised institutions would simply not sustain separate provision for 'good' and 'bad' women. However, the transition of obstetrics from a relatively despised branch of the medical profession to today's prestigious speciality required that students have access to a specific number of cases during their training. St Helens, it should be noted, excluded medical students on the ground that respectable paying patients should not be subject to the humiliation of their presence.[20] Poor women and unmarried women were not entitled to such sensibilities, so in the first instance charitable institutions provided the necessary teaching material. In Dunedin this meant the Salvation Army maternity home ('Redroofs') and the Forth Street Maternity Hospital. (Forth

Street had originally been the Female Refuge, but in 1904 it was closed and later reopened as the Medical School maternity hospital for destitute married and unmarried women.[21])

Pressures to open St Helens to single women were another sign that 'patient' status was beginning to challenge moral differentials. These pressures were not especially successful before the 1920s and they provoked a sharp rearguard action from church bodies seeking to defend their monopoly on care for single mothers. As the chairman of the St Mary's Home committee wrote to the Minister of Health:

> Opening St Helens would be a 'fatal step' — it would be to provide a cheap and easy means of getting over their trouble. The encouragement to illegitimacy would be enormous.[22]

Equally persuasive, perhaps, was the kind of response represented by a female correspondent to the *Evening Post* (1912b) thanking the Minister for his firm stand on behalf of 'all decent women': 'In these times', she tartly concluded, 'there is a very small percentage of "poor fallen creatures" who need our sympathy.'

By 1920 pressure to open St Helens to single mothers had come from an influential source. In 1922 the British Medical Association urged that New Zealand follow the Australian example and admit single women to state maternity homes, perhaps under a married name. The alternative, the doctors claimed, was abortion, since few single mothers could afford to enter private hospitals and most felt stigmatised by entering a church home (*NZ Medical Journal*, 1922). Over the 1920s, therefore, a number of single cases were admitted to St Helens, at first under special circumstances, later on a more regular basis.

Equally interesting is a movement the other way, as married women began to enter institutions for single mothers. This reflected both patient demand, with New Zealand's failure to develop an adequate domiciliary midwife service,[23] and the economic needs of some church homes. As Health Department pressures increased, the fees paid by married women became increasingly important, helping these homes to keep up charitable work with single mothers. At the same time, the unpaid domestic work done by single women enabled the homes to keep their fees lower than those of private hospitals. In the 1913-1914 year there were 30 single and 20 married women admitted to the Alexandra Home for Single and Destitute Women in Wellington.[24] By 1916 the words 'friendless and destitute' had been dropped from its title as they caused offence to the married women admitted, and by 1931 less than 20 per cent of births taking place at the

Alexandra Home and at Wellington's Bethany Hopsital were to single mothers. (AJHR, 1931). Married women were attracted to homes by their reasonable fees, their records for careful service, and by the fact that they could have their own doctors in attendance whereas St Helens was closed to outside staff.

The significance of this development for the single mothers is not hard to imagine. In a moral sense, the difference made by their 'fallen' status was brought sharply and ignominiously into focus by the approval accorded married maternity. Unlike their married counterparts, single women were still required to stay for three to six months, and to do the domestic chores produced by an increasing number of paying patients. On the medical side, it was argued that the admission of married women had positive effects, however. The 1931 Committee Of Inquiry into Maternity Services claimed, for example, that the high standard of medical attention demanded by married women was transmitted to the unmarried. In particular, their entry made the denial of pain relief more difficult to sustain:

> It is worthy of note that the opinion formerly held that
> endurance of pain during labour is an essential part of the
> discipline to be meted out to girls who have transgressed the
> moral code is now rapidly losing ground. With few exceptions it
> was found that in homes for unmarried girls pain-relieving
> measures are being used to an increasing extent. (AJHR, 1983).

Voluntary maternity homes which, for reasons of cost, relied mainly on midwife attendance for single women, were inevitably restricted in the kinds of pain relief they could administer without a doctor's presence. What we have here, however, is an admission of differential treatment on moral grounds, an acknowledgement that unnecessary suffering had been imposed as a form of punishment. This apart, we need not doubt that there were other ways to discourage single women from repeating the experience.

From the 1920s the trend was to encourage public hospital provision of maternity beds. These represented an alternative for single women excluded from St Helens and the voluntary homes, but unable to pay for private maternity care. In theory public maternity services did not distinguish between married and unmarried patients, and attention had shifted from the moral to the physical condition of all cases. In practice, distinctions still remained, ranging from insensitivity in examination to the elaborate pretence that single mothers were married — despite the conspicuous absence of husbands in 'fathers only' hours. The voluntary homes remained to give married women a choice of facilities and to provide support for single

mothers. As early as 1925 there was Health Department pressure for them to give up the maternity side of their work and send inmates to a central public facility for their delivery, (AJHR, 1925), but a shortage of maternity beds during the 1940s put an end to this and, in some cases, led to government or hospital board assistance for their work. As long as unmarried pregnancy was regarded with condemnation and greeted by social ostracism, they would continue to have a function.

The voluntary maternity homes of the early twentieth century illustrate the growing dissonance between medical and moral definitions of maternity. From a medical perspective, the trend was to eliminate distinctions between married and unmarried mothers. The new obstetrics regarded all maternity cases as 'bodies' pathologically weakened by civilisation for the normal task of reproduction and in need of doctors' supervision. In extending their services and, in some cases, admitting married women to their wards, the voluntary homes contributed to the hospitalisation of maternity services after World War One. By the Second World War it was accepted that women would enter a medical institution for childbirth, and that this was in the supposed interests of a safer birth — not from a need to retreat from the public gaze for a stipulated time.

At the same time, places like Bethany Hospitals, the Alexandra Home and St Mary's accentuated differences between married and unmarried mothers, and, more subtly, between *kinds* of unmarried mothers. Moral considerations remained, though they had been re-defined over the early years of the twentieth century. The focus was less upon the individual woman and her personal need for salvation; more upon mother, baby, and their anomalous position in society. As long as she did not openly flaunt her disgrace, the first time unwed-mother might be treated more humanely than before and rehabilitated into society. The second offender provoked more extreme reactions and ran the risk of management by a growing number of experts in child and moral welfare.

In both cases, and in contrast with the practice of the 1900s, arguments could be found for the separation of mother and child. The same maternal ideology which excluded single mothers may ultimately have expanded the adoption market for their babies. However much the maternity homes still regarded their mission as moral reform, some outsiders perceived them in another light by the 1940s — not as producers of domestic servants, which they had been in the 1900s, but as producers of healthy babies for adoption.

Margaret Tennant teaches New Zealand social history and welfare history at Massey University, and is a member of the WSA (NZ) Committee. She has just left on sabbatical leave for a few months in London. Her work there will be part of her preparation for a future paper in women's history which she will teach to internal and extra-mural students at Massey.

Notes.

1. For a fictional account of this see Alice Rowland, the leading female character in Mander (1975).

2. T. Norris to Inspector of Police, 31 Jan. 1898, Ashburton and North Canterbury United Charitable Aid Letter Book 1897-1898.

3. I have discussed rescue work and these associated changes in more detail in an unpublished paper (Tennant, 1984).

4. I have based the following discussion primarily on records of the Alexandra Home, St Mary's, Auckland, the Door of Hope, the Linwood Refuge and the Salvation Army Maternity Home, Wellington. Health Department Reports and correspondence were also used extensively.

5. *St Mary's Homes Otahuhu. Annual Report for Year 1904-5,* (no page number.)

6. Ibid.

7. Press cutting, with minutes of St Mary's Homes Association A.G.M., 18 Sept. 1918.

8. Female Refuge (Essex Home) Committee Minutes, 5 April 1892.

9. Report on Female Refuge, Ashburton and North Canterbury Charitable Aid Board, Minutes, 19 Oct. 1904.

10. Institutions Committee Minutes, North Canterbury Hospital Board, 11 June 1912, 15 April 1913.

11. The following discussion is based upon the Wellington Maternity Home Admissions Register Nov. 1899 — Jan. 1905. As a condition of use, no personal details can be given which might lead to identification of cases.

12. Correspondence dated 14 August 1900, Letter Book Outwards, Pauline Rescue Home and Ellice Street Maternity Home, July 1900 — April 1902.

13. Ibid., 28 October, 1900.

14. *St Mary's Homes, Otahuhu, Auckland.* Annual report for year 1907-8, p.4.

15. As was discovered by charitable aid boards, who frequently received requests for 'children of useful years' or 'strong and able to milk a cow.'

16. Memorandum, A. Tocker to Superintendent, Child Welfare Division, 21 July 1948, CW 40/57/2, National Archives.

17. For a survey of changing attitudes to children see McDonald (1978).

18. Press cutting [July 1905?], St Mary's Homes, Cuttings Book, Auckland Diocesan Synod.

19. *St Mary's Homes Otahuhu, Annual Report for Year 1909-10,* p.4.

20. See H1/111, National Archives, for protests in the 1930s against allowing medical students into St Helens.

21. H89/15, National Archives. The hospital was later renamed, after one of its co-founders, the 'Batchelor Maternity Hospital' — much to local amusement.

22. George Macmurray to W.H. Herries, 2 August 1912, H1/111, National Archives.

23. On the reasons for this, see Smith, who concludes (p.51) that the transition from midwife to doctor attendance at birth had taken place by 1920.

24. *Annual Report of the Alexandra Home for Women,* 1914, p.15.

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Appendix

Maternity Homes for Single Mothers, 1910
(This list excludes homes for immoral or 'unmanageable' women which did not provide maternity care).

Auckland:

St Mary's Otahuhu (Anglican): Opened in Parnell in 1884 as a women's refuge. Maternity care was provided from the 1890s with entry restricted to first admissions only. The Otahuhu home was opened in 1904.

Salvation Army Maternity Home: Opened 1897 for first time single mothers. Later enlarged into the Auckland Bethany Hospital.

Door of Hope: Opened in 1896 by a committee representing the evangelical protestant churches. From 1921 the Door of Hope was essentially a hostel for young women in service and in 1928 the title was changed to 'Salem House'.

Wellington:

Alexandra Home: Opened in 1879 by the Ladies' Christian Association. Restricted from the 1890s to 'first fall' maternity cases, but by World War I was also accepting married women.

Salvation Army Maternity Home: (Later 'Bethany'). Opened 1900 for 'first falls'.

Christchurch:

Linwood Refuge: The oldest women's home in New Zealand. Opened 1864 as the 'Canterbury Female Refuge', and run by various ladies' committees. By the 1890s restricted to 'first falls'. Becomes the North Canterbury Hospital Board's Essex Maternity Home in 1918.

Salvation Army Maternity Home: Opened 1891 for 'first falls'. Later as 'Bethany' takes in married patients, but on a more restricted basis than Wellington.

Dunedin:

Dunedin Female Refuge: Opened 1873 and run by a group of women from local churches. Closed in 1904 through lack of patronage but reopened 1907 as the Batchelor Maternity Hospital for destitute and unmarried women, mainly for training medical students.

Invercargill:

Victoria Home for Friendless Girls: Opened 1900 and run by a ladies' committee. Mainly a maternity home for 'first' cases, but also took in some destitute and handicapped women, and small children.

The Art of Marriage as A Career for the 1950's.

Helen Cook

Despite the cold war clouds of the fifties, most New Zealanders tried to focus on themselves and the new generation of children. Marriage was popular, with increased numbers of marriages at earlier ages. Frequent pictures of the young Queen with her growing family and handsome husband offered to all a reassuring symbol of a happy married and family life. New postwar services for families were designed to shore up and strengthen the stability of the 'traditional' family unit, which was to underpin happiness and successful child rearing.

In her editorial headlined 'The Family Comes First', Jean Wishart summed it up in the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly (NZWW)*.

> From a family may arise a great man or woman, or bad or weak ones, useful or useless individuals. Upbringing exerts a powerful influence in our lives . . . . But family is even more than an influence. It is the one ultimate reality on earth. (*NZWW* Nov 4, 1957).

Magazines abounded with pictures of Mum, Dad and the children listening with harmonious intimacy to the radio, going on holiday in the family car or eating happy breakfasts in new sparkling kitchens. Yet — these happy families either needed a lot of expertise to stay that way, or were really not so happy in fact, because both *The Listener* and *NZWW* put the intimacies and conflict of the marriage relationship under a microscope.

Within the framework of its intellectual style, the *Listener* encouraged a number of attempts, in print and over the radio, at rational explanations for marriage conflict. 'Experts' from the universities' new social science departments were consulted, along with representatives from the proliferating agencies on marriage, such as the Marriage Guidance Council, Family Discussion Bureau, Family Guidance Centre etc. In contrast to the reserved concern of the *Listener* the *NZWW* devoted a large proportion of its pages to exploring the emotions, conflicts, trials and jobs of the 'marrieds', 'about to be marrieds', the 'never marrieds' and the 'were marrieds'.

Each week there was a popular marriage-romance to read, giving optimum variety within a consistent framework — e.g.

I Married my Secretary
The Case of the Lonely Bride
Wedding Without Bells
How I Snared a Husband

More particularly, the magazine moved into the market of expert advice. In the forties readers had begun writing their problems to Lou Lockhart, clearly revealing that women were not particularly happy because conflict and immorality within marriage were rife. By the mid fifties Lou Lockhart had become Mary Millar who, with a new sensible name and a high moral tone wrote a weekly advice column based on the letters she received, such as:

She's Bored with her House
Selfishness in Married Life
A Message to Lonely Wives
She's Wearing Herself Out
Have you Married His Job?
A Certain Amount of Independence

The overseas experts got even more space. England's Dr David Mace ('the world authority on love and marriage') compiled many series of 'Marriage Guidance Casebook' as well as making a visit to New Zealand. His expertise included:

Helen Cook

Which Man Will Love Me Most?
Can Our Love Stand the Truth?
Why Did He Turn to Another Woman?
I Loved the Wrong Man
Am I Pushing My Husband Too Much?
Shall I Tell Him About My Past?

And there was Dr Paul Poponoe ('the noted American authority on family problems') who advised on such things as:

Three Happy Rules for Marriage
Marriage Versus Career
Do You Deserve Your Husband?
Mealtime is a Battleground
Pity the Poor Stepmother

Bernard L. Calmus also shed wisdom in 'The Psychologist's Consulting Room' and another version came from Barbara Cartland's series on the 'Marriage School' — not to mention the feature articles with headlines like:

What Should I Expect of My Honeymoon?
Who Holds the Purse Strings?
Anne Fills her Glory Box
Why Men Leave Home
The Stranger You Marry
Does Equality Menace Marriage?
Royal Marriage Ten Years Old

In response to this saturation advice and comment, women gave their own perspectives in the weekly 'Readers Declare' letters. The message was clear: successful marriage was not easy, but — except for the occasional 'bad' husband — women could have a successful marriage if they followed the guidelines, and theirs was the major share of the responsibility because they were more adaptable than men. In any case, there was a rational solution to all problems. Not that all the advice was accepted unquestioningly. 'Cabbage' wrote:

I wonder how many other wives are as tired as I am of the advice handed to us in newspapers and magazines on how to make our marriages work . . . my husband doesn't mind a bit if I am not sparkling at 6 a.m., or if I go without my lipstick all week-end. (_NZWWW_, Oct 4, 1951).

And A.C.A. grumbled:

> From what one reads, it seems that a man marries a woman to have, firstly, an unpaid housekeeper. After that, she is supposed to possess all the beauty of a film star, the brain of a university graduate, the poise of a mannequin, and the patience of the worm that never turned. She must never be disgruntled, never answer back, never put herself first and always admire the 'master'. (*NZWW* Sept 5, 1952).

It all began with getting engaged and preparing the trousseau. Although the advertisements suggested many ways to get a man and to keep him, 'singles' stage between school and marriage remained rather a blank except in the context of 'remaining a spinster' or being a 'new career girl'. An engagement may have been the expression of the romantic dream, but it was also the process through which the romantic girl was transformed into the sensible wife. The imagery associated with the 'romantic girl' and the 'wife' were not the same, although in reality the two could be one and the same person. The engagement period made allowance for this ambivalence:

> Anne wears a sparkling new diamond ring on the third finger of her left hand and is positively walking on air. But though her head is in the clouds, and she exudes radiance and happiness, her feet are firmly on the ground, and she is planning and collecting her trousseau in a way which augurs well for future budgeting when she joins the ranks of the young marrieds. (*NZWW,* Oct 4, 1951).

There was debate as to when and how 'girls' should start collecting for their 'glory box'. 'Bronwyn', with a warning from her own experience, advises mothers to start their daughters off early to 'save many worries':

> In my early twenties I was going to be a 'career girl' and to start a 'box' seemed to me as if a girl was actually LOOKING for a man, so not for me I thought. At 22 I was in love and married within three months . . . It was wartime. Not one thing did I have ready, and there was a great shortage of supplies. (*NZWW,* Sept 5, 1952).

'Sally'. however, issued a warning:

> A glory box can sometimes become rather pathetic, when the
> years turn bright hairs into grey, and no Prince Charming has
> come to fulfil the bright hope of youth. I know middle-aged
> 'girls' who are only now starting to use the old-fashioned things,
> stored away with the girlish dreams of 20 years ago. Cash in the
> bank would have been a lot more useful. (ibid).

The engagement period was a time for saving and preparation for the
responsiblities of the future shared life:

> He would give up smoking, she would buy a less expensive
> brand of makeup and do her hair at home. They would go to the
> cheapest seats at the cinema once a week and cut down on
> eating out. There would be no thought of a taxi home in future
> . . . and both would even cut down on lunches to save.

> Mary Millar, however, advised against 'eliminating the pre-
> requisites of romance altogther' in this drastic fashion.
> Moreover, she added:

> The young fellow who gives up smoking entirely, may get very
> irritable and the whole plan fail . . . (*NZWW* Nov 26, 1954).

For the *NZWW* engagements featured as newsworthy set the standard
which meshed the educated, talented, independent woman into the
loving supportive wife. Unlike the seventies where the superwoman
image suggested that women manage both concurrently, the fifties
applauded women who could demonstrate that they had achieved
equality, but who valued home, marriage and family as the ultimate
reward.

The concept of marriage as a career was promoted as an ideal that
could mediate the contradictions between the new work oppor-
tunities and career aspirations of women, and their lives as wives and
mothers. The 'new woman' with her better education and broader
work experiences could put her skills into the efficient management
of home and family which would bring all the rewards of a career.
M.I.C. wrote in 'Readers Declare':

> (Marriage) . . . certainly is the most important career of all, as
> the nation depends on the stability of the home for the future
> generations. (*NZWW,* July 16, 1956).

There are, of course, two people in any marriage, but the reasoned view of an equitable pooling of talents was that the husband worked outside the home for money while the wife managed the home. Both husband and wife now had 'careers' even if they were different in kind and reward. But the fact remained that, despite its elevation to career status, much of the wife's work was bound up in repetitive drudgery.

In the immediate aftermath of the war there had been much debate about the provision of household and childcare support and assistance to alleviate the burdens of housewives, and release their energies for more worthwhile pursuits. To make marriage an attractive career, everyday drudgery would have to be removed so that women would be supportive companions to their husbands and could give priority to time spent on the more rewarding aspects of childcare and home making. But amidst the economic priorities of the late forties, the organised assistance that had been envisaged did not of course materialise. Instead the ideal was eventually translated into the new consumer market where products such as tinned foods, electrical appliances, gadgetry and new cleaning formulas would seemingly lighten the burden and release women for the more valuable areas of marital responsiblity.

The promotion of marriage as a career survived and prospered with this transformation to a new context where the married woman's role incorporated that of consumer. A new ideology of consumption consolidated the image of the 'new women' as individuals who managed and operated their own specific work operation in the home (Winship, 1981). The chore of purchasing and using these commodities became more than just a duty to be performed. It was elevated to both an art and a skill to be acquired by every new wife — but it was also portrayed as a time consuming leisure activity that would fill the hours presumably saved from drudgery. In an analysis of consumption in women's magazines, Winship states:

> If men fight their battles on the shop floor of industry women do so on the shop floor of the local store at sales time. (Winship, 1981: 15.)

This new power of consumption for the 'career wife' — pictured as an independent individual — did not depend on wives having their own money as wage workers, but on their careful management of their husbands' wage packets. Training courses for prospective brides were promoted through *NZWW*. 'Mater Familias', for example, suggested:

> Perhaps the best way to run a class of this kind would be to enrol a group of five or six brides-elect and give a six week course say three times a week in 'housekeeping for two.' Such a course should cover the following points: Home decorating and the buying of furniture; marketing for two; meal planning, cooking, kitchen efficiency and economy; bed making and cleaning. (*NZWW*, Jan 5, 1950).

In answer to a question whether a job in the business world would be a good training for being a better wife, Dr Paul Popenoe aired his concern that wives might take their new career too seriously. He cautioned:

> True she may learn something about handling money . . . (but) . . . She may look on the job as something taking up regular hours, with the rest of the time for fun. She may look on her home in the same light, as a job to be shirked, with all the fun to had 'downtown' outside the home. She may put all her wages on her back. To be a good homemaker requires very different ideas. (*NZWW* July 9, 1959).

Obviously, then, whether or not marriage was to be portrayed as a career, it was associated with responsiblities which did not fit comfortably into the career framework.

Mary Millar's weekly advice on marriage conflict reveals the ambivalence in the growing strength of the new, but still fragile ideology, making the marriage relationship a careful tightrope, held up by subtle differences in the rhetoric of equality for husband and wife. It was acknowledged that marriage was a joint partnership and there was rejection of the notion of a wife 'dutifully submitting' to her husband in the Victorian sense but, as Mary Millar reasoned:

> Really the home should be headed by husband and wife, with the husband as the slightly senior partner. (*NZWW*, Feb 24, 1955).

What the new partnership meant was that each had her/his own sphere but that decisions could no longer be a unilateral male preserve. Ultimately, however, Mary Millar reminded her readers, the male must have the final say because of his legal responsiblity to support his home and family. Even in the situation where women were 'forced temporarily' into the breadwinner's role, Mary Millar warns women to hold back from 'ruling the roost':

Masculine pride is easily hurt. If any woman values her marriage happiness she'll take care not to do anything to hurt that pride. (*NZWW*, Aug 11, 1955).

Mary Millar's advice to 'Agnes' (whose husband believed that 'the male is destined to rule the world' and who never allowed her even to choose her own clothes) was:

> She should always flatter her husband . . . probably he had an unhappy childhood. At heart he is a little boy, afraid of life. To try to strip off his protective facade at this stage might be worse than useless. It might even wreck the marriage . . . Agnes must face the fact that she married her husband . . . she took him for better or worse (*NZWW*, March 3, 1955).

A double standard of equality indeed!

The real responsiblity for a woman was to support her husband quietly and to manage the home and children efficiently. Any shortfall or overkill in these tasks found little sympathy with Mary Millar. For example, she commiserated with 'Ted', whose wife had become 'bored with housework' and so 'restless' that she had got a temporary job at a summer camp:

> It's not fun to have to look after yourself when you are working. Ted hasn't the time to attend to the house properly and it's going to pieces . . . . I advise a show of firmness. Ted was to tell her that her conduct was morally indefensible . . . he was to tell her that she was to give up her job and come home. (*NZWW* Oct 14, 1954).

Or to 'Chris', whose wife was becoming too involved in 'charitable interest, clubs and associations.'

> Chris was to protest firmly if the family were left alone at meal times, not able to go out together, or bothered by vacuuming, cleaning and the like, late in the evening. Such things constitute neglect. They aren't as bad as doing no cooking and cleaning, but they are a form of neglect just the same. (*NZWW* Aug 5, 1954).

Again, Mary Millar reveals the double standard in her answer to 'Anna', who had a husband whose total absorption was a hobby of making models in the middle of the living-room floor. It was 'Anna's'

attitude that was faulty:

> You can see what's the matter can't you? Anna wants her
> husband's attention all the time . . . . In short she wants to
> possess him body and soul. What she can't realise is that a
> marriage is a partnership of two individuals. They remain
> individuals always . . . . (*NZWW* Apr 28, 1955).

Theoretically, marriage was a partnership, but it was a relationship
that was judged by dual standards; an unequal equality ultimately
justified by the husband's breadwinning responsibilities. The aura of
the breadwinner's wage had grown out of the ninteenth century
ideology of a home-based domestic role for women, and throughout
the twentieth century had been gradually edging its way downwards
into the working class pay packet. As it nudged closer to being a
reality, the twin notions of masculinity and being a breadwinner be-
came firmly entwined.

Men who didn't marry and assume the mantle of such responsibil-
ity were considered unmanly and immature; as for those men who
did the right thing but still couldn't support their families on their
wages; or those whose wives had to work — well, society didn't really
want to know. Barbara Ehrenreich's study *The Hearts of Men* (1983)
provides a convincing analysis of the postwar male who came to feel
trapped by the responsibilities of breadwinning and female depen-
dency. Her book describes how men initially found secret solace in
the new publication, *Playboy*, which began what she calls the 'flight
from commitment', towards new definitions of masculinity and a
larger slice of their own breadwinning cake.

In the fifties, however, the breadwinner was the fulcrum of mar-
riage and family. 'Archie' and 'Betty' seem to illustrate the ideal, if
somewhat dull, image:

> He gave her a good allowance, and was always ready to buy
> extras . . . labour-saving gadgets, a radio and garden furniture.
> She always had money for clothes. And not only money. Archie
> had always been faithful, respectful and sober . . . . She was a
> wonderful cook, a careful manager, she made herself look nice
> without being girlish.

Yet these separate roles were carefully slotted into the new notion of
marriage as an 'equal' partnership. Editor Jean Wishart wrote:

> Emancipation of women, for instance, has brought the father

closer to the home as a member of the family . . . Yet he is not sinking his manly ego in a patronising attempt to help out an inefficient 'little woman'; he is taking an equal and rightful part in home life. (*NZWW* Nov 4, 1957).

Careful description conjured up images of the contemporary style of partnership. Even the Queen, wrote Elizabeth Scott:

Arranges the flowers in the vases herself, and often in the evening she will cook dinner in the little kitchen . . . her husband has helped to instruct her . . . The Queen probably wears a cotton frock and the Duke old grey flannels and a sweater. (*NZWW* Nov 18, 1957).

The new style required men to become more interested and involved in domestic issues, but women were warned that there were still carefully drawn lines, so as not to confuse the essence of masculinity and femininity.

It should be understood that she is not going to make her husband a cipher in his own home. . . . In principle I feel that a husband should take an interest in all that goes on in his house, except for cooking, mending and ironing . . . No wife expects her husband to come home from work, don apron and start dusting, sweeping, polishing and dishwashing. That is not the idea at all. (*NZWW* Dec 16, 1954).

Barbara Cartland, who became the most artful advocate of the double standard, advised women to 'Let HIM be boss (in theory)' and that what he needed was a 'triple woman' i.e.

MOTHER — comforting and peaceful
MISTRESS — seductive, attractive and affectionate
COMPANION — charming, intelligent, decidedly meek.
(*NZWW* April 28, 1953).

As birth control became an acceptable part of family life, marriage manuals stressed the desirability of pleasurable sex within marriage for women as well as men. The media messages were again confusing: sex was strictly confined to marriage — but this restraint existed amidst the commercialised sexual symbolism of the popular film stars like Marilyn Munroe, Diana Dors, etc., who portrayed an explicitly extra-marital view of sex. Such women appeared in the movies as

temptresses and dominant partners, in contrast to the sex manuals which gave the initiative to men. Elizabeth Wilson (1980) refers to the 'New Look' of the fifties which, in contrast to the sensible austerity of the forties, was fluffy, sexual and kittenish. She comments: 'The division between Nice women and Tarts was about to go.' (p. 84).

The letters to the Lou Lockhart column make it apparent that there was considerable ignorance about the 'facts of life', and that sex was not always bringing happiness in marriage. Stirred by such ignorance, the *NZWW* published a book called *1001 Problems Answered by Lou Lockhart*[1], which covered issues not to be found in the few (and rather technical) sex manuals, such as:

How far can I let a boy go?
What is sex appeal?
The first night of marriage
Why men must philander

An editorial — 'The Sex Taboo' — strongly chastised mothers whose daughters were left in ignorance:

She approaches her marriage in fear and trembling, mingled with love and romance. Snatches of obscure, inaccurate, smutty comment crowd into her bewildered mind to torment her. Sex may take on the significance of something brutal and abhorrent, as many a young bride can testify . . . Sex to her may be a thing which cannot be escaped and must be tolerated.

Bernard L. Camus in his advice from 'The Psychologist's Consulting Room' saw it thus:

Sex preparation enables us to help ourselves to some extent — to know what we're fighting, to protect one another until we can mate in the civilised sense — through marriage.

Sexuality, then, was beginning to come out of the closet, with sexual release recognised as a healthy condition. However, pre-marital sex was taboo, fears about promiscuity overlaying any concern for the sexual needs of the unmarried. An appeal from M.K., who did not want to marry too young, but was reading that a 'regular and creative sex life was essential to one's maturity and personality development' received this answer from Lou Lockhart:

. . . 'creative sex life' means a controlled sex life . . . You are still young and should not become a frizzled up unemotional fossil

even if your excursions with girls are limited to social doings. (*NZWW* Jul 6, 1950).

Lockhart did not convince everyone, and her successor, Mary Millar, wondered 'what are the standards of "nice" girls these days?' She expressed concern that 'girls who have maintained a very strict standard of conduct have still got left on the shelf' (*NZWW* Aug 27, 1953). Sex within marriage might be enjoyable, but sex itself was still dangerous — particularly for men. It was the marriage relationship that civilised and tamed its ugliness. As Bernard L. Camus advised a male client with a sexually unresponsive wife:

> Nature does not care for the niceties of civilisation . . . The animal struggles with the veneer; the civilised veneer gives way before the animal — much more so in the male than in the female . . . The female reacts more rapidly, and becomes disgusted. It has been a shock to her, nothing like what she had really expected.

Barbara Cartland had a slightly different version:
> The basis of sexual love is natural, but in marriage man has elevated it to an art that does not come naturally. Above all sex is a mystery. (*NZWW* Jan 27, 1955).

While it was acknowledged that both men and women could have pleasure from sexual activity, current opinion held that female pleasure was a male responsibility. The assumption was that a man had a stronger sex drive whch he had to control in deference to his wife's weaker urges. Wrote Bernard L. Camus:

> In a woman's case especially, marriage is a career and although sex is not all there is to marriage, it plays an important part, for through sex comes children.

Barbara Cartland issued a warning:

> Sexual love must colour every action every day, recognising that the physical act is just an ingredient of life. Ignore sex — and a bitter, unforgiveable hatred is born. (*NZWW* Jan 27, 1955).

'Dame Trot' added what perhaps was some realism in 'Readers Declare':

> Biology tells us that our sex organs are certainly not as important

as our hearts. The heart must beat continually, but we can manage very well without sex. (*NZWW* March 16, 1950).

This tentative opening up of information on and discussion of sexuality during the fifties in New Zealand can partly be set against the background of the much publicised Kinsey Reports (1948, 1953). The effect of this work was to create a much greater awareness of the nature and extent of sexual activity. Now, there was an 'art' to sex, and the learning of certain techniques (mainly by the male) could enhance women's pleasure. Such a shift of opinion on the place of sex within marriage fitted the new concept of equality for women, and flowed into the popular marriage literature. Like the complementary wife/husband roles, there was equality in difference.

However, this reappraisal firmly excluded the unmarrieds. Even though a higher percentage of people were marrying than ever before, and the popular marriage age was steadily dropping into the early twenties for both women and men, there were still many for whom 'marriage had not yet come their way'. Many of these were still young and 'available'; some had already been assessed as spinsters, but for both groups the taboo held firm. The fact that it was not always observed was apparent from the number of charitable agencies providing discreet hideaway facilities for unmarried mothers. Such shameful overstepping of public morality was unacceptable, as 'Gladys' remembers:

> My girl friend was teaching out on the plains. She was out on this country job and was completely lonely. She was going with this man, he was her only companion and she was having a baby with him. Well I never heard such an outcry. I have never seen a girl so persecuted in my life. She took to her bed completely and the whole town knew about it.[2]

For most women, mere whispers of such experiences was enough to enforce a kind of celibacy until marriage, curbing sexual exploration to the furtive fumblings that a car, the movies or some dark place might allow.

For women who never married public morality forced them into a life of celibacy and 'spinsterish' activity. The plight of single women in a society where women have been accorded status through their roles as wives and mothers has never been easy. However, after two wars which decimated marriageable men the role of the spinster began to be re-evaluated. An aura of worthiness and respectability

was accorded the status:

> There is nothing narrow or gaunt about spinsters these days and
> although they cannot be fortunate enough to give the world its
> children, they do fulfil most important duties — (midwives,
> kindergarten teachers, nurses) so spinsters be of good heart.
> Though unmarried you are still of service to the world. (*NZWW.*
> Jan 29, 1948).

Into the fifties this attitude prevailed, and the halo offered in return
for moral living and good works was even shinier:

> . . . A great many of them are truly 'unclaimed treasures'.
> Unable to devote themselves to husband and children, they put
> their qualities and desire to serve at the disposal of the
> community; they become deaconesses, district nurses,
> kindergarten teachers, missionaries, welfare workers . . .
> goodness knows what the world would do without them. They
> don't dignify their work with the name of 'career' . . . and they
> probably grieve more over lack of children than lack of husband.
> (*NZWW.* Dec 30, 1954).

Not all 'spinsters' were so revered. In a unique article on lesbianism
entitled 'Rejectors of Their Sex' (which does not mention the word
'lesbian') concern was expressed about the women who:

> . . . often display mannish traits. They wear collars and ties.
> Their jackets have a masculine cut, and as often as not the hairdo
> also has a suggestion of masculinity. (*NZWW.* Jan 8, 1948).

The author (male) attributes such behaviour to feelings of inferiority
when comparisons are made with men. Such a woman joins the
career race to match her ability publicly against that of men — but, as
he points out: 'A man that is worthy of the name cannot stand up to
such feminine domination.' He quotes the story of one such woman
who eventually:

> . . . found happiness when dominated by a man with whom she
> could play a really feminine part . . . Her basic need was to
> accept her femininity and to be herself, as a woman. This cured
> her neurotic temperament and set her free from the compulsion
> to reject her own sex.

Claims like these were likely to be associated with all women who

remained single but did not adopt 'spinsterish' behaviour, although some allowances were made for the attractive 'career girl'. Even then, her independence and power was still a threat to an accepted social order. One mother wrote:

> I am worried about my daughter who is single and shows no inclination to get married. You see she is one of those career girls. She is proud of her money and her position and doesn't want to give up either or sacrifice anything to making a home or rearing children. I can't help feeling that this would be better for her than having a life all her own way. (*NZWW*. Mar 4, 1947).

This new independence, although shortlived for many, was an important forerunner in the loosening up of constraining sexual morality in the sixties and seventies. It showed women that they could be independent and, more importantly, the stories of these shortlived career years were recounted with meaning to their daughters who were reaching maturity when premarital sex and a 'singles' existence was winning the day.

For most women, however, success was equated with making the right marriage and accumulating the trappings of family, home and car. Those that didn't wondered why they were being passed by, as it was a rare few who were able to feel assurance and satisfaction in choosing to be single. Many sad letters appeared on the same lines as:

> I long above all things to be married as all my friends are now. I am slim with good features and I do understand clothes and makeup. I'm keen on sport and I go where there are men. Yet, I always seem to miss the proposal. My romances seem to fade out . . . Should I change my job? There aren't many single men where I work. I do so want a home and babies.

Mary Millar's reply was not sympathetic:

> She thinks only of herself and of 'wanting' marriage, home and babies. There's nothing wrong with this, but does she ever think of a man except as a home-baby-prestige provider? (*NZWW*. May 25, 1959).

Such a contradiction in messages came through this sad communication. On the one hand, marriage and family were upheld as the ultimate achievement that would provide real fulfilment, yet custom de-

manded a modest stance from women. They were certainly not to appear too eager in looking for such rewards. The art of 'getting a man' was subtle and confusing and, apart from the popular few, was undoubtedly a source of unhappiness for many women.

But while the successful management of home and family responsibilities increasingly became the measure upon which an individual's maturity and social well-being were judged and upon which the 'good life' was based, the growing divorce rate was an anomaly becoming more and more difficult to accommodate. Discussion of the issue went beyond divorce as an individual solution for unhappy relationships, and focused on the threat it posed to both the moral and structural fabric of the family. When Princess Margaret publicly renounced Peter Townsend as a marriage partner because of his previous divorce, she was applauded for her duty in upholding the sanctity of marriage as a lifelong institution. Divorce might have been tolerated among movieland notables, but certainly not in the 'respectable' echelons of society.

A gap existed, however, between reality and the preached ideal. While a gradual liberalising of divorce laws during the fifties eased the plight of, and lessened injustice for individuals in untenable situations, society collectively saw divorce as a sore in its midst — a response which encouraged the propaganda promoting responsible marriage.

A spate of agencies sprang up to support and assist families in 'staying together'. Like the advice columns of the *NZWW,* they were a public acknowledgement — at last — that a potential tangle of problems was embedded in what appeared to be 'normal' family life. Maintaining a successful marriage was now an art with skills to be learned which could help to smooth over or even prevent cracks from appearing. In 1948 the Marriage Guidance Council was formed and not only counselled couples with 'problems' but soon moved into prevention by offering marriage preparation classes on such subjects as personal adjustment, sex and parenting.

Academics also found a new research topic: the cause of marriage failure. The *Listener* (1950, March 10) features an article by J.H. Robb reporting on the criteria for marriage failure developed by the Family Discussion Bureau, e.g. housing problems, isolation from friends and relatives, confusion of roles caused by changing patterns of life, being an only child, emotional maturity and the birth of the first child. Robb cautions that these are 'still hypotheses yet to be tested.' A few years later, a survey upholding the myth of middle-class morality was produced by conservative law lecturer, A.J. Nixon, of Auckland Uni-

versity College. He maintained that:

> Divorce tended to be lower class behaviour, or at any rate was
> more likely to be avoided by the higher classes . . . Divorce was
> caused by an inability or unwillingness to found and maintain a
> stable marriage and this inability was related to low social status.
> (*NZ Listener.* Jul 6, 1956).

Nixon was, however, puzzled 'that divorce was also connected with
residents in the North Island'!

A less academic suggestion came from 'Readers Declare':

> In the past large families were the natural order of the day . . .
> the rubbing of shoulders of the children, male and female,
> provided experience of the varying attitudes of male and female
> to each other . . . with the experience of sisters the male
> entered the marriage state with a wide knowledge of women.
> (*NZWW.* Aug 18, 1949).

The anxiety surrounding divorce epitomised the struggle between
conservative and progressive forces, even though both groups ac-
cepted the primacy of marriage and family. The conservative view was
that the family was threatened with decay if divorce continued, and
that the circle of 'broken homes' and 'problem children' would spiral
into widespread social disorder, which would be the breeding
ground for the ills of communism.

The more progressive view turned the causes around, blaming the
evident social ills on outdated divorce laws, inadequate marriage
preparation and a lack of support services. It is perhaps ironic that, in
retrospect, an era which so strongly reaffirmed the tradition of mar-
riage and family, also generated the trend towards divorce. Happi-
ness in marriage was being so strongly promoted as the new ideal that
when this was not achieved (or it collapsed) divorce was the inevita-
ble way out. What was threatening to society was at the same time
liberating for some members of it — but the particular form of libera-
tion began to reveal more clearly how marriage was based on depen-
dence and inequality.

The concept of 'equal but different' roles had been formulated on
the basis of the new marriage partnership, but the anomalies and
tension this duality uncovered became important as a forerunner to a
fresh consciousness of the tenuous situation of women as wives and
mothers. While women of the forties and fifties had firmly embraced
the 'equal but different' ideal as a means of awarding status and

recognition to the married role, the hard realities eventually showed that such shadowy 'equality', negotiated within the privacy of each family home, was not enough.

The collective activism round such problems in the seventies derived from this experience, but, at the same time, the efforts of our mothers in trying to establish a kind of privatised equality was an essential step towards the focus of the women's movement for my generation.

Helen Cook was supervisor of the Victoria University creche 1978-84, and president of the Early Childhood Workers' Union 1982-84. She was recently overseas working on her Ph.D. thesis on the impact of child rearing on women's lives, and continues to do so as well as tutoring in education and women's studies at the University of Waikato, Private Bag, Hamilton.

Notes

1. I have not yet been able to locate this book.
2. This account came from a personal interview.

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Woman's Place In God's World

Work in progress by Ivanica Vodanovich.

The inconsistencies and contradictions in the position of women within the contemporary Christian revival are the focus of this paper.[1] It considers two aspects of this problem. Firstly why 'women's' issues and questions about woman's social role are of such central concern in the movement. Secondly why female members are so actively involved in opposing legislative measures designed, theoretically, to help them achieve equality.[2]

Within the revival woman's primary social role is located within the family as legal wife and mother. The belief system of the movement describes a pattern of divinely ordained order in which individuals are organised into families; they, in turn, are the building blocks of the nation. God's blueprint for the establishment of universal social order posits a world divided into nations. Families are the crucial intermediary between the individual and the nation — and because of their primary responsibility in the family women are key figures in the realisation of His design.[3] Yet the centrality of their role is contradicted by their subordinate status both within the system of beliefs

and the social reality it sanctions.

The New Zealand Christian revival dates from the 1960s. It emerged as an upsurge of charismatic Pentecostalism and coincided with an increase of those identifying themselves as Christian within the population.[4] Initially the movement followed the traditional pattern of revivalism with an emphasis on individual conversion and salvation and drew its support primarily from women and Maoris. These two groups are still disproportionally represented in the movement.

By the 1980s the religious revival had evolved into a social movement involved in community and political action on a range of moral issues and able to mobilise wide support for its views.

This transformation, and the shifting patterns of co-operation that emerge around specific issues, make it difficult to define the contours of the movement. It is not a formal organisation although it does contain a number of inter-denominational organisations that unite in a range of activities. 'Rebirth in the Spirit', a process of transition to a new identity as a 'Christian' is a pre-requisite for recognition as a participant and admits the individual to membership of the community of believers. Acceptance of all or some of the following beliefs serves to define an individual as an adherent: charisma, a gift of grace from God and a means of salvation; Pentecostalism, the gifts of the Spirit, such as speaking tongues, faith healing and prophecy; Evangelism, a duty to spread the Good News and fundamentalism, acceptance of the Bible as the literal and infallible word of God. This means that potentially the movement can draw support from the religious population in which it is embedded on the basis of common acceptance of any one, or any combination, of these beliefs.

For example charismatic Christians who have remained within their original churches, and members of traditional fundamentalist religions may identify with the movement on specific issues. The label of 'Christian' provides a powerful unifying symbol that can over-ride denominational differences and the continuing factionalism. In addition, because of its fundamentalist, and therefore 'traditional' stance on morality the movement attracts support from the more conservative elements of the general population.

Despite these shifting boundaries the core of the movement is still to be found within the newer Pentecostal Churches, which are among the most rapidly growing religions. Pentecostalists classify churches in terms of the way in which they mediate the relationship between the individual and God. They claim that in contrast to the 'institutional' churches where the relationship is mediated through the hierarchical structure, they offer a direct, unmediated link between

the individual and the Deity.[5]

Secondly the Pentecostalists argue that the institutional churches, infiltrated by humanism and liberal theology, have become more concerned with social and therefore 'secular' issues rather than spiritual matters. The primary emphasis of the Pentecostalists is on the individual and her salvation in the world to come, rather than the solution of 'social' problems in this world. A comparison of census data on these two groups show significant differences between them and indicate some of the social characteristics of the charismatic Pentecostalists.[6]

Between 1976 and 1981 membership of the institutional churches declined by 7.27% while membership of the Pentecostal Churches rose by 127.3%. In this period female membership of the Pentecostal Churches increased by 62.6% while the male population increased by 55.5%. The following table summarises some of the differences between the two religious populations.

Table 1

A comparison of institutional and Pentecostal Churches
on selected indices

	Institutional Churches	Pentecostal Churches
European	89.55%	74.6%
Maori	6.0%	19.7%
Female	53.2%	56.6%
Average age (years)	33.7	26.4
Average income ($)	7399	5238
Major urban area	67.4%	72.3%
Residential mobility (1976-81)	43.1%	56.5%

This table shows clearly that the Pentecostals are, on average, much younger than members of the established churches, are more likely to be now living in an urban area and have experienced a greater degree of residential mobility. They are noticeably less affluent and have a higher percentage of women and Polynesias. This particular combination of age, gender and ethnicity in the composition of the Pentecostal population may partially explain their lower economic position. They are more likely to be at the start of their occupational career and the beginning of their family life cycle, involved in the care of dependent children. A more detailed examination of occupation, employment status and age categories may indicate more clearly the social location of the two groups. For this comparison the Anglican

Church, the largest of the institutional churches has been compared with the Assembly of God, the largest Pentecostal Church. To put these comparisons in perspective, in 1981 the Anglican population claimed the allegiance of 25.6% of the population as against 0.4% for the Assembly of God.

Table 2

Employment status: selected categories for male and female

Males	Anglicans %	Assembly of God %
Employers	6.7	6.3
Self-employed	7.0	6.6
Wage or salary earners	58.0	69.4
Females		
Wage or salary earners	32.5	30.1
Household duties	41.6	50.1

While the significant feature of the male employment pattern is the higher percentage of Assembly of God members employed in wage or salary work the outstanding feature of the female pattern is the higher proportion involved in full-time household duties and the correspondingly lower percentage engaged in wage or salary work. In addition, the Assembly of God has a higher percentage of female unemployed (2.5% as against 1.4% for the Anglicans) while the Anglicans have a much higher proportion of retired females (14.0% against 8.3%). Tables 2 and 3 provide more details about the occupational categories and allows us to identify the wage workers more clearly.

Table 3.

Occupational categories (combined male and female)

	Anglicans %	Assembly of God %
Managerial, professional and clerical	41.4	41.6
Sales and services	23.0	19.8
Agricultural workers	12.7	9.0
Production workers	31.0	36.9

The two groups show little difference in the distribution within the combined managerial, professional and clerical categories. The significant variations occur within the other three occupational categories. They show, as could be expected from the rural-urban distribution, a higher ratio of Anglicans among the agricultural workers but a notably greater concentration of Assembly of God members among production workers. These last two tables suggest that the lower economic position of the Pentecostalists may be correlated with their relative concentration in production work and — with half their active female population engaged full-time in household duties — the higher percentage of single income households in this group.

A cluster of inter-related variables, ethnicity, gender and age, combined with occupation and the number of incomes per household would seem to underly their lower socio-economic status. In 1981, the average number of children per family in each group was two, but, as the age distribution in Table 4 shows, the Assembly of God members have a much larger dependent population. They also have a larger percentage of their members concentrated in the child bearing fertile years between 20 and 39. This suggests the possibility of a continuation of this pattern of a high ratio of dependents by comparison with that of the institutional churches.

Table 4
Age distribution (combined male and female)
%

	Anglicans	Assembly of God
Under 15	24.0	37.6
15 — 19	8.6	7.9
20 — 39	27.0	34.8
40 — 60	22.1	14.0
Over 60	18.7	5.7

This preliminary analysis of census data allows us to draw some tentative conclusions about the social characteristics of the Pentecostalists. While the established religions seem to draw members from a fairly representative cross-section of the population, the Pentecostals recruit more narrowly. Their support comes, in large part, from the lower socio-economic strata in the urban environment. They are

younger than members of the institutional churches and have a higher degree of residential mobility. They are more likely to be involved in family and child-rearing activities since they have a larger number of younger dependents. Finally they have a higher percentage of women and Polynesians among their members.[8]

The typical pattern of entry into a Pentecostal group is for women to become involved and then persuade other family members to join.

Luckman (1967) suggests a negative correlation between religious involvement and economic activity. He argues that in modern industrial society religion has been pushed to the periphery and those social groups most marginal to economic work processes in industrial society will have the greatest involvement in religion. This could partially account for the socio-economic profile of the membership of this religious revival.

If marginality can be redefined to include those most vulnerable to the economic processes and impotent to control their situation; that is, if power is explicitly added to his model it could help us understand some of the dynamics of this pattern of relationships. We know that women and Maoris are two groups most affected by the economic recession. We know that lower socio-economic groups in general, and within this strata, the single income households in particular, are the most vulnerable to a downturn in the economy. Their already insecure position within the economic system leaves little flexibility and few realistic alternatives that might improve their position. This general model does not explain why Pentecostal religions specifically seem to have a particular affinity for these social categories. An analysis of the principal beliefs and values may help explain this relationship.[9]

The belief system of the charismatic Pentecostal movement can be treated as cosmology in that the contents make up a coherent structure of ideas, which transcend the reality of this world to locate the individual, her past and future, in a more comprehensive universe of meaning. This cosmology, once the initial premises are granted, provides a consistent world view which serves as a framework of significance and integrates the different levels of experience in the individual's life.

The beliefs and values of the charismatic Pentecostalists derive from the Bible which is regarded as the infallible and divinely inspired word of God. Its authority is absolute (Bennett & Donovan, 1980:13,15,65; *Challenge Weekly*, V.40 N.21:16). Furthermore it provides a blueprint and guide for the organisation of everyday life.

The Biblical account of creation is the starting point of the cosmology. It is the story of the imposition of order on chaos. God created the world and all within it. The natural order is His work and part of His design so the divine and natural orders are fused. The world is a battleground between good and evil since Satan, the negation of God and the embodiment of evil, exists in the world. As God is equated with the creation of order so the opposite, anarchy and chaos, is seen as the work of Satan. This means that conflict and disorder have a moral evaluation (cf. *Challenge Weekly*, V.39 N.37:2. The protest against the rugby tour of South Africa is seen as an attack against authority and is compared with other 'Satanic' attacks). Human nature, since the 'Fall' is not innately good but requires control and restrain and God's grace for salvation (Bennett & Donovan, 1980:13,65; Christenson, 1981:98). There is no salvation outside of Christ.

In this system of ideas God is both immanent in the world and actively involved within it and transcendent, the sovereign of the universe. Everything that happens in the world is by His design. It may not be immediately understood but with faith and submission all will become clear in time if He so wills it. Baptism (or rebirth) in the Spirit means that each person establishes a direct link to God who can reveal Himself in signs, visions and prophecies. However, the authenticity and meaning of these messages is only established when the religious community validates them. So this system combines recognition of the uniqueness of each individual, with control by the community of believers within which the individual and her life are encapsulated.

Man and woman were created in God's image but male and female. Woman was created after man as his helpmeet (Christenson, 1981:19). A standard interpretation of the creation of women argues that as she was created from man's rib which is under his head but beside his heart, she is under his authority but also merits his love and protection. Because children are born in 'original sin' parents have absolute authority (including the use of the rod), derived from God, to discipline and train their children. This responsibility has the status of a sacred obligation. The Biblical design for living provides a structure of clearly differentiated age and sex roles. These roles are seen as complementary and the starting point of order. Since they are rooted in both the natural and the divine order they are seen as absolute and immutable.

The family is the framework within which these roles are interrelated to form a unity and part of God's design for 'man'. The husband is the head: his family role is breadwinner, disciplinarian and the family's representative to the outside community. The wife is

subordinate to her husband and her family role is within the household as mother and housekeeper. The child is subordinate to both parents.

Woman's inferiority is grounded in man's priority in creation and her role in the Fall. Submission protects her because although she may be equal in intelligence and before God — emotionally, psychologically, physically and spiritually she is more vulnerable (Christenson, 1981). The 'natural' feminine qualities are defined as passivity, emotionalism and nurturance as opposed to the masculine qualities of rationality, dominance and instrumentalism.[9] This role structure allows both partners to fulfil their essential natures. The blurring of roles that occurs for example when wives work outside the home or men 'mother' their children deprives both partners of fulfilment of their natural qualities. It is also harmful for the children since it creates ambiguity and relativity.

The family role structure is biologically determined and divinely sanctioned, and thus has the double imprimataur of God and nature. The family therefore is universal and as the link between the individual and the nation it is the cement that binds the nation. This 'Biblical' family (*Challenge Weekly*, 39, 24:13) is based on legal marriage and private property (*Above Rubies*, 3, 3; Monroe, 1985; Radl, 1982). It is, then, a bulwark against disorder (the work of Satan) and also against communism. So a threat to the family is a threat to the nation and its way of life based on the alliance between private property and God. This particular combination of ideas puts the family at the centre of social order.

As a theory it negates both history and culture as the human creation of meaning. The fusion of biology, or nature, and the divine ensures that change is viewed as negative or dysfunctional.

The world of the charismatic Pentecostalist is a world of absolutes in which there are no random events, no chance or accident. The cosmology fosters passivity and acceptance of the present order, in the certainty that a divine purpose is at work in the world. It erases the flux of history and in place of the insecurity stemming from rapid change provides certainty and a basis for stability. It is a theodicy of optimism. These factors may explain its attraction for the economically disadvantaged who are vulnerable to change and powerless to improve their position.

The Christian movement provides instant community and organises the life of the member in activities appropriate to her social role. For

housebound women with dependent children and little spending money it offers help and companionship. The literature contains many 'true life' stories of women who moved from feminism to the Christian movement. This suggests that they did not see the feminist solutions as viable in their situation. In contrast the Christian community validated the position they were locked into and provided positive reinforcement. In many cases it offered an opportunity for an acceptable 'career' and independent status for the woman through work such as counselling or faith healing. These activities do not threaten the female family role but can be defined as an extension of it and part of her religious practice. These factors could well explain the movement's attraction for this group of women.

However it is well to remember that only a minority of individuals in this socio-economic category have joined the Christian revival. We are dealing with a multi-faceted phenomenon and must reject any single factor explanation. While the particular combination of a membership concentrated at an early stage in the family life cycle and a belief system which links women, the family and social and cosmic order may provide one explanation for the focus on women's issues in the movement, other dimensions of the phenomenon must be considered. Robertson (1981) discussing the global resurgence of religious fundamentalism suggests that it is related to the expansion of the states activities and its encroachment into areas of life previously regarded as private and sacroscant. Many of these areas concern the family and sexual and personal morality which historically, came within the sphere and authority of religion. The modern state, involved in the process of bringing about deliberate social change in line with its political philosophy through legislative measures, is intervening more in the 'private' area of life and challenging the authority of religion in this area. (The advances of modern technology — medical technology for example — have accentuated this process). This suggests the boundaries between church and the state are shifting.

This offers an interesting approach to the analysis of the New Zealand material. The present political activism of the Pentecostalists marks a radical change of direction as Wuthnow (1983) noted in the American context. By intervening in political 'secular' issues they are doing what they have accused the institutional churches of doing, although their focus is on issues of personal rather than social morality. They justify their action in terms of the rapid increase in the past decade of legislative measures which affect the family, the status of women, the rights of parents and sexual morality. They argue that the

state, by legislating in these areas, has blurred the boundary between religion and politics. They are reacting to what they interpret as a deliberate attempt to change the nature of New Zealand society and to limit their rights as Christians living in a Christian society. (The Sides case and the reaction it generated illustrates this point).[10] The way in which the cosmology of the movement inter-relates the role of women, control of sexual activity, the family and national social order explains their opposition to recent measures.

The Christian Pentecostalists then are 'defending' the family and the nation against moral decay, Satan and international communism. Their defence is organised in terms of opposition to certain feminist documents taken as policy manifestos. Two texts in particular have acquired this status, the Working Women's Charter[11] (*Above Rubies*, 1980, N.15:12, *Challenge Weekly*, V.38, N.46:11) and Kay Goodger's *Strategy for Women's Liberation*[12] (*Challenge Weekly*, V.43 N. 2:10f; Monroe, 1985). The rhetoric used in the defence of traditional values is an essential part of the dynamics of the revival. Not only is 'defence' emphasised and anarchy threatened but the use of such powerful emotive symbols as **family, nation** (so that Christian morality and patriotism are equated) **children** (who owns your children? headlines the discussion of the Working Women's Charter in *Above Rubies*) and **Christian** can arouse wide support. Heinz (1983) in discussing the ideology of the religious revival in America emphasises the battle for the control of symbols.

This battle presents women as the threat to the established order. The cosmology emphasises the 'spiritual vulnerability' of women, thus resuscitating the traditional dualistic theological conception. Woman as Mary, the mother of the Saviour, the channel for salvation and the reimposition of order in the world — and Eve the devil's collaborator who questioned the established order. Feminists are described by Christians as 'radical', 'lesbian', 'aggressive', 'disruptive', and 'divisive'. These are seen as negative qualities, the very obverse of their model of feminity. They carry connotations of conflict and disorder so that feminist activity can easily be interpreted as assisting the work of Satan. Changes in the role and status of women, that have been slowly occurring over the past decade carry a double threat. They challenge the basis of social order and also reverse the God given pattern of authority to allow Eve to escape from the domination of Mary and thus escape from the pattern of divinely sanctioned control. Women are the weak link in the pattern of divine order and their 'insubordination' threatens the boundaries of the group.

As sociologists will no doubt have recognised the charismatic Pentecostalists are the functionalists of the religious world.[13]

Ivanica Vodanovich teaches sociology at the University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland.

Notes

1. This is a preliminary report of work in progress, part of a more general study of the contemporary religious revival in New Zealand.

2. This paper draws principally on material from published sources. These include the *1981 New Zealand Census* on Religious Professions, Bennett and Donovan's *Directory of Beliefs and Practices* in which representatives of the various religions have defined their beliefs, and journals and magazines such as *Challenge Weekly* and *Above Rubies.*

3. The God of the charismatic Pentecostalists is indubitably male.

4. The category of 'Christian no other denomination' is now the fifth largest religious group in the census. Not all members of this group are part of the charismatic Pentecostal revival and indeed a comparison of the two groups show significant differences in their socio-economic composition. However this group does provide a pool of potential support for specific issues.

5. The 'institutional' churches are sometimes referred to by the Pentecostalists as the 'established' or 'mainline' churches. In this paper the category of 'institutional' church includes the Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Baptist Churches. The Pentecostal Churches are those listed in the census as belonging to the Association of Pentecostal Churches. The largest are the Assembly of God, Apostolic and Elim Churches. (Cf. Worsfold (1974) for a discussion of the inherent problem of formal organisation within the Pentecostal Churches in contrast to the institutional churches.)

6. These tables include the churches listed above in each category. I am grateful to the University of Auckland Research Fund for a grant to enable me to obtain this census material. I am deeply indebted to Dr Charles Crothers of the Sociology Department, Auckland University for his help in the computer analysis of these data.

7. 12.2% of the members of the Assembly of God are Samoan.

8. This model of the belief system draws upon Bennett and Donovan's *Directory of Beliefs and Practices,* Christenson's text on *The Christian Family,* an American work that is regarded, within the movement, as an authority on this topic; *Challenge Weekly,* described as New Zealand's national Christian newspaper; and *Above Rubies,* 'a magazine to promote family life' and aimed at women. It originated in Palmerston North but is now published in Queensland. The three 'Christian' publications are all inter-denominational in focus. This outline of the belief system presents the general elements of the model. The emphasis may vary within the

different religious groups.

9. The parallels between this model of the family and the Parsonian sociological model of the American urban white middle class nuclear family of the 1950s is striking and raise interesting questions for the sociology of knowledge about the relationship between American sociology and American Protestant fundamentalism.

10. In 1981 a Christchurch garage proprietor Mr Eric Sides, who had advertised for a 'Christian' garage attendant was accused of breaching the Human Rights Act. The Equal Opportunities Tribunal found that Mr Sides, and the newspapers that had published the advertisement, had acted illegally. Subsequent public pressure led to the amendment of the Human Rights Act to allow religious discrimination in employment in special circumstances.

11. Copies of the Charter are available from: Working Women's Resource Centre/ Trade Union Centre/Private Bag 5/Newton/Auckland.

12. Goodger wrote the introduction in a pamphlet containing two documents from the Socialist Action League: 'The New Rise of Feminism' and the League's submission to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Women's Rights. The pamphlet is dated December, 1974 and is out of print.

13. Functionalism, the dominant sociological theory until the mid 1960s views society as a system of inter-related parts in equilibrium. The functioning of the parts maintains the system. It is criticised for: its emphasis on social order and its (relative) inability to deal with change since this can only occur through 'dysfunction' which upsets the equilibrium, its inherent conservatism since its focus is on the maintenance of the status quo; its neglect of conflict which stems from its emphasis on consensus; and its ahistorical perspective. The parallels between these sociological and religious models of society are evident.

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Women's Work

A review article by Margot Roth.

Good Talk The Extraordinary Lives of Ten Ordinary Australian Women. Rhonda Wilson (ed). McPhee Gribble/Penguin. 1984

Sexual Divisions Patterns and Processes. Mary Evans and Clare Ungerson. Tavistock. 1983.

Married to the Job Wives; Incorporation in Men's Work. Janet Finch. George Allen and Unwin. 1983.

Double Identity The Lives of Working Mothers. Sue Sharpe. Penguin. 1984.

Women's Working Lives Patterns and Strategies. Susan Yeandle. Tavistock. 1984.

First the interesting news. Feminist researchers into women's employment are writing wives and mothers into their scripts as real grown-up social actors important enough to be the main characters.

Further, it is clear that many women take it for granted that at some stage they will be looking for paid jobs after they have children, however long or short a time out they take for baby and child care.

In the quartet of books above, the oral histories edited by Wilson are Australian, the others British. I included *Good Talk* partly because it was there, but also because its stark accounts of the lives of 10 elderly working class women from the Port Melbourne and South Melbourne area make a salutary background to the theoretically based research of the other books, whose subjects are generally much younger.

Good Talk also raises queries about the value of oral histories which are produced to stand alone, without even a modest historical over-view or the faintest analytical clue to place the deprivation of most of these lives into a context. In fact, in her 'Editor's Note', Wilson says: 'All we were sure of was that we didn't want a historical record.' Wilson is an actor:

> . . . always looking for challenging female roles and
> . . . (with) a responsibility and desire to create new female roles.

As a way of carrying out this admirable aim she decided to look for 'another story' from the hitherto neglected women of the area where the men's 'story of the wharfies, their struggles, their waterfront' had already been told — 'to some extent' she adds vaguely.

She and three others involved in theatrical work taped the inter-views on which one of them, playwright Daniel Keene, based *Snake Pit*. According to the about-the-authors-blurb at the front of the book, this is the play whose production all four of them were connected with. (I will pass over, quite neutrally, the idea of the male writer who sensitively depicts new, challenging female characters).

Presumably the 60 to 80 year olds were happy with this enterprise ('part of the Time and Time Project funded by the Community Employment Programme') because the acknowledgements mention that most of the photographs were from the women's own private collections, and Wilson says that some of them chose to use pseudonyms for publication. But I would have liked to have known more about the play itself and how its raw material responded to it.

This collection is a should-be-read graphic reminder of the awful-ness of the poverty that our trans-Tasman sisters confronted so val-iantly; but important though oral history is in expanding our know-ledge this example has an unfinished feeling. It is, of course, the continuing dilemma of how to use what is usually described as the 'richness' of personal interviews, while at the same time ensuring that

all the participants have some share in the control ot the material. I did not get that sense of equality from the 'Editor's Note':

> It was surprising how easy most of us felt being with the women we interviewed, even though they were so much older than us . . . We interviewed the women in their homes hoping that their familiar surroundings would help put them at ease.

However, I felt no such qualms about the respondents in the other studies, which all come to grips with theoretical problems arising largely from the long exclusion of women in the processes of theory formulation. Sharpe says that although she changed the names of the people she interviewed they would probably recognise themselves, and perhaps:

> . . . will identify with other women . . . in the following pages . . . I hope . . . this book will help women to draw a sense of solidarity from their shared situation . . . while reinforcing a desire to change the negative aspects of combining work and childcare.

She also explained (p.9) why she concentrated on the lives of white mothers:

> Although black working mothers may share many of the general problems . . . (t)o explore their situation with sufficient sensitivity and depth demanded greater knowledge of the nature of their lives than I could honestly contribute as a white researcher.

Yeandle is also concerned with:

> . . . rounded individuals rather than numbers in boxes . . . the women who participated in the study are real people with real feelings. I hope that readers can share some of this awareness of the women I have talked with.

Of course it is gratifying to know that women are putting a human face on research — BUT now for the boring it-doesn't-change we're-fed-up-from-here-to-Nairobi news. Sharpe, Yeandle, Finch and the contributors writing about women's work in the book by Evans and Ungerson are all pessimistic about possible improvements in women's employment and domestic conditions. Mayo (in Evans and Ungerson), notes similarities for workers in both Coventry and North London where:

> A . . pattern of women being the spearhead of a downward change in local employment opportunities from better paid and

better organised manufacturing jobs to inferior service jobs seems to emerge . .

Yeandle's gloomy assessment (p.41) has a horribly familiar ring about it for us too:

> . . . a mounting attack on levels of paid employment, material prosperity, and standards of public welfare, coupled (more recently) with a re-assertion of 'traditional' family values.

Yeandle points out (p.19) that while women's working patterns have shifted, nothing else has — including the female rate of pay which, since the 17th century has remained about two-thirds of male wages. (New Zealand women's average pay is just under the two-thirds, actually).

How so many women continue to manage this dual existence is one of the central interests of the studies I am reviewing. (Finch claims (p.134) that many wives in paid work carry the burden of *'triple* labour, because they contribute to their husbands' work as well'). The centrality of the topic stems from the belief that the reality of women's experience provides a proper base for complex theoretical discussions. While this base may resemble a trampoline at times as ideas bounce off at all angles, there are concepts which keep recurring. For example, the idea of the domestic or 'private' sphere (female) separated from the outside or 'public' sphere (male) is obviously a nonstarter when a non-choice of jobs and hours is influenced by women's responsibilities for dependents, thus inextricably linking the private with the public.

This leads on to consideration of the Marxist notion of the reserve army of labour which has been used in recent debates as an explanation (whole or part) of the way employers and women collude, as it were, in reinforcing women's availability as a disposable source of labour power, obligingly sliding in and out of the workforce as employment and home circumstances dictate.

Two articles in Evans and Ungerson address this topic as part of a study of part-time women workers in Coventry. (The book is arranged so that each contribution has a rejoinder, which means that all the subjects under examination are questioned, reinterpreted or expanded). Perkins suggests that the reserve army theory, useful as a starting-point, has limitations because it:

> . . . has . . . had the effect of theoretically marginalising women's work, once again encouraging a monolithic view that cannot embrace the variety of ways in which women's labour is used . . . One problem . . . is the tendency to conflate the

characteristics of an occupation with the characteristics of the occupant.

She describes how the expansion of jobs in the service sector, for example, has coincided with increasing numbers of employed women. The attributes of the service sector and those of women have been assumed to be 'naturally' compatible, and the one phenomenon has been used to 'explain' the other.

In her rejoinder Mayo agrees that the reserve army thesis is inadequate for an accurate perception of, say, trends in women's unemployment which need to be treated as a 'matter for historical analysis rather than assertion'. An over-simplistic application of the thesis has hindered its development for, she suggests:

> . . . it may even be the case that (married) women are decreasingly likely to emerge as the ideal-type of the reserve army of labour as more categories of workers of both sexes are drawn within its ambit. In other words, capital's use of female labour is not ultimately separable from capital's changing use of labour more generally.

Yeandle agrees and says that the usefulness of the reserve army concept has restrictions which come from:

> the problems posed . . . by the nature of relations between men and women . . . illustrative of the contradictions and tensions within patriarchal capitalism.

And here is another recurring theme — that of patriarchy — one of the important theoretical messages of feminism which is still not always clear enough to be heard above the rattle of its competitors.

Sharpe, for example, does not discuss the notion in abstract terms but comments on what she was told by her respondents about men's domestic behaviour as it affected them. The picture is not rosy (p.164):

> They no longer look like Victorian patriarchs, but their working role has not significantly altered and many men still grow up preserving far more conventional sex role stereotypes and expectations than their female contemporaries do.

Finch, in her study of wives' incorporation into husbands' jobs says that for the woman there is a 'hierarchy of priorities' which routinely operates as a rule of thumb when need arises. This hierarchy is ranked in order of the husband's work needs, family (primarily children's) needs and the 'wife's own paid work . . . coming a very poor third' (p.134).

Two of the other writers give detailed attention to the concept of patriarchy and the difficulties arising from trying to incorporate it into Marxist or socialist feminism. Smart's article about the law (in Evans and Ungerson) is not directly related to women and work, but her introductory pages on the problems associated with the use of the patriarchy idea are worth reading. She suggests that:

> If it were abandoned, as some feminists suggest, then feminist theory could be deprived of its major instrument of criticism against social, political and economic theories that exclude the category of women and ignore the special nature of their oppression.

Actually, Smart is disappointing because after dealing with the deficiencies of the word patriarchy and its varying definitions according to the context in which it appears, she fails to give her own precise definition and evades the issue by deliberately using the term 'patriarchal relations.'

Yeandle spells out her approach much more carefully and comes up with 'patriarchal capitalism' as the analytical probe which may help to explain (p.19):

> . . . the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy as revealed by the concrete exercise of female labour.

She adds her own brief definition of patriarchy in one of the footnotes to chapter two which, taken altogether, provide helpful summaries of the Marxist position and some of its inadequacies. She uses the concept of 'employment career' to describe women's experience (p.39):

> . . . typically fragmented, including . . . a variety of occupations and working conditions . . . accommodated to the frequently changing demands of domestic labour.

The 'employment career' formula — which is, in effect, what Sharpe has adopted — provides a more detailed and accurate picture than just the 'snapshot' drawn from, for example, studies of single occupations which '. . . offer only partial accounts of the social world' although, says Yeandle, many of them have made 'important contributions to the developing body of knowledge about female labour'. Certainly this is true for us in New Zealand — I believe we have been very well served by our researchers[1].

Another common frustration noted in the British studies (with heartfelt echoes in this neck of the woods) is the uninformative official statistics. This has particular application to women's unemploy-

ment figures, because married women who lose their jobs often disappear, without being counted, into their families where they turn up as Not Actively Engaged.

As well as unreliable statistics, feminist readers and writers are continually confronted with research findings that have left out women altogether or tacked them on as an afterthought. Perkins found that discussion of the effect of recession on the engineering industry focused on unemployed male engineering workers although her research on one firm showed that 'the decline in female clerical workers had been proportionately greater in the last five years'. Finch, in reference to one theoretical omission of women's work says (p.114):

> . . . The issue is not so much how to conceptualise a mode of production, but the importance of recognising that the relations of production under which wives work are very different from those of wage labourers.

The unsatisfactory nature of the practice and theory of this habit of exclusion is briskly assessed by Bruegel (in Evans and Ungerson) in her rejoinder to an article on female unemployment by three male economists. As I was quite unable to grasp their exposition (this is my problem — I think) it was comforting to turn over the page to Bruegel's comment that 'economics has remained relatively immune from feminist criticism' and her observation that the trio were:

> merely adding on women as a new data set, as it were, rather than rethinking the traditional concepts.

Another approach to this problem of omission is in the paired articles by McDowell and Lebas (in Evans and Ungerson) on housing and the sexual division of space, and how:

> . . . the implications of the separation of work in the productive sphere for wages, and work in the sphere of reproduction for 'love' . . . have not been seen as worth theorising.

Lebas, the rejoinder person, explains an academic division of labour or what she calls 'the post-war competiion in urban studies between sociology and geography'. She suggests that the one has claimed the concept of gender, the other of space, both of which need 'radical redefinition' before they can become an intrinsic part of feminist urban studies. And according to McDowell, many of the findings about women's labour have paid little attention to:

> . . . the consequences of the *location* of the relations of production and reproduction . . . (which) leads to conflicts and contradictions for women . . . in the organisation of their daily lives as they use the city.

Finch takes the practicalities of the use of space into the theoretical realm in her discussion of the strategies used by women when their husbands use the home as their work-base, thus providing 'some especially clear examples of how the organisation of a man's work structures his wife's life.'

The inclusion of women in urban studies is a development that seems to need strong support. Housing policies which may be based — however distantly — on their past and current findings are in danger of reinforcing class, ethnic and gender divisions that hinder collective action and activism. It is typical, I believe, that a recent book sub-titled *Health Work and Housing in New Zealand* (Wilkes and Shirley, 1984) has two women contributors (one of whom is an industrial lawyer) out of a total of 14. Women appear quite incidentally, showing up in the low pay/high unemployment groupings. In the index they have six page references (all are minimal) compared with, e.g., 12 for Poulantzas, N.

There is fascinating material in this collection but the tone is struck in the opening paragraph where its editors refer to governments representing 'the "ordinary bloke" and acting for the common good.' Even at the end of the decade for women (privileged creatures that we are) it seems that academia has sheltered some of its liberals from the general acceptance that it is correct to pay lip service, at least, to the idea that the common good is not the exclusive preserve of blokes . . . although when one comes to think of it . . .

Yet, despite all the discouraging facts and figures there are strengths in all four of the books reviewed. One is that they are dealing mainly with working class women. Finch advocates caution in simplistically linking wives' incorporation 'with professional and bureaucratic careers.' Finch says (p.126):

> So jobs which have successfully claimed the 'profession' label cannot properly be treated as if they shared some inherent quality which necessitates the incorporation of wives.

This is a point worth emphasising because women and members of other subordinate groups have remained passive or invisible to social scientists and theory makers largely because of assumed inherent qualities. The latter characters are usually males successfully labelled 'professional' who are just as likely as anyone else to accept that their occupations

> . . . entail(s) a high degree of commitment, both on the part of the male worker and his family. (Finch, p.126).

However, in the last 15 to 20 years, a small shift has occurred towards

more overt social acceptance of mothers working for pay (of which the main beneficiary is the male partner, as these studies show). Once all this lovely gold-plated pin money won the seal of good housekeeping, it was translated by keen researchers into *The Symmetrical Family* (Young and Willmott, 1973) — the title of one of the first accounts of the dual-career family. Finch, Sharpe, Yeandle — just for three — find this particular book a load of garbage (my version of their thoughtful wording) as it claims to illustrate the way in which middle class wives and husbands each have a career and share the chores ever so equitably. In a relatively unbuttoned footnote Yeandle remarks that, like her:

> . . . other researchers have been similarly unsuccessful in tracking down this (mythical)?) species.

The dual-career enthusiasts are not opening up truly new avenues of social enquiry. They tend to maintain the ideology of individual achievement with upward occupational mobility as the goal and the reward. The unit has become the companionate couple rather than the ambitious career person and may thus be interpreted as 'social change', although so many of the studies gloss over factors like power relations based on class and gender.

In New Zealand the trend is establishing itself with the first business woman of the year award along with significant pointers like a special issue of the monthly magazine *Better Business,* which in September, 1984, featured women at the executive top. (The man writing the brief interviews seemed concerned about whether the women whose marriages remained intact could really expect to succeed in business as well as continuing to enjoy the status and rewards bestowed by their families).

However much we admire successful women, Evans's introductory words (p.13) have some relevance for the majority who do not win recognition:

> . . . by virtue of their access to certain forms of scarce social and material resources middle class women may be able either to mitigate or take advantage of the consequences of social stratification. But . . . for working class women the institutional ideology of female dependence is without alleviation or mitigation.

I do recommend these British studies and my reservation about one aspect of the books by Finch, Sharpe and Yeandle has not diminished my interest in the careful research and the theoretical discussions, nor my enjoyment of the case studies. Certainly it is gratifying that after years of neglect, women with husbands/male partners and/or children — especially the latter — are under the spotlight. The danger

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Notes.

1.   The WSA *Conference Papers* 1979-83, for example, contain a wealth of useful infor-
     mation. The forthcoming *Conference Papers* '84 continue to develop the theme and
     will include articles such as those by Andrews and Swainson, Hill, Hyman, Maunier
     and Welch. Other relevant writing has come from Hancock (1981); Hill (1979, 1982);
     Hyman (1981); Meade et al (1985); Porszolt (1984); Shields (1984); Shipley (1982).
     Broadsheet's end of decade issue (1985, July/August has good resource material.

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Archives: 'Advocate' Describes Women and the Economy in 1930.

Introduced by Margot Roth

In 1930 'Advocate' presented a history thesis for an M.A. degree from the University of New Zealand. She called it: *New Zealand Women. A contribution to the history of the part played by women in the social and political life of the Dominion.* The use of pen-names by the authors of theses was a convention of the time (does anyone know why?), and the record shows that 'Advocate' was Kathleen Helen Sharp (later Mrs Kathleen Helen Malcolm), a student at what was then Canterbury University College.[2]

Following are extracts from her work, mostly from chapter eight: 'General economic position of women, including the formation of women's associations and Trade Unions.' Once again we are reminded that some women over 50 years ago were asking questions that unfortunately continue to have relevance.

'Why is it that there is no opening for a woman in the most highly paid administrative positions?' demanded 'Advocate' (p. 66) — and over half a century on there may still be a similar question about the number of openings.

This 'Archives' section provides material that must be read in the context of its own time. Research findings and opinions of 1930 may appear to be inadequate and inappropriate when set alongside the dramatically wider-ranging and more sophisticated work of today. BUT it is salutary to be presented with a discussion that uses 'feminist' and 'feminism' in a matter-of-fact way. Sharp comments (p.67):

> For those women who for various well-founded reasons may not marry 'a fair field and no favour' is asked by the feminist. Feminism does not ask for a woman's world any more exclusive than one which is in undue degree the man's . . . Women do not want to under-sell men in the labour market. The feminist wants 'equal pay for equal work.' . . .

Parts of the chapter describing women's economic position follow:

The economy of a country may be said to depend on four factors, land ownership, and cultivation; capital; organisation; and labour. As national economy depends basically on domestic economy, women in their exercise of thrift and their influence on the spending of this capital have a powerful voice in the conduct of these matters.

In her wealth of resources and her sparse population it might have been supposed that a virile young country like New Zealand would have no serious economic problem to solve for many years; but though the conditions in the colony seemed so favourable, in the gloomy eighties and nineties, it seemed as if the new land were faced with ruin. . . .

The arbitration system has done much for the women workers of the Dominion, and although the Arbitration Court has been under a constant fire of criticism since 1908, the women workers, realising that their whole economic security depended on the Conciliation and Arbitration Act have always supported it, and are determined to do so until some better system of settling industrial disputes is found.

The days of chivalry when woman's role was a passive one have gone for ever, and modern industry has shown the importance of women's work in the fields of commerce. . . .

Sharp then gives a lengthy account (pp. 98-105) of the exploitation of women clothing employees, especially the outworkers; the Dunedin-initiated public debate on bad factory and domestic conditions; the growing poverty and increasing numbers of deserted wives with dependent families; the 1889 royal commission enquiry into 'sweating', followed by the formation of the Tailoresses' Union. She continues:

Miss Harriet Morrison's work as its secretary in its early years stands

out as a worthy example of single mindedness in improving the lot of wage earning women. Woman in all ages has had to prove herself and because women had never combined before, such a union was considered by pessimists as impossible. However, these fears were groundless. In 12 months the four centres had a membership of 2600 and . . . the New Zealand Federation of Tailoresses' Unions was registered on May 19, 1898 as 'The New Zealand Federated Tailoresses' and Other Clothing Trade Employees Industrial Associaton of Workers' under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894) which now governs the factory awards.

For many women industrial life is only a transitional period between school and married life. This consideration lessens the workers'

For many women industrial life is only a transitional period between school and married life. This consideration lessens the workers interest in the conditions of work. The Arbitration Court has brought into force good wages for the first years in a trade, but after several years work, those who must work in factories or shops all their lives, find their wages at a standstill. There is for these women little chance of providing for old age and times of illness. The problem of the woman whose job is to be a life one is worthy of the consideration of all economists. The slogan 'Equal pay for equal work' can be attacked in many ways for the majority of women workers marry; but in our economic system we need not, as in our Parliamentary system, penalise the minority because of the majority; and the problem of the unmarried, hard working ambitious woman is a nut which must be cracked very soon.

In the concluding pages of this chapter, the typing looks (to those familiar with deadlines) a little more hurried and harried than in other sections. This may account for the odd inaccuracy. Sharp's somewhat idiosyncratic analysis of the figures perhaps reflects gaps in what she was taught about using census data, rather than any inadequacy in her own thinking.

Where it has been possible to check, Sharp's figures are placed in brackets with the corrected version alongside, and extra comments are contained in the notes at the end of the article.

An examination of the New Zealand statistics shows the number of women entering the fields of labour and also to what class of work they are turning. At the 1926 census it was shown that (140,000) 147,434 unmarried women between the ages of 16 and (45) 65 and over (assumed as covering the working period) were earning, and of these, 60% were breadwinners and a further 15,000 were widows, divorcees and legally separated wives.[3] Had the proportion of women workers to men workers been the same in 1926 as in 1896 there would have been (over 18,000) 23,208 fewer women in the industry. Fi-

gures examined in detail suggest that in spite of the establishment and development of industries employing women, the extension of labour saving machinery and large scale production has been sufficient to keep the numbers from increasing in the industrial group. This group includes such work as factory labour and has been stationary since 1911.

The comparatively low rate of the domestic group of which the domestic servant is the principal element, is usually ascribed to the less attractive conditions of remuneration and the diminished social status. Transport and communication is a small group of women and is usually dominated by the Post and Telegraph Department employees, but the greatest expansion has taken place in the commercial, government and professional groups. In 1896 there were 18 women typists[4], in 1926 there were (6,486) 6,439.

The class named 'dependents' is interesting as it has steadily decreased since 1891 and this fact, together with the steady swelling of the commercial and professional ranks prompts the interesting suggestion that a large number of women who before would have been dependent are beginning to enter the bread winning class in these spheres.

I give the latest available returns to show the percentage by which the number of women in various classes has increased in the last 30 years.[5]

Group[6]	(% increase since 1896)[5]	% change since 1896[8]
Primary production	(13)	−3.05
Industrial	(54)	−8.98
Transport and communication	(603)	+1.16
Commerce and finance	(411)	+7.95
Public administration and professional	(239)	+5.35
Domestic and personal service	(59)	−14.46
Others[7]	(omitted)	+12.03
Dependants of all ages	(90) 43.1[9]	−3.1[9]

The blue book[10] for 1929 shows that of the teachers employed in the public schools, the large majority of them are women — 6495:3576[11]. All schools are graded, the secondary school teacher beginning at a salary of ⅔168 a year; the certificated primary school teacher, according to a different system of grading, from ⅔150 upwards, men and women having a different wage scale. Another branch of the public service, the public hospitals, which are the largest hospitals in New Zealand, yearly turn out nurses whose training is considered to be as efficient as that given anywhere in the British Empire. Over 5000 nurses are recorded for 1928.[12] After three years training the salary of a qualified nurse is ⅔150 per annum — equal to an independent nurse paid four pounds four shillings a week) with her board; while 'specials' doing extra work at odd times in the big private hospitals receive 15 shillings a day.

In numbers the typists and stenographers equal the teachers. The scale of wages which is now operating for the industrial worker is good. For 13,696 women employed statistics show that ⅔27,051 was their wage list.[13] About one tenth of the women earn between ten shillings and one pound a week, some 5000 earn from one to two pounds weekly, 4000 two pounds to two pounds ten shillings. The remaining half of the number except for 500 are earning up to three pounds ten shillings a week, which is as much as the average bank or office man receives, while (20,000) 1200-1300[14] are earning more than this amount. Thus the minimum imposed by the factory acts has brought a very good wage standard into force.

I should like to mention one small class of women: those employed as orchardists, horticulturalists and fruit growers. There is only a score of these but one Nelson woman who does her pruning and general work herself, won last year's prize given in London for the best apples grown in the Southern Hemisphere.

Notes

1. Our thanks to Robert Erwin, Reference Librarian, University of Canterbury who gave the *Journal* permission to publish this chapter of Kathleen Sharp's thesis. Thanks also to University of Auckland librarians Elspeth Orwin (New Zealand and Pacific section) and Cathy Hutchinson (Reference) for their help.

2. This is all the information we have about the author. We would love to hear from anyone (Ms Malcolm herself perhaps?) who could provide more details.

3. The figures and their accompanying comments in this paragraph seem to have inconsistencies. If, for example, never married women over 45 were left out, the total number is reduced to 129,385. A problem here seems to be the rather unspecific term 'breadwinner.'

4. Then, these women were called 'typewriters.'

5. Sharp has based these percentage increases on absolute numbers in 1896 and 1926, which of course do not take into account demographic and occupational changes. Thus, for instance, although the actual number of women employed in primary production over the 30 year period increased slightly from 3114 to 3526, the proportion so engaged dropped by 3.05% (from 5.77% to 2.72%).

6. The 1926 Census defined these groups as follows: **Primary Production:** agricultural and pastoral . . . fishing . . . mining . . . sawmilling. **Industrial:** secondary production . . . all manufacturers, building . . . of all kinds, and gas, water and electricity supply. **Transport and Communication:** postal and telegraphic services, shipping . . . **Commerce and Finance:** finance, insurance, dealing of all kinds . . . **Public Administration and Professional:** professions . . . administration, defence, entertainment and sport. **Domestic and Personal Service:** hotels, boardinghouses, restaurants, laundries and all services of a personal nature. **Others:** persons of independent means, retired . . ., pensioners, and persons of undefined industry. (Vol. IX: 2).

7. Sharp left out this group and included it in the (incorrect) total.

8. From the Census, 1926, Vol IX: 2.

9. Most dependants are children, so that Sharp's 'interesting suggestion' needs further examination and clarification — especially as the proportionate decrease seems comparatively small.

10. This name for collected vital statistics was not used after about 1920. Perhaps Sharp meant the *Yearbook*.

11. According to the *Yearbook* (1931:217) the ratio of men teachers to women teachers in 1929 was 100 to 184.

12. 4856 general nurses, 2557 registered midwives, 891 maternity nurses (*Yearbook*, 1929:200-201).

13. The 'wage list' was the total paid out in one week in March, 1929 to these women (*Yearbook* 1931:538).

14. At this point the abacus fell from the nerveless hands of the editor, who decided to fall back on a creative approximation.

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WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION NEW ZEALAND (INC), P.O. Box 5067 AUCKLAND.

This Association is a feminist organisation formed to promote radical social change through the medium of women's studies.

Some of the objects of the Association:
- to undertake, promote and disseminate research about women by women from a feminist perspective.
- to inform and educate women about women.
- to encourage the preservation of existing material about women.
- to facilitate the establishment of women's studies courses with a feminist perspective.
- to undertake and promote the publication and dissemination of material bout women.
- to organise and participate in activities, conferences, seminars and displays in furtherance of the objects of the Association.

CONFERENCE PAPERS: The Association holds an annual conference where members present the latest research and discussion papers, and workshops explore issues important to women. The Conference Papers are published annually and some back copies are available. Members receive a discount for the Conference and the Conference Papers.

NEWSLETTER: A quarterly newsletter containing local and overseas news, book reviews, conference reports etc. is sent to all members.

JOURNAL: The Association produces a Journal twice a year.

Full membership of the association is open to all women. Other individuals may become associate members. The membership year runs from August 1 to July 31. For more information write to P.O. Box 5067, Auckland.