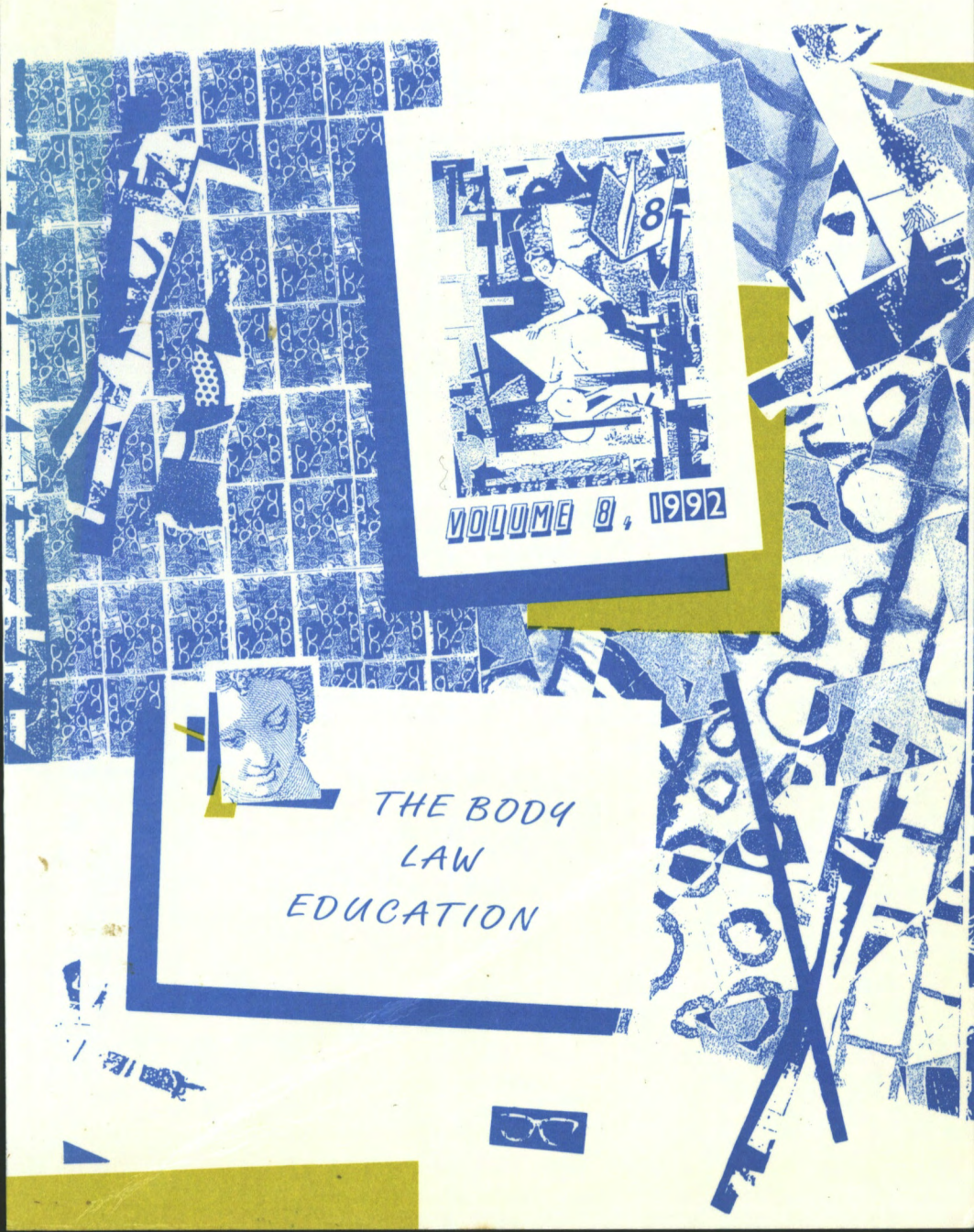
WOMEN'S STUDIES JOURNAL



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Call For Papers

Special Topics in Forthcoming Issues:

(Articles on other topics also welcome)

Feminist Cultural Studies

Volume 9, Number 1, March 1993

In recent years writing on the cultural politics of gender has been increasingly attentive to poststructural theories and the intersection between them has often been productive. It has been important in addressing universalist tendencies in Western feminism and creating a new attentiveness to difference, raised significant questions of language and textuality and produced more sophisticated analyses of power; its interdisciplinary base has challenged traditional disciplinary divisions. We invite papers on cultural studies from a feminist perspective.

Deadline: 1 October 1992.

Women's Political Voice in Aotearoa 1893–1993 and Beyond

Volume 9, Number 2, September 1993

This issue, marking 100 years of women's suffrage, will explore women's involvement in and relationship to 'politics' over the century. Broadening the focus beyond the struggle for suffrage itself, we hope to bring together work which deals with politics in its widest sense, up to the present and including some sense of the future.

Deadline: 1 April 1992

If you are interested in publishing on these or other topics, send abstracts or ideas for papers to:

Women's Studies Journal
Dept of English
University of Otago
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Dunedin

All manuscripts received are sent out for anonymous reviewing. Please send for a style sheet.

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Guarding Jealously the Treasures of Life

Anituatua Black Talks with Barbara Brookes

Anituatua Black, of Ngai Tuhoe, Ngai Te Rangi, Ngati Kahungunu and Te Arawa descent, was appointed to the Maori Studies Department at the University of Otago in late 1991. She has had extensive teaching experience at all levels of education and is a repository of knowledge about things Maori. Ani has begun a 300-level course called Te Mana Wahine — Maori Women's Studies — which is taught in Maori and which centres on the role and cultural circumstances of women in traditional and contemporary Maori society. She agreed to have a conversation about her interests with Barbara Brookes, an historian trying to understand the ways in which the pasts of Maori and Pakeha women have diverged. Paula Waby transcribed the tape with care and accuracy, and the transcript has been edited jointly by Anituatua and Barbara.

Barbara: It seems to me that knowledge and age are linked from the Maori perspective and so the University preference for hiring young people doesn't make much sense.

Ani: There are certain important rules about hiring young people. There is a very simple Maori saying, learn to wipe your nose first. That is a fairly derogatory phrase but it's a statement that makes the youngsters and people that are growing up in the Maori world to be aware, and take heed of their true, honest, inner selves and to respect their hereditary central core of yesteryears. Telling you to wipe your nose is to put you down. A little child, growing — from one year to five, from five to ten — manages to arrange and rearrange ideas before entering the serious world of learning. Parents, grandparents, extended whanau, hapu, some members of the tribe have to be involved in their upbringing to maintain tribal responsibility and introduce stability in this very important time of their lives. Every new child that has been born

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into the world has to be nurtured, nourished and must not be denied the pleasures of the basic principles of whanau life, love and aroha.

But let's get back to what I was saying. The university is a whole new world available to the Maori people. We do have our own conceptual masterpieces. We have our lores, and laws — the rules to discipline our own magical moments — and the many cultural Tikanga, disciplinarians of our lives. Our respect for the cosmos, for the pristine hypnotic beauty and quality of its worldly boundaries. We wear it as a mantle on our shoulders as a reflection of its gifts and pictures; the land is very important to us. Ranginui the husband of Papatuanuku, we adhere to his korowai — we try to make amends, a more enlightened balance, for the defects we created. So we must not forget what we have to do, what we are obligated to do within the concept and perspective of our lores, of our lifestyle.

Barbara: Do you think bringing that into the University is creating a new opportunity, a new way of doing things? Or is it a battle?

Ani: No, it is not a battle. I have a battle, or rather I walk the gauntlet, when I have to chase some flying scheme of mine, or I am being hunted by some command — though everything is around me, in my room, — outside, the aura, the elements surround me. Sometimes things on the the periphery are quite elusive; my existence is always moving hither and thither. But everything is there. They are all a section of an orb, of a cosmos orb pulsating from my room, from the faculty, from the university which stands in isolation and yet it's a world that people look to, and it's the ultimate.

It's the ultimate for all learned people, for people who desire to be there. For people who perhaps have been gifted. Some feel quite frustrated; they seem to be in such a hurry and look foolish just circling around themselves. They don't seem to be getting anywhere. Then of course it depends on what gifts you have, have been presented with. As you are moving through your lifecycle from ten to twenty, from twenty to thirty, it actually unfolds in front of you without you realising this. You have become the mother of all mothers. You have to weigh up your lifestyle, the effects of your parental time, at the same time holistically look at your taha Maori

side and what other sides there are. You have to identify a balance between the two. Both need to be appreciated because of their importance. To survive in this world is to utilise the surrounding riches for the coming generation. Those youngsters you told to wipe their noses are destined to be the repositories of that work.

Barbara: Is there a difference in the way that men and women are repositories of knowledge?

Ani: No, there is no difference except for certain areas. In Maoritanga, different lores, laws and rules have to be maintained. Women and men present and perform their own rituals of encounter. The warm and calm effect of nodding, sitting back and being silent is an important role in the Maori world. You are using and drawing from the faculties of your physical, mental and spiritual self. You are listening to information — taha wairua — and you are sorting out the best to retain for your future. There's your computer, the fore-court of the brain, your old ancient mind parading its emotional ambience of sharp, experienced imagery. The Maori language is an oral, living entity — presenting and painting their world from their oral literature — this is very important for Maori people. It is their history and they have to preserve and conserve their magnificent gifts. They have to do that. They have to store this in their minds, and keep a balance of purity, so as not to cause an overload. The mind is an important storehouse — also — pruning out the bad, the wrong, and maintaining the good and the correct. Time will make its presence known, where to present, how to shape, and when to function. Other distractions could arrive on the scene to overwhelm and overcome you, your discipline to coordinate nervous energies has to be firm, that's very important. That's why the repositories of knowledge, both male and female, of our people have to be great disciplinarians.

Barbara: So both hold knowledge and both will be passing it on through the generations?

Ani: Yes. In the old world they selected people by studying their ranking, their whakapapa, their physical, mental and spiritual side so they could fill and pass the reservoirs of important knowledge on. In this new world they are still doing this but this has advanced in a different way because of outside influences. But this is still being maintained. Our marae is our sanctuary, our last bastion,

our wananga, institute, our university. When you walk onto a marae there's an aura, emanating from its carved ancient treasures. It's like a gallery beckoning you to walk through. It is our gallery. You are required by the conductors to perform correctly, to be involved, and to be of one concentrated energy, encompassed in the marae's radiant animated life forms.

Barbara: Women have a very particular important role don't they, in welcoming onto the marae.

Ani: Very very important. That's one of the most important rituals of encounter. It is an expression of high emotional planes, elevating and influencing your role throughout your lifecycle.

Barbara: How do you get trained for that?

Ani: You are trained for that particular performance or important ritual by the scribes. They are the exponents, you are selected to become their medium — to represent your tribe, your family, your extended whanau, your subtribe and sometimes other tribes living in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Pacific Basin. If you have to move overseas and time orders these rituals, you have to present certain aspects, respecting foreign elements, smoothing currents of life for yourself. You are not only yourself, you become the mediator representing some of the repositories of the holistic Maori world whether the gathering may be small or large. The ceremony may be formal or not so formal. The feelings and emotions are the same, the presentation is the same. You are the person, the mediator who is to formulate symbolisms of classic words and expression. The nature of the words has to be traversed so as to establish and seek reassurance of performance in order to produce a feeling of warmth, healing and salvation. You are expected to understand your Maori history, the key points of your environment, understand and link in feelings for the ceremony that's going to take place. You have to understand why people are drawn in and have to attend, and be aware of influential important tribes included at that occasion, whatever ceremony it may be. Therefore the formulation of words, classic words, is very important. They have to be classic, one word or statement can shatter, build or stabilise firm, frenetic, extensive feelings. Thoughts of sadness and loss can be healed by the general warmth injected and generated throughout the ceremony. The poignancy and laments create a feeling of welcome for visitors, at the same

time relating the importance of family background, whanau, and tangata whenua — hence one of the important rituals of encounter is introduced at these ceremonies whether it may be tribal or international.

Barbara: It sounds like a huge responsibility.

Ani: It definitely is.

Barbara: So that's one important ritual function. When we were talking the other day we talked about hospitality. That seems to me to be another one.

Ani: Yes. Hospitality is part of the work and responsibilities that women and men share. You work through stages, learning and practising domestic and a host of other skills. One of the best ways of learning is listening, sitting quietly with your nannies, koros, and kaumatua — with the people who are learned and who are the repositories of knowledge — that genteel, infinite, holistic art. It's an art form of the word, of music, of ancient and modern art, of the rhythm of life, of the acknowledgement of your cosmos. The acknowledgement of key geographical, territorial and departmental custodians is included in the sacred repertoire, the classical formulation of your work. Facilitating and recording mentally is important so nothing is forgotten. The cosmos, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, their children, Io's mana, are holistically the world. Only to the supreme person will the individual bend, recognising his or her own fragility of just being an individual.

Barbara: It seems to me that women have a particular role at crisis points in life. Would you agree? At births and at death.

Ani: They certainly have a particular role at birth and at death. The woman actually is the house of the people. She is the house of selected leaders: whakapapa plays an important factor here. The infinite, however, is part of the selection process, dictating what she will produce in her time of procreation, her presentation, her gift to the world — a leader, a rangatira, a doctor, a lawyer or just an ordinary person, they are all important.

Death is another form of our lives where the ritual of encounters on our marae and other ceremonial venues are shared. At one of our greatest institutions, tangihanga or death, women and men perform, share and provide an important support system. During these tangihanga in the Maori world, women and men uphold and

maintain the rituals, each being supportive of one another. They complement one another although they have different roles to play.

Barbara: Was there the same separation of public and private that there was in European society, that the public sphere was a man's sphere in, say, Parliament and the woman's sphere was in the home?

Ani: No it wasn't like that in the Maori world, for taha Maori. There were important positions for everyone, for both male and female. The woman was regarded as very tapu: she was the whare, the house of the people, that's very important. So women had to be protected, they had to place and reserve an aura of tapu around her. It was another aspect of tapu. There were all kinds of tapu. This has to be maintained until it has been made noa or the tapu uplifted. The male and female were founders of human beings. Although the female is regarded as the house of the people it takes two people, male and female to create, to maintain the vibrancy, the beauty, of the human form and there's your balance and complement. This is the human mantle of life. Maori people never ever speak in oneness, they always speak in pairs. Not only about human beings but overall holistically — all parts of the universe — from an ant, perhaps a greater ant, a tiny fish and a larger one, a tiny kauri shrub that's growing to become a larger kauri tree — anything that pulsates with life. When we grow things it's always in pairs like man and woman. No matter what it is. Your first born child and other children are always presented and dedicated to the keepers of humanity, under the most high supreme Io, so they may inherit some aspects of their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual dimensions.

Barbara: In your course, Te Mana Wahine, where do you begin and how do you proceed through?

Ani: What we have just been speaking about are some of the Maori women's perspectives, I try to present various examples to my students. The majority of my students are very young but eager to learn the ancient ways. Some are disappointed and are struggling to survive the system. There are a few adults amongst them; men students are an asset as this creates a level of balance. I try and present to them a good seed-bed of change, ancient and contemporary. I have to introduce and maintain resources

from both worlds, forging a presence of mana among the females and males and be respectful of that mana. My perspective — my knowledge gifted to me as a woman by my mentors of important social and educational trends, the experience that I share with my husband, my very own family, my brothers and sisters, my mother, father and my many grandparents, and cousins, the learned men and women I have been in contact with, my extended whanau, tribes I am affiliated to, my observance of other races, their culture and behaviour patterns — this I try to formulate and weave together into a pattern of the living kowhaiwhai of life. I aim to maintain a good balance of the written and oral work in the Maori language, Te Reo Rangatira — our mother tongue of this beautiful country, Aotearoa. I use the roles of the ancient, the authorities, seeking the best of both ancient and modern and identifying their gifts. The lectures are important, Mana Wahine is a new paper — I am accountable — the mediator of works prepared for students eager to learn their own knowledge, inherit and pass their great works for generations to come.

Barbara: So you move across time?

Ani: Yes, swaying with the wind. I have some sort of sense Dunedin could be another home of the God of wind, Tawhirimatea. I have made that information known to my students. I can feel and sway to his presence here. If Tawhiri's presence is important then I would incorporate him into the work I'm doing. To move and sway with the passing and changes of time. Therefore the movement of my lectures is from the seers of yesteryear, the modern scribes of today and can, perhaps, be tomorrow's future. The future is very important for the students. They will be the repositories of their people. The youngsters are moving in fast taking their places at the kohanga reo, the kura kaupapa. These are all education fields based on the language, traditions and culture. These young people have had an unique upbringing, learning and growing in two cultures — futhermore probing their future journeys through the lectures of Mana Wahine — ancient and modern merging to complement one another.

The written and oral work in the course is in the Maori language, especially selected to create fields of thought for them from the ancient masters to the modern. Fields of phrases from the ancient to the contemporary. Pictures, sketch concepts and murals of

thought. New words are being created for them though in my vocabulary they are everyday words. I hope they can extend and continue the work that has been presented to them, from my generation to their generation. Sometimes I get frustrated, I want them to learn quickly, very quickly — to make them understand how important the language is in its articulate, eloquent form of oratory and development. At the same time I have handout papers of the modern woman. Te Ohu Whakatipu/Maori Women's Affairs and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's *Mana Wahine Maori* have been very useful resources. Then I have my own resources to keep our work in perspective.

Let's take a stroll through the mirror of time. Papatuanuku the ancient matriach of the twentieth century, our turangawaewae. My famous ancestors are many — Wairaka who captured the heart of her tribe by wearing the tapu mantle of Papatuanuku and uttering the words 'I shall be a man now' and performed a man's chore — kia tu whakataane ahau i au. The men at the time had to attend and perform important rituals. The waka, the Mataatua canoe, brought the people from the distant lands, of long sea voyages, to this land. The many hazards did not deter their determination to survive, to discover and to settle in their new-found land, Aotearoa. The important rituals of life force, the mana and tapu, the Mauri identified its significant symbols to the waka. The rituals are the repositories of the mana of the waka — and of its history.

In the Maori world it is important and respectful to speak about your own territorial lifestyle. If you have to speak using other examples belonging to other tribes you have to acknowledge and state their important facets — their historical events and their ownership. You have to know beforehand, before teaching your students, what tribes they come from, and their tribal waka. The importance of being tangata whenua. The importance of knowing their whakapapa, and preparing relevant resources before presenting the kaupapa, to enhance the mana of your lecture. There are different kinds of mana. This must never be distorted: it has to be guarded fiercely, like how you care for your young. Youngsters who have been told to wipe their nose will know how to respect and react to people who have nurtured them and elevated them on a pedestal. That's the effective contact, with one of the disciplines of mana.

Barbara: Do you talk about the women's role in weaving?

Ani: Everything. They are the role models. The mana of the wahine that weaves, the historical treasures of their heritage. The ancient and the modern. Those are some of the painted forms and sketches of the art. The men carve. The men are the repositories of the whaikorero; the oratory, speechmaking — waiata, chants, haka and karakia. The karanga is the tribal locator which the men complement. The woman has to introduce — set — the foundation and the pattern. The men highlight and extend — the umbilical cord of important vocabulary.

Barbara: I can't remember where it was now but I read about the role of women during these speeches, that they can make their approval or disapproval known.

Ani: Yes they can. They can even stand up and announce and exhibit their disapproval or approval. Sometimes they stand and nod their approval. If they disapprove and the order is not quite correct they can actually stand and inject the correct form of discipline. The men do listen. I was fortunate, I witnessed my grandmother and another important woman of rank intelligently performing this important ritual. They stood up to interject words of wisdom to the men performing the whaikorero. This was accepted.

Barbara: There's always an interaction and a balance?

Ani: Definitely. They do this to seal the importance of speech-making.

Barbara: I feel for Pakeha there's an immense symbolism involved with women preparing food. Is it the same in Maori?

Ani: It is the same and it's very important. Maori hospitality is quite quite overwhelming sometimes. Hospitality is always displayed by the whanau. To share your humble surroundings, to offer a cup of tea — is all part of hospitality. This is very important. The Pakeha has hospitality but they have different ways of displaying this. I have experienced their hospitality.

Barbara: I'm interested in the idea of creating a home. It seems a lot of Pakeha women's energy goes into that, into the atmosphere of the domestic environment. Do you think it's the same in the Maori world? It seems women put more energy into that in the Pakeha world than men do. I mean men are concerned with the outside perhaps, with mowing the lawn and painting the house.

But it's a big area of women's energy. And keeping family history alive I suppose.

Ani: Our women partake in those areas. I think it's part of their nature to care for the domestic and mother earth. They are the house of the people. We call this whare tangata: you are the house — the reproduction, the evolution, the time, the essence. The dwelling that you are situated in is the domestic part. It is important because this stablises part of turangawaewae. The nine months house of pregnancy enables families to flourish — the house that gives dynasties and geniuses to this world. They are the gifted ones. Domestic surroundings are important for their mana — aura — linking the creating person's body and thoughts to the sacred sanctum of the soul. This life force influences — coordinates — messages of mana of survival — the important image of whakapapa of your own house, whanau, tribe, and waka.

Barbara: In the course do you discuss things like marriage and the way it is being perceived? I'm most familiar with Amiria Stirling's life because I've just read Anne Salmond's book, *Amiria*, recently. Amiria had an arranged marriage.

Ani: Mine was similar. I was still going to school when all this was discussed by the whanau. It seemed important while I was attending boarding school. My father was an only child. His whanau was a whare ngaro — a house of people that cannot survive. Someone had to conserve that line: to erase the whare ngaro, preserve and establish the line. As the survivor and the living key of his generation, my father and mother orchestrated my marriage to keep the line intact. The female or sometimes the first born has to take on the responsibility to generate future whanaus.

Barbara: Did you feel any sense of rebellion against this decision being made?

Ani: I didn't feel a sense of rebellion because I felt it was important for my whanau line. My parents were very important to me. When I was born, and arrived into this world of light the uneven seasons of the depression were just tapering off. I felt the sense of survival was important for my hard-working parents. I grew aware of my feelings and emotions — I thought, at a higher level — I wanted to assist my parents. When arrangement of marriage was discussed, I was aware that three males were being considered

in the light of marriage. They were scribes selected from different tribes — to revive the conscience from its loss, loss of people, revive its social standards and revive the whanau line. This fulfilment of the reservoirs of human life settled its kowhaiwhai mantle on my shoulders.

Barbara: Who made the arrangements?

Ani: The women make the arrangements; in some cases men were included. If a man is included in the decision-making and is a very prominent tohunga, his word of advice would be law. Support and constructive criticism is vital. Our wealth and health was the whenua, Papatuanuku, the land. Her mantle had to be worn with dignity and respect bearing in mind the knowledge of our rituals. The language, the people, the chanting and the singing, keeping in tune with the rhythm of life, bending only to the will of Io.

Barbara: I don't know how much you want to talk about your own life. Do you mind talking about it or would you rather not?

Ani: It depends on your question.

Barbara: At what age were you married?

Ani: I was very young when I was married. I had to leave boarding school to fulfil the wishes of my parents — my ancestors, my tribes — in the encountering, embodiment of the primal heartbeat of life.

Barbara: Which school did you attend?

Ani: I attended Hukarere College. The Bishop of Aotearoa was then Bishop Bennett. One of his sermons was about the importance of marriage. I remember that well because I was lazy and my conscience was always flitting here and there and other directions. The strange feeling of survival was very strong within me. Let me use a model. When our men went overseas, the flower of our people died during the campaigns of the Second and First World Wars. The survivors had an urgency to come home, they recognised life's importance, and wanted to procreate life. I didn't know anything about marriage then but I felt somewhere, somehow, that this concept identified with universal human life. Here's one of our important proverbs — Mate atu he toa, ara mai he toa — to die, to live and survive.

Barbara: So you were married in the 1940s?

Ani: I was married in the 40s.

Barbara: Did children quickly follow?

Ani: Not very soon after the marriage.

Barbara: Had you met your husband before your marriage?

Ani: No. I hadn't met him, but I had glances of his profile. His comrades in arms told tales of his war exploits which were discussed with pride. Our people appreciated and were proud of their kin — sons of the war god, Tumatauenga — who had served their country and people well. He was the man of the moment, the catch. Most of our men married school teachers. My husband lost his mother when he was only six or seven years old. His father and extended whanau took sole charge of his upbringing. His brother and sister were brought up by an aunt. The warmth of his mother must have been a great loss in his youth. These were the spoils of life during those years of war and strife.

We lived in the central part of our district, Ruatoki, a prominent Maori area. My important values about tradition I knew and I sensed had to be replaced by formal education. Duties, and life's dynamics made it difficult to proceed into the educational arena. The Maori people experienced losses. Acts of suppression were enforced on our people. The loss of the language was devastating — the suffering of the mind, body and soul was appalling. Our herbal medicine, important for our health and well-being, was suppressed. Our people managed to use other types of support systems. A very wise Pakeha discovered the importance of the oral language, the legacy of its rituals and the history of the language. He used his mana to resurrect the treasures and lifestyle for the survival of the people.

Barbara: Who was that?

Ani: Inspector Ball. He was the inspector of native schools. An advocator, an educator — a man of wise insights in his time. There were many complexities in our time.

Barbara: When you married did you set up your own household?

Ani: Yes I did. I come from a farming area. Apirana Ngata was a very important person in my youthful tender years, towards the end of his era, the climax, the most important time of his life. He was responsible for establishing farm units. He also promoted the importance of our culture, our tikanga, transcribing our chants, our moteatea. Translating the English bible into Maori. The resurgence of building our marae. He emphasised the importance of our history, our way of life, the symbols of our people. Those

were important inspirations and aspirations when I was growing up. The urgent need for my own lifeline continued uppermost in my thoughts. I come from a line of seers who have held and maintained important repositories of the cosmos, of its rituals. I felt the sense and importance of bondage when I was born from the world of darkness into the world of light, Ao. The bonding of the ancient people, my parents, Papa and Rangi, played and reflected aspects of light throughout my life.

Barbara: You must have felt a great responsibility in educating your own children.

Ani: Very much so. That was most important. My first born was a boy. Most grandparents and fathers in the Maori world like and want sons, to carry on the family land and their important traditions. My eldest son has a fairly wide knowledge of certain elements about life. He's a very important person within the family and the extended whanau. I still wonder and am grateful towards my Creator, the most supreme being of all, Io, for the wonder of the world he has created. He is the first and foremost in our world.

Barbara: So you went from raising your family into teaching?

Ani: I went back in time to recollect my education. My children, my husband, my family, accepted and supported my urgency to work in the education field. They were tired of looking at me playing the housewife. I arrived at that scene myself. The most important notion for me was to encourage my children in the education arena; the motion took its course. To survive in the education system is to call upon the resources of the whanau and the purity of hard work. At that time I couldn't see it happening in my own home area. To educate my children I had to move away from my own communal area. I felt sad. I was berated by my close-knit whanau and perhaps they didn't have much faith in me. According to them I was going to be a Pakeha in the Pakeha urban world. This has happened so many times in the time charts of our people.

Barbara: And leave everything Maori behind?

Ani: My loveable people saying things like that to me made me more determined not to lose and neglect my background but to utilise, to maintain the storehouses of my ancestors and the ancient rituals. That is my life, my nourishment—it provides sustenance for the natural challenges of life. I do hold my flag up when the

course is running out. I do choose to be a radical. I sit back and become one myself. I need solitude. I find my own Shangri-la. I speak to my maker, to the elements that surround me. It may be to the ocean and all its wonders, the sky, Ranginui, a seal, or the birds that fly. Since my arrival here I marvel at this place, it's so beautiful. People from here say 'are you cold?' perhaps because I am new to this area, and I come from a warmer climate of Te Ika A Maui. This comment does become a bore, I certainly know they mean well, and are concerned for our welfare and wellbeing. The beautiful wonders of nature, of the world, the cosmos — even the wind is important to me. It tickles my fancy and keeps me alert. It creates upheavals of thought within my mind. This is the first time in all my life I have come across the sensuous beauty of autumn. The bountiful food — the storehouses of Tangaroa, the sea god — are all around us. We can share it with the sea creatures and the shags — they politely wait patiently on their rock, waiting for the law of Tangaroa's tides. Nobody says no, you can't touch that. The sea never ever says that to us, the earth never says that to us. What a bountiful place, Te Wai Pounamu is. The land of the greenstone, the Pounamu speaks.

Barbara: A surprise though to you to think that you would end up in this place?

Ani: Not very surprised because all of my surprises of life have been premeditated. The movement of life, the ebb and tide of the body of life, has knowledge. There is a reason, a collaboration, a purity of importance, of maintaining and guarding jealously the treasures of life.

Pregnancy and Power: Consciousness and Control

Marian Langston

Introduction

Exercise promotion in 90s New Zealand focuses on body control and self-esteem as well as physical health. The exercising/ed body has become part of the new feminine ideal for women, full of contradictions in appearance and intent. I know that I feel strong and fit when I exercise, yet I also sense that my worked-on body maintains an image that I am not comfortable with. The empowerment potential of my exercise is lost to the political discourses of femininity and health, so that I may build muscles if they are not too big (read powerful) and I have only myself to blame if I am unhealthy (read powerless).

In this article I try to explore some of the relations and tensions between my personal experience and the dominant discourse of pregnancy as it appears in exercise literature. While most of the texts on exercise in pregnancy are not generated in New Zealand, they are widely used here, both directly and as sources for local interpretation. I speak as a woman (although as Denise Riley reminds us, not for all women[1]) who has been pregnant and involved in teaching exercise. Some of these thoughts have developed as I spoke to pregnant women during my research, but I do not claim to speak for them. I concentrate here on my general impression of how the discourse of pregnancy operates within the wider discourse of self-discipline, and how exercise is used as a strategy of social control.

Popular literature on exercise during pregnancy strongly emphasises controlling the body and the need to enhance self-esteem.[2] In most of these texts, exercise is carefully justified on a functional basis, but is clearly located within the discourses of

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femininity and self-discipline. The implication appears to be that pregnant bodies are 'out of control' and that steps must be taken to control these wayward bodies. A pregnant body is defined as both not feminine and not healthy unless the body is controlled by various means. I attempt to locate this control of pregnant bodies within a framework of power relations, using some of the notions of power developed by Foucault.[3] I will argue that 'out of control' pregnant bodies offer some liberating potential from the dominant discourse of self-discipline, in two senses. I must be out of control of the institutions which regulate me, but I must not be afraid to lose some personal control.

The Pregnant Body

The idea that pregnant women have a special need to exercise seems to derive from what has been called the hurdle model of pregnancy, which establishes pregnancy as an abnormal state from which women must recover, both mentally and physically.[4] According to Noble 'physical preparation is important during pregnancy, and even more important is the need for restoration afterward'.[5] When I am home and feeling fitter, Curry instructs me 'there are four main areas of your body you should work on — your abdomen, buttocks, thighs and upper body'.[6]

My pregnancy is treated as a medical condition, implying that it can be cured or at least managed, which makes it difficult for me to enjoy the changes and the experience for itself. I am encouraged to exercise 'to feel healthier and happier' as well as for the physical benefits.[7] Yet I am cautioned to discuss exercise with my doctor to make sure there are no medical objections.[8] The widely used *Jane Fonda Workout* views exercise as essential for feeling better and gaining less weight, so that posture, balance, strength and grace can be regained as soon as possible during recovery.[9] Curry claims that 'gentle regular exercise will not only improve your body's shape, health and fitness but will increase your self-esteem, help you to relax and create a positive attitude to life'.[10] Noble states that 'the young mother may look aghast at her ruined figure after childbirth. Her self-esteem feels as collapsed as the sagging breasts, folds of flesh and fallen arches'.[11] I feel that I must manage this

pregnant body or there will be only myself to blame, but then I also feel that managing my body is not only under my personal control.

Reading some of the 'active birth' movement texts, I find pregnancy located more in the overall context of my life.[12] But I feel uncomfortable treating birth as 'natural' and 'instinctive', being wary of the implied biological determinism. Once again I feel that if I do not manage this the right way, there is only myself to blame. I have the raw material of my female body and if I fail it must be because of my female mind.

I can sometimes spot the appeal to femininity and self-discipline. An article in the *Woman's Weekly*, 'Looking Great While You Wait', tells me to 'watch my weight — this is no time for comfort eating'.[13] 'Pesky Pregnancy Pounds' from *Weight Watchers Health and Fitness Guide* informs me that 'a newly swelling figure may even serve as a license for a normally calorie conscious woman to overindulge'.[14] *Lisa Curry's Pregnancy and Fitness* warns me that 'pregnancy is not an excuse to give up on yourself for nine months and think "I'm going to get fat anyway so why bother" '.[15] And *New Idea* inspires me with the news that Rachel Hunter even resisted her favourite dishes such as marshmallow chocolates and ice-cream while pregnant.[16]

I do not feel as though I need to enhance my self-esteem or body image while I am pregnant. Does this make me an oddity? Perhaps not: a comprehensive search of psychological literature establishes no clear pattern for other pregnant women. The methodological problems in the limited literature on body image changes raise questions about their conclusions. For instance, a study in which women rated their pre-pregnant bodies more positively than pregnant and post-pregnant bodies, may have been confounded by the retrospective design.[17] Another study which concluded that the more pregnant a woman became the poorer her self-image was, used a semantic differential scale which ascribed questionable values to the adjectives used. The fact that a woman chose to describe herself as larger rather than smaller was assumed to indicate that she had a poorer self-image.[18] In comparison, a study which did distinguish between perceptual body image (as represented by perceived body space) on the one hand and global body attitude on the other detected an increase in perceived body space but no significant change in body attitudes.[19] While body

image was a frequent stressor in another American study, it was never very important relative to other stressors.[20] The attitude in psychological texts seems to be best summed up by an article titled 'Body Image Disturbance as a Factor in the Crisis Situation of Pregnancy' in which I am assured that my mental health state will suffer — in the author's opinion.[21]

Pregnancy exercise promotion in popular literature[22] and exercise guidelines for professionals[23] commonly identify enhanced self-esteem as a benefit of regular exercise. While the ostensible reason for exercise seems to be improving body image and self-esteem, underlying that is the desirability of self-discipline. I locate only two studies which find higher self-esteem and fewer physical discomforts in pregnant women who exercise and they are both limited by lack of random assignment to groups.[24] This selection bias may mean that women who exercise have higher self-esteem and fewer physical discomforts to begin with.

Looking for a Framework

I begin to see a clear pattern in these attempts to control pregnant bodies: they are constantly defined as needing improvement. Foucault talks about the 'docile bodies' we produce as a result of the way power operates in our society.[25] I am not directly subject to the power of another, but instead to the structures and practices of my daily life which maintain ideologies. By intense self-surveillance, I aim at producing a disciplined and subjected body, I am my own jailer. My mind is also thus disciplined as it is directed toward self-consciousness and self-improvement.

Susan Bordo's appropriation of Foucault provides the inspiration to construct an effective political discourse about the female body, 'a discourse adequate to an analysis of the insidious, and often paradoxical, pathways of modern social control'.[26] Apart from reconceptualising power, this discourse must account for the subversion of potential rebellion, that is, the ways in which I collude with the forces that sustain my own oppression. Bordo's analysis looks at the duality of meanings in certain female disorders as a central mechanism for the reproduction of existing power relations: a woman with anorexia may have seized the ultimate

power over her own body, but that starved and disciplined body is perilously close to the ideal body stereotype which oppresses so many women.

My Appropriation of Bordo's Appropriation of Foucault

Applying this insight to the pregnant body highlights just how my pregnant body has become 'contested terrain', a site of struggle over meaning. Not only are there contradictions in the way I experience my body and how others see me, but I sometimes feel in and out of control at the same time. Choosing four areas that seem important to the control/out of control dualism, I explore here their different meanings.[27]

Firstly, my pregnant body does not conform to an ideal female body size and shape. I take up more space, my movements are more determined and less dainty and what I see as womanly parts of my body — breasts, abdomen, hips — are accentuated. So I am encouraged to exercise and eat sensibly and recover my figure and be feminine. Exercise is vital to my self-esteem both physically, because it controls my body so that I do not deviate too far from the ideal form, and mentally because it reminds me that I am imperfect and need working on. My pregnant body is compared with another out of control body, the fat body, as if to remind me of society's distaste for wayward bodies. But I like this pregnant body and do not want to deny these changes, I like this emerging female form that is so in contrast to the slim, small, straight ideal. I like to exercise to feel fitter and stronger but at the same time I collude with the discourses of self-discipline and femininity that define exercise.

Secondly, my pregnant body expresses my sexuality and desire, yet I sense that my body has become desexualised because I am becoming a mother. My growing breasts are meant to satisfy an infant's needs, not a lover's desire. I feel undesirable in a society whose major aim seems to be creating and satisfying desire. My pregnant body, the link between madonnas and whores, must be controlled if the polarity of those two females is to be maintained. As a potential mother within a nuclear family I am seen to be a 'good' woman; I have used sex for its proper purpose. I have

demonstrated my affiliation with the institution of the family and fulfilled the female role. But in doing so I am no longer seen as sexually attractive, I have crossed the dividing line. My pregnant body is an uncomfortable reminder to others of my sexual being and the falsity of the two exclusive expressions of woman. These contradictory expectations serve a disciplinary function so that I can never feel successful as a woman. If I dare to mother outside the nuclear family I am a threat because I remain sexually out of control. But if pregnancy and motherhood make me undesirable, I am sexually in control.

Thirdly, and related to the last point, my pregnant body symbolises maternal power/knowledge and my body as the source of life. This challenges dominant patriarchal understandings by emphasising female rather than male power. But my maternal power/knowledge is aligned with inferior nature as opposed to the superior rational, cultural mind of man. My knowledge is devalued and my pregnancy becomes a condition that must be 'cured' by medical knowledge. Better ways of knowing are imposed. A doctor's knowledge of what pregnancy is like is more accurate than what I am experiencing, ultrasound scans determine the dates rather than the date of my last period, fetal heart monitors check the baby rather than what I feel inside me. My resistance to these external controls is easily subverted by my anxiety about the baby.

Finally, my body grows and makes its own demands; it starts to get out of my control. I need to empty my bladder more often and I run out of breath easily. I try to regain control by giving up smoking and drinking, taking vitamins, learning natural birthing and relaxation techniques. But then Active Birth texts ask me to be a little out of control as 'it will be easier to be in touch with your primitive instincts'. The boundaries of my body are blurred as people treat my swollen abdomen as another person, who is not under my sole charge. My body becomes public property as others examine it to feel the baby inside me and complete strangers ask for details of dates and names and sex. I become important to others as a reproducer of life and therefore in need of public control. My own antenatal care is determined by what is best for baby rather than what I want, and if I do not comply with instructions there is always the threat that I need to do this for the baby's sake. I lose

both some personal and public physical control over my pregnant body which sometimes doesn't even feel like my own body.

My struggles over the meanings of my pregnant body ultimately reproduce existing power relations even though I am trying to construct a political discourse. As I focus inwards on trying to resolve the contradictions of meaning for myself, I am again my own jailer, intensely self-aware. I want to be politically correct in a feminist sense, yet I am aware that feminism itself is a powerful controlling discourse. I need to be fit for my own health, yet I do not like the implications of exercised bodies. I want the best for my baby, but I also want what is best for me. I would like to be sexy and desirable but not as an object of desire. I want to be out of control and in control at the same time.

Resolution

What seems to be interesting in the above examples is the subversion of my resistance and its incorporation into the dominant discourses. Any work that is done on my pregnant body reinforces the current doctrine of personal responsibility for health and the desirability of self-discipline. What in essence appears to be a very empowering experience with a feminist ideal of reclaiming my body, is also propping up the disciplinary power practices that govern our society. I find my actions — my exercising — constructed as good for all women. For me, being fit and healthy and able to make my own choices during pregnancy is very important, so I do not want to reject the self-discipline that makes this possible. But I also realise how my resistance to the control of others implies that I take control (and responsibility) of and for myself. Ultimately, whatever I do for my own benefit in the spirit of resistance is reinforcing modern social control.

How can I manage these contradictions? On a personal level, I make sense of them by creating my own meanings, sometimes opposing the dominant discourse, sometimes in collusion. My pregnant body highlights my physicality and the importance of my body as a site of social control, and I realise how much interest society has in me as a reproducer, both of life and existing power relations. So when I teach exercise to others, I remind myself that

working on our bodies can be a political opportunity. We can use the moments of intense self-scrutiny to explore our meanings and their intersection with ideologies. I may choose to be out of control by celebrating pregnancy as part of my sexuality at the same time as I stay in control by choosing a mother role. I can stay out of control by rejecting medical care while at the same time I stay in control by increasing my own medical knowledge of pregnancy. I sense that I am out of control because I enjoy my changing and growing body yet I gain some control by keeping fit.

However, I am constantly aware of the incorporation of my resistance, and recognise its political effects. I continue to analyse the contested terrain of the pregnant body and create new meanings which challenge the dominant discourse of self-discipline. My pregnant body is an important site of struggle over meaning which highlights some of the insidious pathways of social control which form my 'docile body'.

Notes

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2. See for example Lisa Curry, *Lisa Curry's Pregnancy and Fitness* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1992); F. DeLyser, *Jane Fonda's Workout Book for Pregnancy, Birth and Recovery* (Allen Lane, London, 1983); C. Kelly, 'Exercise and Pregnancy: The Dance Exercise Class' in IDEA, *Dance Instructor Manual* (IDEA Foundation, San Diego, 1989); Elizabeth Noble, *Essential Exercises for the Childbearing Year* (John Murray, London, 1985); Sue Pullon, *The New Zealand Pregnancy Book* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991).
3. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Vintage, New York, 1979), and *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. C. Gordon, (Harvester Press, Brighton, 1980).
4. S. Flagler and L. Nicoll, 'A Framework for the Psychological Aspects of Pregnancy', *NAACOGS Clinical Issue: Perinatal Women's Health Nursing*, 1:3 (1990) pp. 267–278.
5. Noble, p. 1.
6. Curry, p. 105.
7. Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport, *Pregnancy and Exercise* (pamphlet, Wellington, 1992).
8. ibid.
9. DeLyser, p. 5.

10. Curry, p. 3.
11. Noble, p. 3.
12. For example Janet Balaskas, *New Active Birth: A Concise Guide to Natural Childbirth* (Thorsons, London, 1991); Sheila Kitzinger, *The Experience of Childbirth* (Penguin, London, 1987).
13. *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 9 April 1990, pp. 94–96.
14. *Weight Watchers Health and Fitness Guide*, (pamphlet, 1989) pp. 48–49.
15. Curry, p. 3.
16. 'The Reshaping of Rachel', *New Idea*, 4 July 1992, pp. 6–7.
17. V. R. Strang & P. L. Sullivan, 'Body Image Attitudes During Pregnancy and the Postpartum Period', *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic and Neonatal Nursing*, 14 (July/August 1986) pp. 332–337.
18. D. S. Moore, 'The Body Image in Pregnancy', *Journal of Nurse-Midwifery*, 22:4 (1978) pp. 17–27.
19. J. Fawcett, V. J. Bliss-Holtz, M. B. Haas, M. Leventhal & M. Rubin, 'Spouse's Body Image Changes During and After Pregnancy: A Replication and Extension', *Nursing Research*, 35:4 (1986) pp. 220–223.
20. D. D. Affonso & L. J. Mayberry, 'Common Stressors Reported by a Group of Childbearing American Women', *Health Care for Women International*, 11 (1990) pp. 331–345.
21. J. Weinberg, 'Body Image Disturbance as a Factor in the Crisis Situation of Pregnancy: A Review', *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic and Neonatal Nursing*, (March/April 1978) pp. 18–21.
22. For example Curry, p. 3; DeLyser, p. 5; Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport; *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 9 April 1990, p. 94.
23. For example T. Jopke, 'Pregnancy: A Time to Exercise Judgement', *The Physician and Sportsmedicine*, 11:7 (1983) pp. 139–148; M. O'Neill, 'Exercise During Pregnancy: What Every Fitness Leader Should Know', *Fitness Leader Network News*, (August/September 1989) pp. 4–6; L. A. Wolfe, P. Hall, K. A. Webb, L. Goodman, M. Monga and M. J. McGrath, 'Prescription of Aerobic Exercise During Pregnancy', *Sports Medicine*, 8:5 (1989) pp. 273–301.
24. D. C. Hall and D. A. Kaufmann, 'Effects of Aerobic and Strength Conditioning on Pregnancy Outcomes', *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 157 (1987) pp. 1199–1203; A. M. Wallace, D. B. Boyer, A. Dan and K. Holm, 'Aerobic Exercise, Maternal Self-Esteem and Physical Discomforts During Pregnancy', *Journal of Nurse-Midwifery*, 31:6 (1986) pp. 255–262.
25. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Vintage, New York, 1979).

26. Susan Bordo, 'The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity: A Feminist Appropriation of Foucault', in Alison Jaggar and Susan Bordo (eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick and London, 1989) pp. 13–33.
27. These ideas are based on personal experience of being pregnant, talking to other pregnant women, and texts, including the following: Balaskas; N. Collins, 'More Demi Moore', *Vanity Fair*, August 1991, pp. 56–61; Curry; DeLyser; Kitzinger; G. Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1986); H. Marshall, 'Our Bodies, Ourselves: Rethinking Feminist Theory on Desire and Maternity', paper presented at TASA Conference (Melbourne, 1989); M. O'Brien, *The Politics of Reproduction* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981); A. Oakley, *Women Confined: Towards a Sociology of Childbirth* (Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1980); A. Oakley, *The Captured Womb: A History of the Medical Care of Pregnant Women* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1984); Pullon; Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (Virago, London, 1977); Iris Young, 'Pregnant Embodiment: Subjectivity and Alienation', in *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indiana, 1990) pp. 160–176.

Feminist Women Talk About Breastfeeding

Tiina Vares

Introduction

This research was motivated by my own changing experiences of motherhood and feminism, particularly the inconsistencies and ambiguities that unfolded as I breastfed my first child for twenty-seven months. What emerged were contradictory messages about breastfeeding in my social environment, as well as the personal contradictions I experienced as a 'long-term' breastfeeding feminist. The longer I breastfed the greater I found the social disapproval. Somehow it was not seen as appropriate to breastfeed a 'toddler'. I found this interesting in view of the World Health Organization recommendation to breastfeed until at least two years of age.[1] I was also interested to see that in spite of the promotion of breastfeeding and the acceptance of the 'breast is best' idea, it is often not acceptable to breastfeed in public, even with small babies.

Combined with this was the conflict I experienced between being committed to breastfeeding and yet wanting my 'body back' and desiring more space for myself. Some of this ambivalence arose from my feminism and, in a sense, challenged it. With motherhood, my feminism had undergone many changes and I found myself being drawn to a cultural feminism which embraced and celebrated the embodied aspects of womanhood, particularly breastfeeding. This was in contrast to my previous critical view of biological essentialism. I also saw a tension over, even a hostility towards, mothering in many feminist writings at a time when I was looking for a means to locate my new experiences and explore the ways in which our feminisms inform our breastfeeding practices.

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Breastfeeding is the site of competing and often conflicting discourses. I draw on Joan Scott's definition of a discourse as 'not a language or a text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs'.[2] One of the most important discourses on breastfeeding in New Zealand comes from the Plunket Society. The stated aim of the Society is to encourage breastfeeding. My research suggests that there is a gap between the policy of Plunket and the actual practices of the Society. The La Leche League also strongly advocates breastfeeding, but their approach is problematic for some women because of the heavy focus on breastfeeding as the key to good mothering.[3]

Influencing some women's decisions to breastfeed are their political objections to the practices of dumping and marketing infant formula in the third world. Gabrielle Palmer in *The Politics of Infant Feeding* gives a comprehensive account of the effects of these practices.[4] In a recent article she describes how:

> ... babies lacking the protection of breastmilk antibodies invariably get infections and in poor living conditions, a bottle-fed baby is twenty-five times more likely to die than a breastfed one ... in developing countries a bottle-fed baby is fourteen times more likely to die from diarrhea than a breastfed one.[5]

Nor can we ignore the question of the sexual objectification of breasts. Iris Young discusses the way in which patriarchy has defined an exclusive border between motherhood and sexuality, but that 'breasts are a scandal because they shatter this border'.[6] How then do breastfeeding women experience their breasts in this culture where breasts are primarily constructed as sexual objects by the male 'gaze'?

With these and other discourses informing breastfeeding practices I was led to ask: how do feminist women experience breastfeeding? What understandings do they bring to this practice? How do these understandings draw on their feminisms? What, if any, contradictions, ambivalences and inconsistencies do they experience? How do these reflect the tensions between women's experience of breastfeeding and the social construction of breastfeeding?

I chose to look at the experiences of six feminist, long-term breastfeeding women to explore some of these issues and put them in a feminist framework. I also wanted to participate in penetrating what I perceived as a barrier of silence surrounding women's actual breastfeeding experiences. These women were from my own personal network. They all identified as feminists. They had all breastfed their children, the shortest period being nine months and the longest twenty-seven months. Most breastfed for at least eighteen months. I chose this particular group of women with relatively similar positions to explore the inconsistencies and ambivalences they experienced.

The women ranged in age from twenty-one to thirty-two years at the birth of their first child. Their breastfeeding experiences span from 1984 to the present, with three of the women still breastfeeding at the time of the study (1991). All of them were involved in voluntary work with organizations such as the Homebirth Association and Maternity Action Alliance and one was part of a feminist spirituality group. The women were all Pakeha, three of the women worked part-time while breastfeeding and four had completed, or were in the process of completing, university degrees. One is a midwife.

There were two interview groups with three women in each plus myself. I hoped the group situation would break down the structured nature of the one-on-one interview and allow the women to respond to each other. I also hoped it would be more empowering for the women involved, and that my presence in the group would be less intrusive and overbearing than in the one-to-one interview.[7]

As I made decisions about how to report on the interviews, I have been conscious of the dilemma posed by Acker et al.: 'The question becomes how to produce an analysis which goes beyond the experience of the researched while still granting them full subjectivity. How do we explain the lives of others without violating their realities?'[8] This concern has resulted in my collapsing the distinction between 'description' and 'analysis'. I have found it 'violates the realities' of these women less to run these together. I have attempted an ongoing analysis interwoven with their voices.

Feminisms

These women all located themselves as feminists. However 'feminism' was often difficult to define and was recognised as a changing process. There was also a lot of overlap between the theoretical divisions of feminism, liberal and radical feminism in particular. This reflects how limited these categories can be and the fact that our subjectivities are influenced by multiple and contradictory feminist discourses.

> *Felicity*: I do describe myself as a feminist and it's so long ago that I studied the models of feminism that I can't remember the definitions, the distinctions, except that I don't remember ever fitting into any of them and probably it's changed. I don't see myself as just in one space, it's not static . . . it's fluid for me . . . and probably if you asked me to describe it tomorrow it would be different.
>
> *Gail*: It was always think for yourself and have a strong feeling of self-worth . . . that you didn't have to live up to any particular role that society made you be because you were a woman . . . and I think it's really important for people to be individuals.
>
> *Felicity*: I'm definitely anti male control of women's bodies.

A common theme emerged for all the women which was seen as being at the core of their understandings and applications of their feminisms. This can best be described as being 'pro-woman':

> *Felicity*: Basically my feminism is pro-women but not necessarily anti-men, but definitely anti-male-systems and the way that men abuse power structures. In terms of my every day feminism it is really promoting women to be assertive, to exist as an entity, to be an individual and to have their own space.
>
> *Melanie*: Woman-identified, woman-centered, pro-woman.

For one woman, feminism had brought her to home birth and breastfeeding, and for another the reverse was true: these latter experiences had brought her to feminism.

> *Melanie*: The control over our own bodies was a really important issue for me and I was really interested in home birth before I even contemplated having children. In a sociology class someone was doing a project on their birthing

> experience in hospital and I was just mortified that birth could be such a controlled thing, that's when I got interested in home births. Feminism brought me to all those things and to deciding to have a baby.
>
> *Maria*: I was thinking that my having children and giving birth and breastfeeding kind of brought me to feminism, as opposed to the other way round.

For the other women there had been changes to their feminisms with pregnancy and motherhood. This was an important part of revaluing motherhood and experiencing it as an empowering event. It was during this time that cultural/spiritual feminism became more influential for these women.

> *Erin*: Before the birth of my first child my feminism had been much more political. With my first child I got into this really amazing blissed spiritual state and I really felt that women were naturally, essentially more caring and giving and intuitive and the nurturing milk that flowed out of their bodies corresponded to an emotional receptivity and openness which for men . . . they could never ever get to . . . It was spiritual with lots of goddess stuff . . . . When I went back to varsity I became again more political with analysis and questioning all those things like intuition, whether they are a product of women being like the mule of the world or whether they are innate and I really don't know. We know what we do as women in pregnancy and birth men can't do, so breastfeeding was very much part of it.
>
> *Felicity*: I felt very female, very unique in terms of my pregnancy and giving birth and breastfeeding, that was something I really enjoyed, it was the femaleness. Women have much more caring and intuition [than men] in our culture but I don't know if that's necessarily innate . . . I was quite overwhelmed by the strength of the feelings with the birth process and the power of breastfeeding, a very intimate and powerful act and you could see that it could be innate. I wouldn't also want to say that I think it is.

There was a definite resistance to falling into biological essentialism. All of the women recognised the ways in which patriarchal versions of biological determinism had been used to subordinate women. However, pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding are powerful physical processes and for many of the women these states led

them towards the idea of a female essence based on biological sex differences. Nevertheless, even as they were attracted to this idea they continued to question it; it remained problematic within most of these women's individual feminisms. Maria was the exception: these experiences brought her to a spiritual feminism based on essentialism.

The women perceived a link between their breastfeeding practices and their feminisms. One used a radical feminist perspective to link the two together:

> *Rachel*: For me it was a conscious positive decision to have children, now that I look back on it, and I certainly didn't think in these terms at the time so I'm not sure if this is true. There are three biological things you can't avoid if you have children: you must bear the child in your womb, you must expel it from your body and you must put the child up to your breast. To take them in reverse order the male system has been trying to encroach on them: first of all with breastfeeding, it's been so highly successfully taken away from women, then the birth — caesarean, forceps, the drugs, twilight sleep and everything and even talk of growing babies outside the womb. It was interesting to take what I saw as the three biological roles and see how they were encroached on and once I thought of this that's maybe why I feel extremely strongly about breastfeeding. I see it as the weak or the third area encroached on. It may be that male jealousy because these are things they can't do.
>
> *Erin*: When I became a feminist there was a strong idea that bottlefeeding had been taking away something from women, that seeing breastfeeding as unclean was anti-woman.

Rachel's comment on breastfeeding being taken away from women reflects her involvement in the politics of women's health. All of the women felt that there was a difference between the policies and practices of breastfeeding. Two of the women had hospital births in 1984 and described how disempowering their breastfeeding experiences had been. They felt their own feelings and desires about feeding were disregarded.

> *Felicity*: ... You had to write down every feed and how long on each side for every feed ... there was no rooming in at night. I hated being away from her ... there was a strong

> pressure to separate. I felt powerless . . . that they abused their power.

Although official policies on breastfeeding have changed since 1984, particularly with regard to the acceptance of 'demand feeding', the midwife in the group commented that four-hourly feeding was still preferred in a number of Christchurch hospitals. All of the women had some contact with Plunket and felt that there was a gap between Plunket's commitment to breastfeeding and the knowledge and support of individual nurses. This was most apparent in the way in which supplementation was encouraged and offered as a solution to many breastfeeding problems. Some of the women saw this as connected to the economic and political dimensions of male control over infant feeding.

> *Rachel*: I think that when society is so patriarchal, men make money by it and so they dream up these infant formulas.

Clearly the personal is political for most of these women. Many are actively involved in the promotion of breastfeeding and keeping the codes against the promotion of formulas in place. They are aware of the politics of breastfeeding with regard to the capitalist marketing and dumping of formula in the third world and the power of marketing in the west. Often their political activity stems from their experiences of breastfeeding and their feminist understandings on the operation of the various discourses which promote formulas and discourage breastfeeding. Breastfeeding can therefore become one way for these women to reclaim a function of their bodies and their control of infant feeding.

Gail raised an important point:

> *Gail*: There's this thing in our society where we're not to say anything against bottlefeeding mothers . . . To help women breastfeed without saying anything bad about bottles, you just can't do it. You can't promote breastfeeding as being really healthy without saying what formula does. If a woman failed to breastfeed what's wrong with turning round and saying this health professional gave me really crappy advice.

Gail's comment reflects a conflict of values. All of the women support the freedom to choose between breast and bottle feeding. They don't want to make women feel guilty for their choices and yet they are also critical of bottlefeeding. One woman commented that

problems with breastfeeding are usually ascribed to the mother, not the advice she receives and how this should be acknowledged. All of the women felt that breastfeeding is not always supported in practice and that there needs to be more advice and support for women learning to breastfeed.

> *Maria*: I was incredibly surprised how difficult breastfeeding was to start off with. I thought you put the baby there and it feeds and that's the end of it . . . and the fact that I couldn't even get the baby to latch on, and had to have lessons in that, then I got the hang of that and my nipples crapped out on me . . . oh god it was so sore and I thought why am I putting myself through all this pain. Then slowly and gently and a bit here and a bit there and a bit of special midwifery cream that she had . . . we got there.
>
> *Melanie*: You can see why women stop when they don't have the support. I had terrible problems and I could only get her latched on one side . . . all the time the baby's starving and my mother is there with the bottle . . . it was a really stressful time.
>
> *Rachel*: . . . but looking back now at photos I can see that I wasn't holding her tummy to tummy and probably incorrect positioning caused a lot of pain, so even though I'd read a lot and been to a couple of La Leche meetings . . . when it came down to it there were two simple rules about positioning that hadn't sunk in.

The discussions reflected the interactions of feminist, breastfeeding, mothering, 'scientific' and homebirth discourses and how these can be drawn upon to understand and explain individual practices. Prior to breastfeeding most of the women believed that it was a 'natural process' that would be relatively unproblematic, an idea that seemed to arise out of a radical/cultural feminist discourse based on essentialism and the ideas of instinct and naturalness. In practice, there was a lot to be learned and once they had begun to breastfeed, they tended to change their views. Those women who had given birth in hospital found there was less support and encouragement from staff than there was from homebirth midwives.

Breastfeeding in Public

The interactions of feminism and breastfeeding existed on many levels. Feeding in public was an important strategy for many of the women which reflected an awareness of and resistance to ideas such as 'the breast is best, just don't do it in public'.

> *Rachel*: Breastfeeding in public is a political act and I do it in a way aggressively, or determinedly and consciously. I see it as very pro-woman and feminist, it is very important to me.
>
> *Gail*: One friend got told she couldn't feed her baby in the ladies changing room because a girl might come in and see her.
>
> *Erin*: I once went to a wedding where everyone said how wonderful that you're breastfeeding and then showed me where to do it, in the 'ladies room' ... in the end we were sitting at a table with all these Rotarian males and they pissed me off so much that I fed at the table just to make them feel very uncomfortable because they were making me uncomfortable comparing different makes of BMWs.

One of the women pointed out that 'feeding rooms' for women and their babies were usually next to toilets, a location she found 'disgusting'. She felt this reflected our cultural prejudice against breastfeeding. Yet even this strong commitment to feeding in public didn't always make it easy to actually do so.

> *Rachel*: I was travelling by bus and this day it was full and we had to sit on one of the seats facing everyone and then my baby started pulling at my clothes and asking and I thought my god what am I going to do. Because I've always fed on buses, I look upon this as a political act and I've done it with determination, but I was no match for this situation.
>
> *Felicity*: I remember being at a party and feeding in the bedroom, so I did make a move not to feed in public but I don't know if it was for the other people or for myself.

Breasts and Sexuality

It is, in part, the sexual objectification of breasts that problematises breastfeeding, particularly in public. Young elaborates on this:

> ... the border between motherhood and sexuality is lived out in the way women experience their breasts and the cultural

> marking of breasts. To be understood as sexual, the feeding function of the breasts must be suppressed, and when the breasts are nursing they are desexualized. A great many women in this culture that fetishizes breasts are reluctant to breastfeed because they perceive they will lose their sexuality. They believe that nursing their breasts will make them ugly and undesirable. They fear that their men will find their milky breasts unattractive or will be jealous of the babies who take their bodies.[9]

One woman expressed a similar dilemma:

> *Gail*: If they didn't make such a big deal about breasts being sexual instead of feeding gadgets ... I remember feeding in front of men I didn't know well, trying to be really discreet and trying to expose myself as little as possible. Now I have to remind myself to be discreet sometimes because I've been breastfeeding for so long that it's natural that your baby comes off and looks at you and then goes back on again. I have to remember that it's not always appropriate to sit there uncovered and all very annoying that that's the way our society is.

The sexual objectification of breasts can make women feel conscious of the look of the breasts and the way they measure up before the 'normalizing gaze'.[10] This illustrates one of the ways in which our subjectivity can still be gendered in traditionally feminine ways. All of the women found that it is difficult *not* to be concerned with the effect of breastfeeding on the 'look' of one's breasts.

> *Melanie*: When I got pregnant I thought I might want my breasts back and that sort of thing, but I found that my breasts got so enormous, that they got all these stretch marks all over them and I just didn't think the same way about them any more.
>
> *Gail*: I didn't have much to start with and my husband was worried that they would disappear when I stop breastfeeding. We'll just wait and see.
>
> *Melanie*: I felt that my confidence in myself was quite undermined because my body changed, mainly my breasts ... I had this self respect and confidence in myself and it was really tied up with how I felt about my body, I felt really good about it. It wasn't the kind of body you would see in

> magazines and that kind of thing but I felt really good about it all the same. Because my breasts changed so much and my hips got a bit wider too it took me quite a bit of getting used to the idea of it being so different and I guess I still haven't got the confidence in my body back prior to being pregnant and breastfeeding.

The ambivalences of these women reflect the ambivalent messages about breastfeeding in our society. Each woman negotiates these different influences in different ways and often her position highlights some tensions between her feminism and patriarchal definitions of femininity. Concern with the 'look' of their breasts is often in conflict with the idea that this should be unimportant.

It seems to me that the threat of breastfeeding to male definitions of women's bodies, breasts and sexuality is greatly understated. Breasts become the focus of the mother/child relationship and many women report decreased or absent sexual desire through the breastfeeding period.

> *Maria*: For me I was really in the relationship with the child. I really sort of sunk into it I guess, so I think that caused a lot of friction in my partnership as I wasn't giving myself to him.
>
> *Gail*: The only problem from his point of view was that while I was breastfeeding I didn't feel like sex. It was a hassle for him but it wasn't a hassle for me because I didn't feel like it.
>
> *Erin*: I also had that feeling of being touched out. He wanted to be touched basically but I just couldn't.

An important, yet silenced, aspect relating to the patriarchal border between motherhood and sexuality is the psychosexual dimension of breastfeeding. Significantly, no-one mentioned it in the discussions, but one woman raised it privately afterwards:

> The first time I breastfed my first baby I practically had an orgasm. I was terribly shocked and embarrassed. Later I thought about it and decided it was wonderful really and that women's sexuality is much more than just sexual intercourse.

Although the sexual pleasure women can derive from breastfeeding was not discussed, most of the women reported a decreased interest in sex with their partners. Perhaps, as Young suggests, breastfeeding is subtly discouraged, particularly long-term breastfeeding, because 'if she experiences motherhood as sexual, she

may find him dispensable'.[11] One woman also expressed this idea in relation to bottlefeeding:

> *Erin*: It was like women as sex objects for men and being back for them as quickly as possible after the birth.

Young states that a radical move in shattering the patriarchal border between mothering and sexuality would come from 'celebrating breastfeeding as a sexual interaction for both the mother and the infant. It means letting women speak in public about the pleasure that many report they derive from their babies and about the fact that weaning is often a loss for them'.[12]

Barbara Sichtermann also writes of the lost eroticism of the breasts:

> Breastfeeding is a partial expression of female sexuality and yet there is no awareness or understanding of it today, no culture attached to it and not even an inkling of its rank as a sexual potentiality. Needless to say, the patriarchy is to blame for this exclusion, because, after all, in its egocentricity it *had* to ignore this partial expression of human sexuality.[13]

This area warrants much greater attention.

Women's Feelings About Their Bodies

The breastfeeding relationship with the child was often experienced very intensely and could lead to the women feeling ambivalent about their bodies.

> *Maria*: I don't feel I was very clear in retrospect with regard to my boundaries, it would have been better if I'd had clear ideas about my boundaries, my body and things yet somehow it was actually a very draining experience for me, physically and emotionally, I mean the overall impression looking back on it was very positive but it wasn't all that good. If I had another child now I would be clearer about that I think ... I don't know I'm not quite sure what I'm trying to say here, it's nebulous, but certainly that feeling of being drained.
>
> *Rachel*: Sure I'd like my body back but breastfeeding is overriding. It's got to the stage where I really don't think I'll have another child but then again I wouldn't do anything different.

> *Erin*: That's why I stopped breastfeeding with my second child because I felt she was devouring me, that was the word ... she wanted all her needs and discomforts met through breastfeeding ... Sometimes these flashes would come through — like she was a little demon trying to devour me, sucking me dry not just of milk and blood but everything ... It was still heartbreaking to wean her.

The strength of these comments suggests just how powerful the breastfeeding relationship between mother and child can be. This discussion on bodies and boundaries reflected some interesting contradictory influences at work. The idea that one's body is one's own perhaps stems from radical feminist discourses on the body, best expressed in the title of *Our Bodies, Our Selves*. With pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding, however, the women all felt they had to accept constantly changing definitions of their bodies, and they found this difficult. They also had to accept their children's dependence on them, negotiating a conflict between their need to separate and regain their own sense of self, and being able to meet the needs of the baby. At times the need to separate can become critical, as with Erin. Thus feminism has encouraged these women to take control of their bodies, have personal autonomy and be more than 'just mothers'. It has also been feminism that has informed their ideas of breastfeeding as taking back control of their bodies to feed their babies, even though their personal autonomy is constrained.

For these women, therefore, breastfeeding was a feminist act, even though it was at times inconsistent with their feminisms. They were aware that, in Felicity's words, 'there is a perspective that breastfeeding is anti-feminist'. Perhaps this was why cultural feminism was more appropriate for most of these women once they became mothers. It enabled them to look at this period of their lives in a more positive and empowering way. Although the desire for personal autonomy existed, weaning was a painful process and a separation they were, in fact, unprepared for.

> *Maria*: It was really painful for me to stop breastfeeding my second child because that was going to be my last child ... It was very sad and now just watching you feed, just the little noises and things, oh god I would die just to breastfeed again.

> *Erin*: . . . it was painful weaning my first child . . . I just cried and cried for days.

For one woman weaning was an economic necessity and this proved to be difficult for her.

> *Felicity*: Weaning at nine months for my second child was that I was the one who was having to go out to work. I wasn't choosing to go out to work, we were unemployed, one of us had to get a job, I got the job, so that part of breaking that bond with my child included stopping breastfeeding and also in terms of the exhaustion of my body and coping with work. I regret giving up altogether, I wish now that I hadn't.

In the literature on breastfeeding I found surprisingly little reference to the grief and sorrow that can accompany weaning. The women's comments reflect the intensity of the breastfeeding relationship and how painful weaning was for some of them. This aspect of breastfeeding is another that needs more attention.

Length of the Breastfeeding Period

The commitment to long-term breastfeeding was central to these women. At times it proved to be problematic because of the social disapproval they received as their babies became toddlers, and because of their own desires for personal autonomy.

> *Melanie*: I felt like I wanted to get away from that idea because it had been all around me. All the women of my mother's generation fed their babies for three months. The doctors had advised them to stop and go onto solids. I really wanted to combat that kind of idea and I wanted to feed for as long as she wanted to, but I was aware of that idea that it wasn't acceptable to feed toddlers.
>
> *Erin*: I remember a child that lived round the road and she was breastfed for a long time . . . she could see her mother coming and she would run down the street and yell out 'titty' and I found that a bit much and I didn't think I would breastfeed to when a child could be running around calling out 'titty'. So I suppose I thought I would stop before then, which meant that I would have thought I would stop around a year.

Erin actually breastfed both her children for over eighteen months.

> *Gail*: You breastfeed a baby and a toddler's not a baby any more and so people look at you strangely, but they're still your baby. The way I think of it was that she was only one day older than when I fed her yesterday, so it didn't matter that she was two.

Yet the inconsistency remains:

> *Maria*: I was busy feeding my two-year-old and knew a woman who was feeding a four-year-old and from where I was standing I thought that was a bit weird, she's four years old and she should be separated by now.

It was clear throughout the discussions that each particular baby contributed to the length of breastfeeding.

> *Gail*: I thought I would exclusively breastfeed for six months, you're supposed to do it for at least six months, and then she would start solids and probably wean herself by twelve months. My baby hadn't read that book. She weaned herself when she was two.
>
> *Erin*: At four to five months I started introducing solids but she would just spit it out. It just went on and on. She was fully and totally breastfed at one year.

The breastfeeding practices adopted by these women occurred as a consequence of negotiating between contradictory discourses about women, their bodies and breastfeeding. Many of them experienced pressure to cease breastfeeding when their children were six to twelve months of age, yet they had accepted a position located in radical feminist discourse in which it was their 'right to choose' to determine how long they would breastfeed. In this way long-term breastfeeding, in spite of some ambivalences, was an empowering experience.

Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted a preliminary investigation of the ways in which some feminist mothers experience breastfeeding in the light of the contradictory messages in their social environment. Their feminisms influenced their understandings of breastfeeding and their experiences of breastfeeding also challenged their feminisms. Contradictions emerged within their breastfeeding and

within their feminisms. The discussions highlighted the fact that breastfeeding was a complex and multi-layered experience for these women. It also showed how feminism can inform different practices — both breastfeeding and bottlefeeding.

Pregnancy, giving birth and breastfeeding are powerful bodily states that happen only to women. Yet in much feminist thought female embodied experiences are ignored or denigrated. I have found the work of some of the French feminists useful in attempting to unravel some of the issues here. Irigaray, for example, focuses on the physical specificity that distinguishes women from men.[14] For her, women must recognise and assert their *jouissance* if they are to subvert phallocentric oppression at the deepest levels. Although she is labelled by some feminists as essentialist,[15] she claims that whether male or female, the human body is placed in a social network and given meaning in and by culture, not as a result of biology. It is clear that we need such a way of using 'difference' as a starting point to assert the specificity of lived female bodily experience. The discursive positions of the women in the study reflected this need to incorporate the female embodied experience into feminist thought.

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Notes

1. WHO/UNICEF, *Protecting, Promoting and Supporting Breast-feeding* (WHO, Geneva, 1989) p. 6. Following this on 1 August 1990, policy makers from 32 governments and 10 UN and other agencies developed and adopted the *Innocenti Declaration*, which called for *all* governments to act and create an environment enabling all women to practise exclusive breastfeeding, and all infants to feed exclusively on breastmilk until 4–6 months of age, and to continue breastfeeding with adequate complementary foods for up to two years.

2. Joan Scott, 'Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism', *Feminist Studies* 14:1 (1988), p. 35.
3. La Leche International, *The Womanly Art of Breastfeeding*, 4th. edn. (Angus & Robertson, London, 1988).
4. Gabrielle Palmer, *The Politics of Breastfeeding* (Pandora, London, 1988).
5. Gabrielle Palmer, 'The Politics of Infant Feeding', *Mothering*, 60 (Summer 1991) pp. 75–76.
6. Iris Marion Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990) p. 199.
7. Bev James, 'Taking Gender Into Account: Feminist and Sociological Issues in Social Research', *New Zealand Sociology*, 1:1 (1986) p. 24.
8. J. Acker, K. Barry, and J. Esteveld, 'Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6 (1983) p. 429.
9. Young, p. 199.
10. ibid., p. 191.
11. ibid., p. 198.
12. ibid., p. 200.
13. Barbara Sichtermann, *Femininity: The Politics of the Personal* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1986) p. 56.
14. Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, translated by Catherine Porter (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1985); 'And the One Doesn't Stir Without the Other', *Signs*, 7:1 (1981) pp. 60–67.
15. For example, Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics* (Routledge, London, 1985); and Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Writing the Body: Towards an Understanding of *L'Ecriture Feminine*', *Feminist Studies*, 7:2 (1981) pp. 247–263.

From Siren to Siren: Some Counterpoint for Gender-Specific Injury and the Law

Marian Evans and Robin Mackenzie

Two newspaper clippings. Court reports. Only months apart. Same paper. Same city. Same court. Same judge.

The first: a headline. Twenty-two column inches. This was the story: a traffic officer stopped a man and asked to take a breath test. The man refused. The officer, the court found, then unlawfully arrested and ill-treated the man: grabbed him from his car and handcuffed him while he was face down on the ground. He suffered abrasions to his face. The handcuffs, kept on him even when he phoned his solicitor, were kept too tight: more than two months after the incident it was still possible to see marks they had left on his wrists. He was shocked and distressed. The traffic officer, said the judge, had made 'appalling' observations

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Women and girls in Aotearoa New Zealand, as in other western societies, are more likely to be abused or killed at home, by a male family member, than anywhere else or by anyone else. Eighty to eighty-five percent of girls who are sexually abused are abused by men from their affinity groups: their immediate families, relatives, close friends and neighbours.[23]

Sociologists and feminists explain this in terms of social attitudes and social exchange theory. Western cultures usually see family life as something private. Our attitudes to violence tend to be ambivalent at best; at worst it is accepted as self-expression and a way of solving problems. The structural inequalities between women and men and between adults and children reduce social controls in family relationships, and family members will be tempted to use violence where its rewards—feelings of power, control and self esteem—outweigh the likely costs, whether imposed by the legal system or in other ways. The powerful harm the less powerful because they can get away with it.[24]

For women and girls who suffer the violence, however, the cost is high. Women who have been sexually abused as children or sexually

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about the man, including saying he was 'just a nothing'; the treatment of him was 'inhumane' and 'disgraceful'. The Ministry of Transport case against the man was dismissed, on the grounds that the traffic officer had breached the Bill of Rights, which requires that 'everyone deprived of liberty shall be treated with humanity and respect for the inherent dignity of the person'.[1]

The second, five rather narrower column inches, in smaller type among the general court reports:

> A man who threw his former girlfriend to the ground and kicked her several times about the head and body appeared ... on a charge of assaulting a female. [He] was convicted and ordered to come up for sentence if called upon within six months. He was also ordered to pay $85 court costs ...
>
> [The judge] said the offence resulted from a 'depressingly

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or physically abused as adults are more likely to suffer poor mental health than those who have not.[25] And women who have been sexually abused as children or raped as adults are more traumatised the less closely their experience coincides with the myth that sexual abuse is perpetrated by strangers.[26]

The myth that it is strangers who are dangerous to women and girls and likely to injure them is still validated by the legal system and the media, despite recent challenges.[27] Both tend to ignore the issues of power, gender and control while focusing on some flaw in the abuser, the victim, the relationship, or all three.[28] This matters. Violence towards women and girls which does not fit within the stranger danger myth is less likely to be perceived as causing 'real' injuries by the police, the courts, the abusers and the abused.[29] Because of this those who have been abused tend to see the abuse and the injuries it causes simply as part of life.[30] They do not translate the experience of injury into a claim for legal redress.[31]

Feminist legal writers include abuse of women and girls at home among other gender-specific injuries which should attract legal consequences, like sexual harassment.[32] Ideally these consequences should

familiar' story. He said it was impossible to reconcile a statement made by the complainant to the police at the time of the assault with a letter she had written to the court stating she did not wish the charge to proceed:

> The defendant was at a hotel and saw his former fiancee there. During the evening there were several fights and arguments between the two. The complainant decided to leave and [the defendant] chased her and grabbed her. He threw her on to the ground and kicked her in the head and body causing cuts and bruises ...
>
> Although the victim impact report stated that there had been violent incidents after arguments between the two [the judge] said he was satisfied no pressure had been placed on the complainant to change her stance ...[2]

Nothing from the judge condemning the violence. Unless the man is arrested again within six months, his only costs are $85 and his lawyer's (or legal aid) fee. Kicks in the head arguably

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redress the wrong the person injured has suffered without any further cost to her. They should address the causes of the imbalance of power which made the abuse possible, ensure that the abuser can no longer control and abuse his victim, and compensate the woman or girl he injured.

These aims could be met by enforcement of laws that are presently unenforced,[33] by judicial development of legal doctrines which at present fail to take into account issues relating to power, gender and control, or by creation of new laws.

Our subtext discusses something of the potential and limitations of three processes within the legal system which may be activated following gender-specific injury in the home.[34] These processes have limited effectiveness against the violence which is endemic in many women's lives. However hard it is to do so, we have to acknowledge that the legal system tends to ignore the daily reality of many women's lives and that initiatives which may change this tend to arise outside it. We also have to invent ways of integrating our experiences as women within our work as lawyers and to resist professional pressures to conform to practices which damage women.

The first process we discuss is that of making a claim within the

qualify as serious violence, making the perpetrator subject to imprisonment, unless there are special circumstances relating to the offence or the offender.[3] In one case, the attitude of the victim before sentencing has been held not to be a 'special circumstance'.[4] But not here. The charge proceeded against the woman's will: the judge's apparent response to this was to refrain from condemning the man's behaviour or imposing a sentence which reflected the society's disapproval of it. It's a depressingly familiar story to us in a different way. This is what tends to happen in the justice system when a woman is kicked in the head by a man she knows: no outrage, no rhetoric about rights. What message does this little report give to other women and men?

We live in the same city.[5] Newly graduated lawyers. We've spent twenty-five years or so listening to our women friends' stories about the violence they've suffered. About how they are healing up and getting free of it. Trying to understand our own

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accident compensation system. For the last sixteen years this system has compensated women for some gender-specific injuries and contributed to their healing, without demanding that they interact any further with those who injured them and often without further costs for legal representation. However, it has not compensated for some behaviours used to control women, and changes to the system now severely limit its usefulness.

The second procedure we discuss is civil court based, a tort suit for punitive damages. This action, if successful, punishes the abuser by depriving him of economic resources when he is required to pay damages and her costs for suing him, to his victim.

There are obvious difficulties for anyone who initiates a civil suit against a family or affinity group member, regardless of whether they share a household. Her action might exacerbate any familial attitude which blames her for the injury she has suffered. Legal costs and any damages may erode a nuclear or extended family's pool of property, especially under the new legal aid regime.[35] Someone who has left a marriage or de facto relationship where her partner has injured her or her children, and who as a non-earning partner with the primary responsibility for children faces a drop in her standard of living, is in

stories. And what heals us. Learning to tell it, and listen to it, the way it is and has been. Now beginning to understand the subtext of the legal system, when and how it tempts us and how it could seduce us. How little it offers women who need help to get free of the power and control men exercise over them. How the law, and judges and lawyers tend to tell domestic violence stories 'slant'.[6] Wondering where we fit as lawyers, how to live in the subtext as well as the text. As we start work on this article for instance ...

T writes from Europe. Wants to know how to get compensation for a long period of sexual abuse from her brother, including rape. How it might help her deal with its effects. She is ambivalent about involving her brother in the process. Wants to confront the family at home rather than through lawyers. But even though her brother is bankrupt, thinks she might like to sue him, sometime.

So I write back: there's the accident compensation system, I

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a financially and emotionally vulnerable situation.[36] To risk legal action beyond seeking a share in the matrimonial or de facto property can only be low on her list of priorities.

Finally we discuss some recent criminal sentencing cases, where men have been convicted for assaulting their partners. Other writers have discussed the use and enforcement of family law and criminal law remedies in detail.[37] However we consider, briefly, what the end result has been and might be if police arrest and prosecute someone who beats his partner.

Difficulties similar to those faced by a woman who sues a family member meet anyone whose abuser is prosecuted by the police. A criminal prosecution does not involve her in legal costs directly, but if she shares a household with the man who injured her and he has to take time off work, has high legal fees himself, or loses his job as a consequence, the economic status of the family as a whole may be severely affected. And as with a civil suit, if she gives evidence against him, she may reduce further or lose entirely any support from other family members.

say, or you might be able to take an action against him in tort.

Was the abuse pre-1974 or after, I go on? If it was before, you can't get accident compensation, but—if the Court exercises its discretion to disregard the time which has elapsed—you can sue in tort for damages, compensatory damages to compensate you for the injury he did you, and maybe punitive damages to punish him—sometimes called exemplary damages. Though the distinction is something of a fiction: paying anything will punish him and receiving anything will compensate you.

If the abuse was after 1974, under the Accident Compensation Act you can get counselling costs and maybe a lump sum. You couldn't sue for compensatory damages, because the Act abolished them but you could try for punitive damages. I don't mention criminal action, I hate thinking about it, all that time working at the refuge and women laying complaints with the police that the police refused to act on. Or laying a complaint, then realising the consequences might penalise them as much as the

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Accident Compensation

The Accident Compensation Act 1972 and the epistemological explosion of the second wave of feminism of the 1970s together changed, to some extent, the relationship of women to law relating to domestic violence.

The information women shared during consciousness-raising and the support they generated for one another led to the development of telephone support and information lines, incest survivor groups, rape crisis centres and women's refuges. For many women, it was immensely liberating to talk about the ways we had been abused and to know that others had been treated similarly, that we need not be ashamed, that it was not our fault and that support was available. Women brought pressure for changes in family law and criminal law and for enforcement of criminal provisions.

The accident compensation system established by the Act offered women and girls injured in domestic situations some access to compensation for the first time. The Act attempted to establish a more efficient structure to provide compensation for personal injury, in

man concerned. And withdrawing it. But it may be different now. I send her the five-page Otago Women's Health Survey summary: she is not alone.[7]

The reply comes almost by return:

> YES—I want to make the ACC claim. It was pre and post 1974. I have written to the psychiatrist and my therapist at the clinic where I was treated. ... I don't know how old I was, 6 or 8 maybe, although I was mildly interfered with when I was much younger and have clear memory of that. I remember the first 'significant' time of incest: I can see the room, the green carpet, my two brothers on the floor and I know how they started. They explained carefully they had a book and in it there were all these pictures ... I can get no further than that ...
>
> I don't know how often, because I have that little kid's feeling of being taken in there again, and again the promised 'blue' book (it was supposed to have a blue cover) never appeared. Some part of me hoped and hoped it would appear to explain the awful things that were

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return for New Zealanders' surrendering the often 'paper' right to sue for compensation in tort. In 1974, the Act was amended to provide compensation for victims of crime, previously compensated by a Criminal Injuries Compensation Board.

In 1976, in *G v Auckland Hospital Board* it was decided that an accident was defined from the point of view of the victim and that rape was therefore a personal injury by accident, compensatable within the statutory accident compensation system.[38] Any injury inflicted by another, whether negligent or intentional, was covered. Those who had suffered sexual assault were eligible for free counselling and a lump sum payment for mental consequences even where there had been no physical injury. Since then many women have received counselling costs and lump sum payments for rape, sexual abuse and domestic violence of other kinds. Though never, as far as we know, for the general overall effect of the power and control exercised over them which would include verbal abuse and false imprisonment.

And although the Act required that a claim must be made within a year of the injury, the Accident Compensation Corporation had a discretion to accept claims after a longer period. It exercised this

> happening. It was only YEARS later that I realised—there might not ever have been such a book. And I think that little person (about 7 I think) had been waiting, in a fashion, all her still life, hoping this book would appear that would explain things.[8]
>
> Does the claim have to have anything to do with my brother? Does he know I've made the claim? ... My brother took me from the clinic and raped me at his place, after asking me into his sauna. I have a fragmentary memory only—of a funny look in his eyes which made me realise what he was going to do—very clear; muffled pictures of his taking me back to the clinic in his car and stopping en route—I think he might have done it again but don't know. The night nurse on duty said I slid along the wall and said 'Don't touch me, I'm filthy'. I have no memory of that. I killed myself, I thought, a day later. In fact it was exactly a week later. Three days coma ...
>
> Question: I didn't know what was wrong with me in 1976–81 even though I knew what had happened. And the clinic did NOT target the incest as the major issue. (Hence

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discretion in favour of many women who made claims for gender-specific injuries some time after they had occurred.

Some women have been further abused by counsellors paid for by the Corporation. But otherwise, in our experience, this aspect of the law has been one which has generally suited women. The mostly informal and private process has helped; and so has the fact that to gain the benefits available it has often been seen as unnecessary to employ a lawyer.[39] A woman needed to have no further contact with the man who hurt her and had a choice about whether to apply for a lump sum. For most women, it is primarily important to get free from the effects of the violence they have suffered, through good counselling. For many, paying for counselling would otherwise be impossible.

Some difficulties remained. Women seen as non-earners received no earnings-related compensation. And lump sum compensation was keyed to the consequences of a single act. Yet typically violence inflicted at home is serial and may continue for years.[40] The difficulties of isolating how far each violent act contributed to the injuries suffered, however, has meant that typically a claim for a series of acts

> the fact that after several years therapy I killed myself. The ninth attempt in 2 years.) Are they going to be sensitive about their inactivity on the subject then? I hope not ... they kept me going as best they could ... My first suicide attempt was in 1966. I had no idea what it was about because I was successful on every level at school and had just won this that and the next thing.
>
> I don't know what torts are! Only that it's French for wrong!
>
> If I got counselling now could I get it paid? (Bliss)

I tell her about the article we're writing. Can I share her letters because they relate to what we're doing. Yes, she says.

(A colleague talks to me about becoming a duty solicitor.[9] 'You'll have to know', she says, 'what to do when a judge shouts at you.')

We send a fax, yes we'll help her apply to the Accident Compensation Corporation. A letter's on its way.

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has been treated as if it were a claim for a single act. Two recent Accident Compensation Appeal Authority decisions have overturned Accident Compensation Corporation rulings to this effect.

In *B v Accident Compensation Corporation* the Authority upheld B's claim that she should have received three separate maximum lump sum payments, one for each of the periods of sexual abuse she had suffered as a child in three consecutive foster homes, from 1964–1974, 1975–1978 and 1978–86.[41]

In *The Guardian of H v Accident Compensation Corporation* the Authority held that H, who had been gang raped, could recover for each sexual assault. It justified this award in terms of the gang rape's indicating an unusual degree of extreme violence and severe consequences for the victim and relied particularly on evidence from her psychotherapist that assaults involving multiple assailants created multiple separate traumas, which it would be inappropriate to view as a single global trauma.[42]

These two decisions establish the important principle that it may be inappropriate for the purposes of compensation to assume that sequentially inflicted injuries result in a single global trauma. Both

And then I write again. Tort law, I explain, is part of the common law, legal rules which have been developed and applied through judicial decision-making, case by case, over centuries. It responds, to some extent, to changing social conditions and expectations. Last year, for instance, a judge awarded a woman damages for being raped (a 'battery' in tort) during her marriage, in a case called *A v M.*[10] It was the first time this has happened here. And arguably was a result of some change in attitudes towards domestic violence, or 'private' violence against women, by women who suffer it as well as those working in the legal system. Tort has developed slightly differently in New Zealand than in England, though some contemporary English decisions at a high level may influence what happens here.

But accident compensation and criminal law are statute-based; the judiciary, where appropriate, interprets and/or applies the statutory rules, sometimes with reference to common law rules. The Accident Compensation Act is mostly administered by the

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cases involved more than one man: one lump sum was awarded for those injuries inflicted by each. Unfortunately these decisions stop short of recognising that a woman who is injured repeatedly by one man, in the typical gender-specific injury scenario,[43] may well suffer trauma that it would be equally inappropriate to treat globally. If this were to be recognised she would then properly be eligible for several lump sums, rather than the single, global award commonly made. The Authority's justification in *The Guardian of H* conforms to the stereotype that violence against women and children is unusual, involving a single isolated incident and associated with stranger danger.

The Law Commission recognised the needs of non-earners and the special character of violence against women and children in the home to some extent in the recommendations in its 1988 report on the Accident Compensation Act.[44] Housewives (sic) and other non-earners were to be provided with a periodic benefit assessed against notional earnings equal to average weekly earnings for 'all sectors, all persons'. Their work was recognised as having important economic benefits for the community as well as families. The requirement that a claim be made within a year of the injury was to be abolished. Special

Accident Compensation Corporation, with a system built into the statute for reviewing the Corporation's decisions internally. If this is unsatisfactory an appeal to the independent Accident Compensation Appeal Authority or recourse to judicial decision-making is possible in various situations.

And tell her about about the main torts: nuisance, negligence, defamation, trespass. Including trespass to the person: historically concerned to protect the individual's bodily integrity and, if proven, to compensate the victim for damage caused. Sometimes, by awarding punitive damages, to punish the perpetrator, show society's disapproval. She appears to have suffered:

- assault, an intentional or reckless act that causes someone to expect to be subjected to immediate physical harm;
- battery, the intentional or reckless application of physical force to an unconsenting individual, which includes rape;
- false imprisonment, the unlawful restriction of someone's

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provision was to be made for those suffering sexual and other 'serious criminal assaults': a lump sum payment might be seen as appropriate in these cases, although the Commission recommended lump sum payments generally should cease.

The Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act 1992 has brought in a new, more narrow accident compensation system. The Act does not follow these Law Commission recommendations. It does not allow for lump sum payment for compensation, but has not revived the traditional right to bring a tort action for compensatory damages in situations other than those where there has been false imprisonment.

A maximum of $40 a week disability allowance, five years' of which may be capitalised, becomes payable to those suffering more than 10% disability. It is, however, notoriously difficult to estimate the degree of disability for the injuries typically inflicted on women and girls at home. For instance, one medical practitioner assessed B as having 20% disability and a consultant psychiatrist assessed her as having 55% disability.

A claim for cover must be made within twelve months after the

> freedom of movement by preventing her from leaving in any direction: the 'false' simply means 'illegal'. False imprisonment is sometimes linked with assault—they are both torts which protect an individual from invasion of her personal integrity in situations where she may not be physically touched.

And could sue for punitive damages for all of them. No-one's successfully sued for false imprisonment in a domestic context, but if she were to try to do so, she could sue for both compensatory and punitive damages.[11] If she wants to involve the state, lay complaints with the police, there are criminal equivalents.[12] Different terminology, many more categories relating to violence than tort's assault and battery, different penalties. (I'm still resisting thinking about criminal law.)

I go on, keen to show her the range of possibilities of a legal discipline I enjoy: tort may also be useful for lesbians, who cannot get non-violence and non-molestation orders under the

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injury took place. There is no discretion to extend this unless one has been sexually assaulted, when the claim must be made within a year of starting treatment for which the Corporation will pay.

As fewer than 40% of sexually abused children tell anyone of the abuse within the year it occurs,[45] this discretion for sexual assault claims is appropriate. Overseas jurisdictions often allow local statutes of limitations to begin their time limit from the time that the survivor reaches a certain age, becomes aware of the abuse which has been repressed, or should have become aware.[46]

Counselling costs for those subjected to criminal sexual assault will be paid only to those suffering from a 'mental disorder', defined as clinically significant behavioural or psychological dysfunction (based on the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders of the American Psychiatric Association*). Though all abused women and children are likely to have been sufficiently affected to qualify for counselling, many may be reluctant to accept the description of themselves as suffering from a mental disorder since future prospects of gaining employment and health insurance could be jeopardised. Women have lobbied individually and collectively to have the gender

Domestic Proceedings Act 1982: if her partner beats her, it may be possible for a lesbian to apply for an injunction, forbidding her violent partner from entering her home or bothering her, or, possibly, from entering their family home. Or to give her partner a trespass notice.[13]

Has she read Pat Grace's *Electric City*, we wonder? 'The Geranium' in it? A stunning portrayal of the reality of false imprisonment for women. The back door and the front door are unlocked, but she can't leave. She's not even allowed to shop. He comes home and reinforces her imprisonment, his power over her. As in this bit:

> ... After a while he came in and put the bag of groceries on the bench.
> 'So you been digging?' he said.
> 'Yes.'
> 'What else?'
> 'It's hard ... quite rocky ...'
> 'I said, what else?'
> 'The ... house ...'

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bias of the medical insurance scheme nature of the Act rectified.[47]

The possibility of a separate body's providing compensation—presumably from the consolidated fund—for injuries suffered as a result of crime is now to be investigated. This would have the distinct advantage of retaining lump sum payments if overseas models are to be followed. Nonetheless it seems a far from unproblematic option for women and children unless difficulties experienced overseas are not duplicated here. Ideally, the claim procedures of the Accident Compensation Corporation would be followed: medical evidence would suffice to establish entitlement, rather than a board having to be convinced of a claim's merit on the balance of probabilities in a court-like situation.

Criminal injury compensation boards have been established over the last 30 years in the United Kingdom, Australian and Canadian jurisdictions, often via political expedience couched in humanitarian terms.[48] Their consequent lack of a clear philosophical justification has led to continuing boundary disputes. These tend to be decided by pressure groups orchestrating public opinion: the emotional distress of a train driver who runs over a suicide is now compensatable in

'What did you do this morning?'

'I got the kids off to school ...'

'Well come on. Did they have breakfast, did they have a wash?'

'Yes. The kids got up just before you left and they had a wash. Then they got dressed while I was getting their lunches ready. I got them their breakfast ...'

'Late, I suppose.'

'No, plenty of time. They went about quarter past.'

'And who was here?'

'No one ...

'I said, who was here?'

'No one. Just me. Just the kids.'

'Then what?'

'I did the dishes, then I wiped down the table, the bench, round the window, cleaned the window. Then I swept out and mopped out and ... started on the washing ...'

'What else?'

'I went and hung it out ...'

Britain, despite its falling outside the scope of the legislation.[49]

Criteria carried over from tort law may also lead to anomalies: those deemed not to be 'innocent victims' can be seen as having contributed to their injury and their entitlement to compensation negated or reduced accordingly.[50] Unless boards have the expertise and sensitivity necessary to assess adequately the situations in which many women and girls are assaulted at home some extraordinary injustices can result.[51]

Women's entitlements to compensation for gender-specific injury, including compensation for sexual abuse as girls, are thus under threat from proposed accident compensation changes, along with entitlements for other domestic injuries.[52]

Tort

When the Accident Compensation Act 1972 abolished the right to sue for compensatory damages where there had been personal injury by accident, it was uncertain whether it was still possible to sue for punitive (exemplary) damages where there had been a personal injury by

'And?'

'I needed a few more pegs.'

He reached out and gripped her arm, she could feel his fingers bruising her. 'Stop changing the subject,' he said.

'I wasn't ... I just thought ... when you get the shopping.'

'Stop grizzling about pegs. If I want to get pegs I'll get pegs. ... What then?'

'Sandra and Joey called in.'

'What did those nosey bitches want?'

'Just called, on the way to the shops.'

'So you all went off to the shops, I suppose?'

'Not me.'

'How do I know?'

'No, not me. I looked after Jemmy while Joey ...'

'Is that all you got to do?'

'No, but ...'

'No but, no but. You better not be lying, that's all.'

'They came and got Jemmy and ...'

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accident, compensatable under the accident compensation scheme. It was also uncertain whether false (illegal) imprisonment was a personal injury by accident, compensatable under the scheme. If not, someone who had been falsely imprisoned could sue for compensatory as well as punitive damages.

The Court of Appeal cases that decided these and other issues about the interrelationship of the accident compensation scheme and tort actions were not concerned with gender-specific violence. Most of them were about the abuse of power in a public context, although one, *Donselaar*, concerned violence between two brothers. However, the Court's decisions, particularly in the judgments of its president, were explicit about the residual function of tort relating to personal injury: it exists in a punitive role to provide effective sanctions against the oppressive use of power. In one judgment, the President of the Court quoted with approval from an English law lord, Lord Wilberforce, who had stated that it could not be lightly taken for granted that the criminal law, rather than the civil law, was the better instrument for conveying social disapproval, or redressing a wrong to the social fabric.[53]

'Who's they?'

'Sandra and Joey.'

'Who else?'

'No one ... No one else ... Only Sandra's two kids but they ran on home. It was just Joey who came in, Sandra waited out ...'

'So first you say Sandra and Joey, then you say just Joey. Can't you make up your mind?'

'Joey came in, Sandra waited for her.'

'I better not find out different.'

'And after that was when I did the garden. When the kids came home I started the tea. I brought the clothes in and ... I've been ironing ...'

'So, what else have you got to grizzle about?'

'No, I wasn't ...'

'And what's that?'

'What's ... ?'

'That?'

'That's just a geranium.'

The Court of Appeal first decided that punitive damages could be available where there had been personal injury by accident, but not in every circumstance, in *Donselaar*.[54] The President, whose statements in these cases tend to be stronger and a little less equivocal than those of his brother judges, said:

> I think that there is a need to have effective sanctions against the irresponsible, malicious or oppressive use of power; and also to maintain a punitive remedy for the commonplace types of trespass [to the person] or assault, if accompanied by insult or contumely, which touch the lives of ordinary men and women ... This is no time for the law to be withholding constitutional remedies for high-handed and illegal conduct, public or private, if it is reasonably possible to provide them ... we should try to meet a problem occasioned by the Accident Compensation Act by consciously moulding the law of damages to meet social needs ... Whether a case is one which may reasonably be considered fit for an award, and the level of damages, are matters which at times may have to be scrutinised carefully ...[55]

'Where from?'

'Sandra gave ...'

'Sandra hasn't got geraniums.'

'She did. Sandra. She got it when she went to the shop ...'

'Shop? What shop? I haven't seen any shop with those.'

'I mean she got it, from somewhere.'

'Changing your mind again?'

'No. It's what I meant. She got it, pinched it off someone's bush ... or ... spoke to someone and they gave it.'

'You don't know what you're talking about.' His grip tightened even more on her arm, he was beginning to twist.

'She said to put it ... in water ... and might grow.'

Then suddenly he let go and sat down at the table. So she went over to the stove, took a plate from the warming tray and began to dish up food. Her arm hurt. She piled the plate high and put it down in front of him.

'Chuck that thing out,' he said, so she took the geranium and put it in the scrap bucket.[14]

And in *Willis* the Court decided that someone who had been falsely imprisoned was not eligible for accident compensation for the mental consequences of the imprisonment (distress, humiliation and fear) and could therefore sue the person who imprisoned them for both compensatory and punitive damages.[56] If the mental consequences had been caused by both false imprisonment and assault or battery a plaintiff could still claim damages for them. It was enough if false imprisonment had been a substantial cause.

We know of only two decided cases in Aotearoa New Zealand where women have successfully sought punitive damages for gender-specific injury, and one case pending. The first was *A v M*.[57] There, a woman sued for punitive damages for violence she suffered during her marriage.

In this case, A was not as disadvantaged by suing as some women could be. There was no matrimonial property. She had always maintained a separate residence. There were no children of the marriage, in whose interests she might have refrained from suing. A was legally aided. Legal aid was then a grant and she was not as much at risk, as she now might be, of having to pay high legal fees.[58]

Send her our first article,[15] explain how we are trying to write together, develop a feminist method which suits us, and how we're beginning to understand how much practice is necessary to get it right. To get the balance between the different ways of knowing and ordering what we know or question. Would she mind if we quoted from her letters?

This letter doesn't reach her for ages. She's flown home, she rings from a northern New Zealand city. The mail follows her. The fax follows her. She visits and talks with us. We can quote anything we like from her letters, anonymously. She applies for accident compensation. For jobs, tries to sort out where to live, what order to do things in, delays the counselling until she has everything else in her life organised.

(And I spend some mornings at the District Court, following various duty solicitors around.)

(There's a door in the number one court room. It looks like the others there, nice wood, big, solid, lovely round handle. Through it are the men in custody, waiting to see a duty solicitor,

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A sought punitive damages for assault and battery, including rape, and compensatory and punitive damages for false imprisonment. The judge, who decided the case as a judge sitting alone (without a jury) found the false imprisonment not proven and awarded A $20,000 punitive damages for assault and battery and full costs. The assault and battery for which he awarded damages was two rapes and a further battery which he associated with one rape.

There was evidence that M had battered A before they were married. During their marriage, which lasted less than a year, he continued to batter her regularly. Some of these batteries were rape. For part of the time a non-violence order was in force. He also abused her verbally about her gender and race. She fought back, in spite of a huge size differential (he was six foot one inch tall and weighed fifteen stone at the time; she five foot seven and a half inches tall and weighed nine and a half stone). She finally left him after a weekend during which, she alleged, he battered her especially badly, prevented her from leaving and then later raped her. She complained of this last rape to the police who did not prosecute M.

We found *A v M* a difficult case to read. It does not refer to the

some of them, then waiting to be called into the courtroom. They're in a big, square, room, divided into three. It is very dimly lit. When you open the door, you're in a long narrow corridor. Where the other wall of the corridor would be are vertical red bars, reaching to the ceiling. On the other side of them, halfway along the red bars the area is divided by a solid wall. So there are two cells.

We talk to the prisoners through the bars. In one cell there is a toilet. Some of the lino on the floor is ripped away. It stinks. We talk to the men through the bars. I hold back my tears. I contain my nausea. Some of the prisoners are my sons' ages. I imagine my sons standing waiting for a duty solicitor, without cigarettes. One man asks for a drink of water. The duty solicitor says she won't get him one: she'll ask the sergeant. I don't offer to do it. I don't offer to do anything. I keep silent. I imagine my sons thirsty and unable to get to water. As we leave one of the young men, eyes down, pushes a tiny piece of sweaty folded paper

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residual functions of tort where someone is harmed through oppressive use of power, as conceptualised in the Court of Appeal. Nor does it refer to M's violence against A as an ongoing oppressive use of power.

Furthermore, the Court confused criminal and tort concepts. Instead of dealing with the case on the basis that spouses have been able to sue each other in tort in New Zealand since 1963, it used recent English decisions ending marital criminal immunity for rape to justify A's right to sue M. It also referred to battery as 'common assault', a criminal term, and rape as a particularly severe type of assault rather than a particularly severe type of battery.

A suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder for at least two years after that final weekend of her marriage. From what is known about the way some men exert their power over and attempt to control those they live with, it seems likely that he did, as she alleged, prevent her from leaving as well as raping and otherwise battering her. The concatenation of these three things may well have contributed to A's post-traumatic stress disorder. However, it appears that this was not argued. Certainly the Court did not see the violence holistically.

through the bars to the duty solicitor. She is his lawyer. It is his letter to the judge. She opens it out and puts it on top of his file.

The duty solicitor asks the sergeant about a drink of water for the thirsty young man. Not likely he says, giving his reasons. So she asks a social worker, who goes off and fetches it. Where does it come from? Don't lawyers fetch water? I am in culture shock, physical shock.

The duty solicitor notices it: the cells always affect you, she says. I ask about relationships with the police, she tells me they're really good. But when she's acting for someone, she just goes into fighter mode and that's it. So she does, she's great. Through the morning, from out in the courtroom we hear clang clang every time someone goes back into a cell. I sit tensely so I don't flinch or run away or weep. I hear so many stories from women about the violence they've suffered, but am rarely as affected by them. Is it just seeing people in cells for the first time, or is it because it is men that I'm so upset? Do I now take

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Instead, in deciding what behaviour attracted punitive damages, the Court focused on the rape and its consequences, as assessed for accident compensation, within a statutory framework not intended to consider 'remedies for high-handed and illegal conduct'. Evidence relating to A's post-traumatic stress disorder came only from the psychiatrist who had assessed her when she applied for accident compensation for the mental consequences of the rape during the final weekend of the marriage. For this assessment, the psychiatrist was not required to consider the mental consequences of the battery earlier in the weekend (A received separate compensation for the physical effects of this) nor the possibility that M so terrorised A by his physical attack that she was unable to leave.

The Court joined the two batteries during the last weekend (the second one the rape), ignoring the alleged false imprisonment that separated them by some time. These became a fictional, unitary, 'violent rape'. It then placed all the batteries which occurred during the marriage in a hierarchy. The 'violent rape' and, apparently, the earlier rape attracted punitive damages.[59] But the other batteries were:

for granted violence against women, am I hardened to it?)

We spend the day at a ritual abuse workshop.[16] Ritual abuse, says a facilitator, is the last secret of the patriarchy. It's also an issue like pornography that brings together lesbian feminists and fundamentalist Christians among others. A difficult day. Somehow made easier by being told about Miriam Saphira's list of what is necessary for self-esteem: belonging, being special, having role models and something else which has slipped my mind. We escape at each break to walk in the First Church grounds. Ritual abuse tends to happen among the middle and upper classes: freemasons, churches, professionals including lawyers are involved. All well protected. Here in New Zealand. Maybe here in Dunedin. Legal redress seems an unlikely contribution to healing for babies, children and women damaged by ritualistic abuse whether multigenerational or not. Just a way for the rest of us to show that it must not be allowed to happen. Or maybe a way to redistribute resources so that the healing is

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> part and parcel of a stormy marriage relationship and either individually or collectively do not amount to grave incidents of such a kind as to attract exemplary damages.[60]

Finally, the Court reinforced the myth that women are most affected by violence from strangers. It stated that:

> It must be remembered that there can be circumstances of aggravation that will make the act of rape, although in itself an affront, yet an insult of a more grievous kind. For example, it could be said that the rape of a wife by her husband is bad enough, but the rape of an innocent woman in her own home by a complete stranger who attacked her in the course of a burglary is even worse.[61]

The Court of Appeal has affirmed that tort is an instrument for conveying social disapproval. It is disappointing, then, that the Auckland High Court did not take the opportunity to award punitive damages for conduct seen sufficiently seriously in the Family Court for A to be awarded a non-violence order and for which M might be convicted and imprisoned in a criminal court. Although the Court of Appeal in

easier to organise and those who have been injured can be kept absolutely safe.

(Halfway through I pop round the corner for a duty solicitor 'lunch and learn' in the law library. It's hard to concentrate, uncomfortable among these people I like and am getting to know, with portraits of male lawyers all round the walls. The balance between healthy concern and paranoia completely thrown by the workshop.)

She writes again. She's been at a ritual abuse seminar, too:

> My therapy session was ... through-going, as one can say in German. I spaced right out and had to crawl into (figuratively) a forest scene on the wall to keep my control. Na ja. Last Monday I went to ritual abuse workshop, Jocelyn and Ann Marie from Wellington, both v good. I got pretty scared by the end; the splitting and multisystem they had to 'counsel' with etc came close enough to me. It was as I gradually realised I was one of the few there who

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Donselaar urged caution when making decisions about the level of violent behaviour required to attract punitive damages, in *A v M*, we believe, the High Court was over-cautious.

If men are to be punished in tort for the violence they inflict in the home and the cost of this violence redistributed, there may need to be a profound change in judicial perceptions of the realities of violence against women. It seems that the judiciary will have to reconceptualise in order to relate 'public' civil liberties concepts to gender-specific injury of all kinds, particularly where false imprisonment is concerned. As things are, a man can claim the right to detain a woman in perpetuity;[62] and the often continual[63] and varied ways in which women and girls are controlled raise different questions than do those comparatively isolated occasions when police or customs officials wrongfully imprison, assault, or batter an individual.

In a domestic relationship someone may so threaten a partner or girl verbally and physically that he in effect technically assaults her according to the tort definition (causes her to expect to be subject to immediate physical harm) every time they are together, over years.

A woman may be so intimidated by this that she does not leave

> experiences a bit of that, that the chill began to fall on me. Finally I began to feel like a *persona non grata*, but that was not the important thing. I began to wonder where I could meet a counsellor who was familiar with those things. Also I was put into a space, somehow, where my own 'other' people were there, if silent. Thank goodness for Anne. She was there and was Lovely. And friendly and quiet and warm. That calmed my hypersensitivity/paranioa a bit.[17]
>
> However it was turbulent inside. And very very worried/scared. I couldn't do anything for it. With the presence of those awarenesses and that worry, not to mention the loading and info from the Rit Ab workshop itself, no matter how it had affected me, thus charged so to speak I plonked myself in the bus back to W. At A I got out and had a cup of tea and all my presences were gone. Bang, just like that—as I finished my cup of tea. What could I do? For or against. I've felt that phenomenon so often now. It's like departing spirits. So I sat in the bus quite happy, quite practical and able to pick up the several

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home, even temporarily to shop, if she has been told not to do so. The front door may be open, the back door unlocked, but she is so immobilised by the continual assault that she has no freedom of movement at all. She is imprisoned, illegally. And thus should be able to sue the person who imprisoned her for compensatory and punitive damages.

The New Zealand Bill of Rights Act forbids discrimination on the basis of gender.[64] It is possible to seek review of police and judicial actions which discriminate against women by failing to enforce laws which can offer them protection. It may also be possible to impugn common law rules inconsistent with the Bill of Rights,[65] because deciding the common law is an act of the judicial branch of the government of New Zealand, whose acts have to be consistent with the Bill.[66]

At the moment, the common law rule for false imprisonment may discriminate against women by not taking into account the realities of false imprisonment we suffer at home. To date, as far as we know no case has been argued on the basis of a domestic, gender-specific false imprisonment doctrine. Nor, as far as we know, have women

> sheets of workshop info and begin reading them!! Bizarre. The workshop info is important for all of us. It's important more women know ... Yes, eventually I might sue—re the incident of taking me out of the clinic and rape. But it would not be for me that I'd do that, simply to pursue things as they should be pursued.

(I tell J about the cells behind the court room door. About the men in the cells. Those men are my bones, she says. I realise, again, from a new reality, what a difference a separate Maori justice system might make.[18] And now understand more about why it has been and will be resisted. And I remember J telling me matter-of-factly: 'We had a lot of visitors through the house when I was little. Sometimes I'd wake up with a penis in my mouth'. The Otago Women's Health Survey is going to move on to explore why some women are resilient, why sexual and physical abuse affects the mental health of some women more than others.)

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attempted to claim accident compensation for the mental consequences suffered as a result of tortious assault and false imprisonment.

The only criminal actions available against men who prevent women from leaving home are those of abducting or detaining a female with the intention of marrying or having sexual intercourse with her[67]—which is obviously not what domestic false imprisonment is about—or kidnapping,[68] perhaps not realistically an option within her own home. Because of this, the development of domestic false imprisonment doctrine, to give women the option of seeking compensatory and punitive damages, seems especially important.

Criminal Law

Apparently much of M's attempt to control A went unpunished. The police did not prosecute when A complained of the rape during their final weekend together. And there is no indication in *A v M* that he was prosecuted for any other aspect of his violence. He could, for

(Off to a workshop on pleas in mitigation, have to read up the Criminal Justice Act and sentencing, make a plea in mitigation of sentence for a man convicted of beating his wife. A good slant way for me to have to face a woman's options if she wants to lay a complaint with the police about a man who abuses her. What happens if the bloke is convicted? What's the effect of the various sentences? It is a very useful and well-run evening. But one commentator tells me that in his experience the women who lay complaints always want to stay with the man and it's important to encourage this, gives me some tips on making that possible, on how to keep the man out of prison. One way is to have the woman state that she and her abuser still have sex. I let him run, let them all run. There's so much I have to learn.)

We talk about various conventions. Should we keep saying when disagreeing with a judge's conclusions, 'with respect', 'with the greatest of respect' as we might in a legal article. Decide not. Not appropriate, though we do of course have enormous

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instance, have been prosecuted for assaulting a woman and on conviction have been liable for a maximum of two years' imprisonment.[69] Or for a variety of other punishments.

One of the arguments in *Donselaar* against retaining the right to sue for punitive damages was that the means of punishing assaults was maintained by the right of prosecution and the power of the courts to direct part of a pecuniary penalty to be paid to the person assaulted.

In the years since, amendments to the Criminal Justice Act have resulted in a court being able to order that all of a fine be paid to a victim.[70] It can also order that an offender pay reparation as well as undergoing other sentences.[71] If an offender uses serious violence or causes serious danger to the safety of any other person in the course of committing an offence punishable by imprisonment for a term of two years or more, the court must impose a full-time custodial sentence on the offender, unless the court is satisfied that it should not because of the special circumstances of the offence or the offender.[72] An offender convicted of an offence involving violence during the previous two years faces the same consequences if any violence,

respect for the work and learning and concerns of the judges whose decisions we discuss. The criticisms relate to attitudes and structures, not individuals. We'll have to do some of the references differently, too.

T writes again. Her counselling isn't helpful, maybe another counsellor would be better. She rings. Her counselling is helpful. She needs work. Needs money. Can't work full-time, is too erratic. Is looking for a little job so she can finish writing her book about the abuse. Is happy where she is. Is missing women, wants to move. A familiar oscillation.

We really want to finish this soon. So much other work. Including the last bits of *Spiral*.[19] Adrienne rang to say that she (a consummate black and white photographer) has some paintings for me to look at. So I go to look: see shiny, slightly creased black peeling back in the centre, very slightly, to reveal some printed words, painted over in red. Red slash in black. Stylish and meticulous, like all her work. RAGE on one painting, CRY

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whether serious or not, is involved.[73] The association of alcohol or drugs with a violent offence can no longer be taken into account by a Court when considering factors which mitigate the offender's behaviour, before imposing a penalty.[74] This may well be an acknowledgement that alcohol or drug abuse does not in itself cause violence, a point of view with which feminists would readily concur.

Criminal law may also fulfil a protective, family law function, particularly if there may be a delay in obtaining a non-violence order: bail may be granted, if at all, only on the condition that the offender does not associate with the woman he is accused of having assaulted.[75]

However, some of those factors which affect the desirability of tort action for women also place us at a disadvantage where criminal action is taken by the state. If a couple are reconciled, however tenuously, before sentencing occurs, the effect of various sentences on the woman who has suffered the violence may not be an issue for the Court.

The Court decides whether special circumstances which override the expectation of a custodial sentence exist on 'reasonable

on another, red paint dripping down like tears down a face. Some green. And these ones, red and black on newsprint and yes we can have them for our article. The colour important in all the paintings: RED/ANGER, BLOOD: BLACK/GRIEF, POWER, MYSTERY: GREEN/GROWTH. Black and white reproduction would detract too much from their impact in *Spiral* which is an art rather than an article context. But they're OK for here, where the words and the pain have priority.

(As a middle-aged baby barrister I'm almost invisible and overhear some strange stories. I both absorb and ignore them. But then a friend tells me something of sexual harassment and assault among lawyers as she's experienced it. And that she's known male lawyers to advise an injured woman lawyer—and other women lawyers supporting her—not to take legal action against a senior lawyer who has assaulted her. I spend a Sunday filled with disillusionment, rage and grief. The siren call of practising law: I've been so attracted by it that I've ignored the

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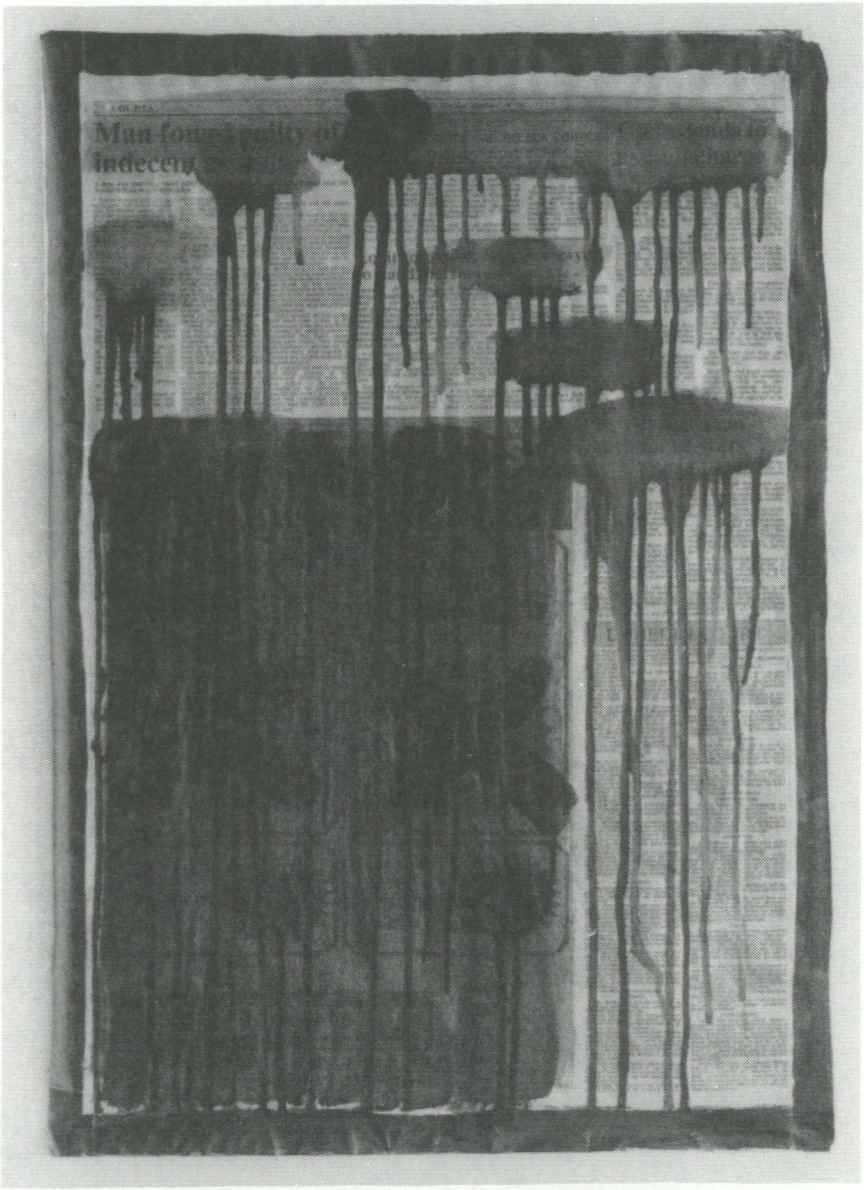
grounds'.[76] In *Shortland*, a High Court judge stated that although in the past the community and the courts may have regarded domestic violence as less serious than non-domestic violence, this was no longer so. Where a woman had forgiven her partner, the Court was:

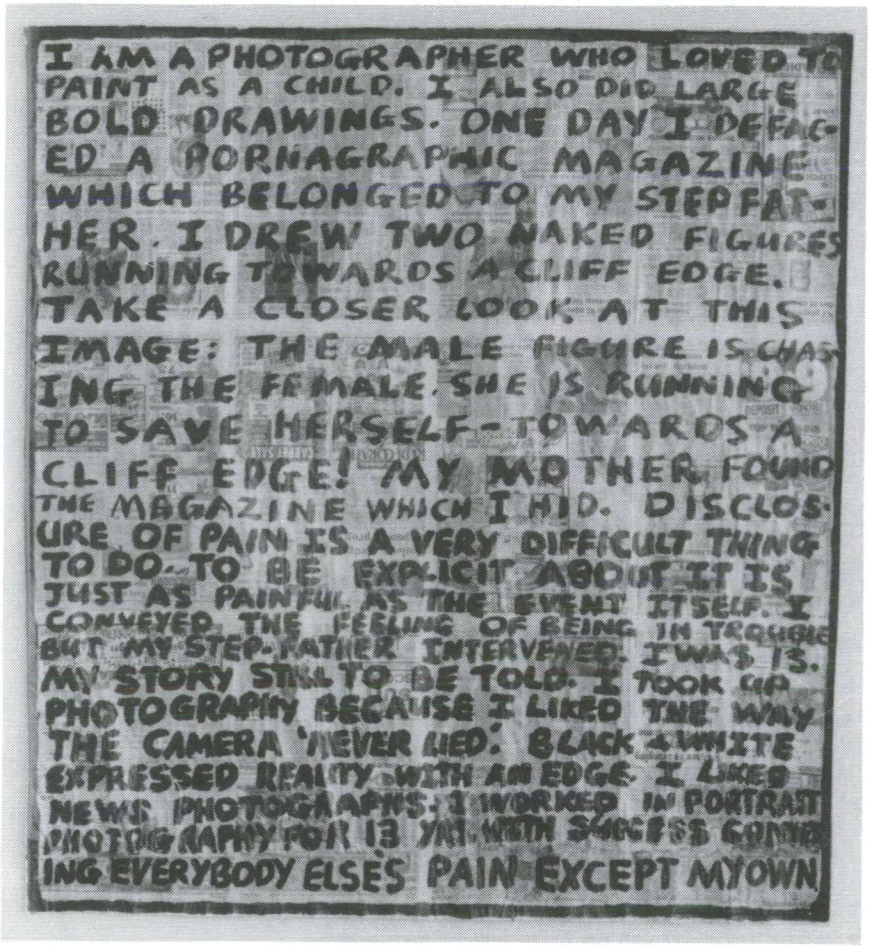
> unable to conclude that the attitude adopted by the victim after the offence, at the time of sentencing, can amount to special circumstances of the offence.[77]

More recently in *Haira*, forgiveness was also not a factor.[78] Where the offender had attended an anger management course, had custody of two children and could not meet his mortgage payments if in prison these and other factors did not bring his offence or him within the special circumstances parameters.

In contrast, and most recently, in *Thomas*, the Chief Justice took a combination of factors into account, including the forgiveness of the victim and the exacerbation of the 'unfortunate effects' of the incident on her, that it was a first offence, and the effect of imprisonment on the perpetrator's employment.[79] He replaced a sentence of imprisonment with one of periodic detention. However, while acknowledging



Adrienne Martyn, *Court News,* 2'1" x 1'5", acrylic on newsprint, 1992



Adrienne Martyn, *I am a photographer,* 6' x 5'6",
acrylic on newsprint, 1992

possibility that the dynamics of gender-specific power and control are as likely to exist within the legal profession as elsewhere. If lawyers don't use the justice system to regulate the effects of these things, where are the structures to investigate alleged sexual assault and harrassment among them, to censure the men and ensure they change their behaviours? Where's the fidelity fund to compensate the women injured? The support structures for them?)

We spend a day with Accident Compensation Appeal Authority decisions, trying to find one we've seen referred to in a newspaper article. Get confused about dates: it is now 1992 and instead of looking at 1991–92 we look at 1990–91. But find it at last. And next to it, one where a woman who has been abused during three separate periods of her life receives three maximum lump sums. T has applied only for one, covering all the post-74 abuse, as have most of us. We send her a copy of the decision, hope it's not too late for her to make separate

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that it could not take into account the fact that the offence was committed when the offender was grossly intoxicated the Court also had regard to the steps he had taken to overcome his alcohol problem. It seems to us, given the legislation, that whether the offender was trying to overcome his alcohol problem was irrelevant in this context.

If these cases had been decided in Hamilton, the Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Project (HAIPP) would have presented another option. HAIPP now offers suitable domestic violence offenders the opportunity to enter its scheme. This offers a 26-week course for offenders who might otherwise be jailed, with the intention of altering their violent behaviour.[80]

For women who want to continue in a relationship where they have been battered, this is an attractive possibility. Otherwise, which is worse: being at home unable to pay the rent or mortgage and without a possibly violent partner for a few months, or to have him at home and possibly again violent but contributing financially?

Another option is about to be trialed: it is expected that six habilitation centres will be established by the end of 1992, as a pilot scheme. People sentenced to imprisonment will be given the

applications. Feeling sad that this long process of finding material, talking about it, using it, is almost over, this time. Raising our eyebrows at each other as we read:

> It was [counsel's] concluding submission that the facts of this case are unique and quite tragic. He said it is unlikely that they will arise again. I hope [counsel] is correct in this view.[20]

(And then we go to dinner. D and I have been talking about our adolescent experiences, when we met twenty-five years ago, for months now, intermittently. As well as lots of other things. She's a light relief so often. But she, too, is thinking about abuse. Something we've never discussed before. Skips from chat, skips from the room and returns with a piece of paper. Twenty years ago or so, she asked someone for a reference. He gave her two. The one she shows me—not to be sent with her job application—she classes as sexual harassment. It is, and it is so

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opportunity to serve their sentences at these centres, equipped to deal with addictions, violence and damaging sexual behaviours.[81]

Imprisonment imposes one sort of further stress on a family, periodic detention another. Reparation to a spouse, whether or not there is a separation in effect, or to a member of the extended family where sexual abuse is involved, or the payment of a fine in lieu of imprisonment to her, raise the same sorts of difficulties as the award of intra-familial damages in tort.

In the long term, initiatives like HAIPP and habilitation centres offer some hope to those women and girls who have suffered, or may otherwise suffer, gender-specific violence at home. Changes in judicial and societal attitudes would also help. In particular, we welcome news of a kindergarten early intervention programme, for pre-school children with major behavioural problems. According to a brief newspaper report and a recent magazine article, the bulk of these children, 97% of whom are boys, will offend as adults. That their behaviour is now being taken seriously at an early age, in one New Zealand city, gives us some cause for optimism for the future.[82] A further cause for optimism appears to be a recent submission of the New Zealand Law

beautifully written: he was a marvellous writer. It conveys something of her sexual intelligence as I remember but could not have articulated it, then, or now.[21] It is erotic, it is lovely. And in the circumstances invasive of her integrity. I find it hard to cope with the paradox. As with all of this, to keep the contradictions present together in my head. The evidence keeps coming at us: I'm sick of it. I don't want to have to think about it ever again, at dinner, at home, or out, or as I work. I certainly don't want to write about it.)

And then I turn again to check part of *A v M.* And reread the summary of the evidence A gave, the Maori woman whose courage in suing her former husband for battery including rape, seemed to result in new possibilities for many of us:

> ... he dragged her into the lounge, she tripped over a wine rack on the floor. The defendant kicked her. He lifted up a bottle of wine and threatened to hit her with it. He got on top of her, placed his knees on her shoulders to hold her

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Society's Family Law Committee. According to a published summary, this submission acknowledges that 1991 statistics from the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc. indicate a lack of confidence in solutions provided by the legal system. It also calls for an appropriate and effective response by the legal system to domestic violence.[83] This article is our present response, to the sirens of gender-specific injury and the legal system: it is wonderful to know our concerns are shared by a range of other people.

> down, put his hands around her throat and pushed down on her windpipe saying as he did it 'Die you black mole, die, stop breathing'. [22]

We can't let them stop us breathing, we can't let them stop us speaking. We can't tell it slant any more. We won't.

We thank the following for their generosity: the women who told us and lent us their stories; Adrienne Martyn for permission to reproduce photographs of her paintings; Patricia Grace and Penguin Books for their kind permission to quote from 'The Geranium'; and Barbara Nicholas and Graeme Nicholas.

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Notes

1. 'Judge Scolds Officers As Curator Cleared', *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 7 December 1991, p. 18; New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, section 23.
2. *ODT*, 4 April 1991, p. 11.
3. Criminal Justice Act 1985, section 5, as repealed and substituted by the Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No.3) 1987, section 2.
4. *Police v Shortland* 4 Criminal Reports of New Zealand, p. 157; but see discussion below.
5. The authors wrote this article partly to explore when how and why they shift from 'I' to 'we' in various contexts and how the various shifts affect their responses and what they write. On a day-to-day basis, like many women, we shift—sometimes in a single sentence—from 'I' to 'we' (my child and I) to 'we' (feminists) to 'we' (lawyers) to 'we' (who live here). 'We' throughout the text refers to the authors as friends or colleagues; except where the context suggests otherwise, 'I' is either one of us.
6. Tillie Olsen writes: '[The] pressures towards censorship, self-censorship—towards accepting, abiding by dominant attitudes, thus falsifying one's own reality, range, vision, truth, voice—are extreme for women writers. (Indeed, they have much to do with fear, the sense of powerlessness that pervades certain of our books; the "above all, amuse, clown, be entertaining" tone of others.) Not to be able to come to one's truth, or not to use it in one's writing, even when telling the truth having to "tell it slant", robs one of drive, of conviction; limits potential stature; results in loss to literature and the comprehensions we seek in it.' Tillie Olsen, 'One Out of Twelve: Women Who Are Writers in Our Century', in Sara Ruddick and Pamela Daniels (eds.), *Working It Out: 23 Women Writers, Artists, Scientists, and Scholars Talk About Their Lives and Work* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1977) pp. 323–340, p. 339.
7. Judy Martin et al., *Otago Women's Health Survey* (Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Otago, 1991). Our information comes from the five-page summary circulated, late in 1991, to those who took part in the survey; from conversations with two of those working on the survey; and from Judy Martin et al., 'A Two Stage Survey on Child Sexual Abuse—Methodological Issues' (draft, Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Otago, 1991). Publication of the material relating to the survey is forthcoming.

8. Sexually abused children often deal with the trauma and pain by splitting off a part of their personalities which retains the memories and the feelings inaccessible to the adult survivor. Laura Davis, *Allies in Healing: When the Person You Love Was Sexually Abused as a Child* (Harper Perennial, New York, 1991) pp. 102–105. See also Ellen Bass and Laura Davis, *The Courage To Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Abuse* (Harper & Row, New York, 1988).
9. Duty solicitors are rostered at District Courts, to ensure that those brought before the Court have access to legal representation and, where appropriate, seek bail or other ancillary orders for defendants.
10. *A v M* [1991] 3 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 228.
11. *Willis v Attorney-General* [1989] 3 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 574.
12. Crimes Act 1961, sections 128, 128A (Rape), 208 (Abduction of woman or girl) and 209 (Kidnapping) are the closest to false imprisonment. See also discussion below.
13. See the Trespass Act 1980, section 5. There would be difficulties with this and possibly in obtaining even an interim injunction if the violent party held a legal interest in the property.
14. Patricia Grace, 'The Geranium', *Electric City and Other Stories* (Penguin, Auckland, 1987) pp. 20–23. We found, by chance, an 1869 case condemning this sort of behaviour: 'If force, whether physical or moral, is systematically exerted to compel the submission of a wife to such a degree and during such a length of time as to injure her health and render a serious malady imminent, although there be no actual physical violence such as would justify a decree, it is legal cruelty and entitles her to a judicial separation'. *Kelly v Kelly*, 2 Law Reports, Probate and Divorce Cases, pp. 31, 59.
15. Marian Evans and Robin Mackenzie, 'The Dream of a Common Law? Feminism and the Teaching and Practice of Law', *New Zealand Universities Law Review*, 14:4 (1991) pp. 403–414.
16. This workshop was organised by the Ritual Action Group, P. O. Box 11 626, Wellington. Information distributed by the facilitators states: 'Ritual abuse refers to physical sexual and psychological abuse that is systematic, ceremonial and public. This abuse can occur over generations in some families, with children from a young age being subjected to severe sexual abuse, torture and mind control throughout their childhood and adolescence. Because the abuse is systematic, its effects and the mind control

usually last through adulthood, so that survivors may block the memory of the abuse but still be subject to compulsive behaviours and triggers that have been programmed in at an early age'. See also Davis, pp. 132–5.

17. Davis, pp. 136–138, discusses splitting, multisystems and other terms used in this paragraph.
18. Moana Jackson, *The Maori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective: He Whaipaanga Hou* (Department of Justice, Wellington, 1987–88).
19. Heather McPherson, Julie King, Marian Evans and Pamela Gerrish Nunn (eds.), *Spiral 7: A Collection of Lesbian Art and Writing from Aotearoa New Zealand* (Spiral, Dunedin, 1992).
20. *B v Accident Compensation Corporation* (Decision No. 321/91, 29 November 1991, Accident Compensation Appeal Authority) p. 10.
21. Sexual intelligence is used in the sense described by Andrea Dworkin, *Right Wing Women* (Women's Press, London, 1983).
22. *A v M*, p. 236.
23. We now know that one out of three Otago women is sexually abused before she turns sixteen. More than four out of five girls who are sexually abused are abused by men they know. This abuse involves genital contact almost two-thirds of the time—that is, nearly one in five Otago girls suffer this degree of abuse. After turning sixteen approximately one in four Otago women is sexually abused as an adult, often by a man she knows well such as a husband or boyfriend. Nearly one in three (29%) is physically abused, again most likely by a husband or boyfriend. See Martin et al., *Otago Women's Health Survey*. We adopt here the terminology of this survey: however, according to the extended definition proposed by Mackinnon all assaults by men on women are sexual since all gender issues are issues of sexuality, power and control. See Catherine Mackinnon, 'The Art of the Impossible', in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1987) pp.1–17. We are aware that some boys are sexually abused, but as sexual abuse is an overwhelmingly gender-specific injury we refer to sexually abused children as girls. See also A. Chaneles, *Family Structure of Child Sex Victims* (American Humane Association, New York, 1967) p. 53.
24. Richard Gelles and Murray Straus, *Intimate Violence: The Causes and Consequences of Abuse in the American Family* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1988) pp. 17–36; Jalna Hamner, 'Men, Power and the Exploitation of Women', *Women's Studies*

International Forum, 13:5 (1990) pp. 443–456; Jane Ritchie and James Ritchie, *Violence in New Zealand* (Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1990), especially pp. 63–70. Elizabeth Ward delineates these dynamics in relation to the sexual abuse of girls. See Elizabeth Ward, *Father/Daughter Rape* (Women's Press, London, 1984) pp. 95–100.

25. Martin et al., *Otago Women's Health Survey.*
26. K. Weis and S. Borges, 'Victimology in Rape: The Case of the Legitimate Victim', in Leroy Schultz (ed.), *Rape Victimology* (Thomas, Springfield, 1975).
27. Chris Atmore, 'Essential Fictions, Fictional Essences: Some Recent Media Constructions of Child Sexual Abuse in Aotearoa', *Women's Studies Journal*, 7:1 (1991) pp. 29–54; Sharon Lowenstein, 'Incest, Child Sexual Abuse and the Law: Representation on Behalf of Adult Survivors', *Journal of Family Law*, 29:4 (1990–91) pp. 791–832.
28. Martha Mahoney, 'Legal Images of Battered Women: Redefining the Issue of Separation', *Michigan Law Review*, 90:1 (1991) pp. 1–94.
29. Susan Estrich, *Real Rape* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1987).
30. Christine Littleton, 'Women's Experience and the Problem of Transition: Perspectives on Male Battering of Women', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, (1989) pp. 23–57; Robin West, 'The Difference in Women's Hedonic Lives: A Phenomenological Critique of Feminist Legal Theory', *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal*, 3:1 (1987) pp. 81–145.
31. Richard Abel, 'Torts', in D. Kairys (ed.), *The Politics of Law in a Progressive Critique* (Pantheon, New York, 1982) pp. 185–200.
32. Regina Graycar and Jenny Morgan, *The Hidden Gender of Law* (Federation Press, Sydney, 1991) pp. 272–307; Adrian Howe, '"Social Injury" Revisited: Towards a Feminist Theory of Social Justice', *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 15:4 (1987) pp. 423–438.
33. See especially Jocelynne Scutt, *Women and the Law: Commentary and Materials* (Law Book, Sydney, 1990) pp. 444–465.
34. Information not footnoted, on criminal, tort and accident compensation law comes from either J. Bruce Robertson, *Adams on Criminal Law* (Brooker & Friend, Wellington, 1992) or Stephen Todd et al., *The Law of Tort in New Zealand* (Law Book, Sydney, 1991).
35. Under the Legal Services Act 1991, sections 37–50, unless

someone who applies for civil legal aid has no disposable income and in the opinion of the local legal aid subcommittee the making of a contribution would cause serious hardship, that person must make an initial contribution to the cost of legal aid, once it is granted. It is also necessary to make a further contribution for which both income and capital are taken into account, unless this would cause substantial hardship. And unless the committee is of the opinion that it would be unjust or inequitable to do so, any property of the person receiving legal aid may be subject to a charge and registered against land or any other property. The parameters of the exceptions are not yet established. But on the face of it our homes and/or our cars, which if we have them at all are often our only assets, could be at risk if we take legal action and apply for legal aid.

36. Her former partner often receives a corresponding rise in his standard of living. See Gabrielle Maxwell and Jeremy Robertson, 'Child Support After Separation', *Family Law Bulletin*, 2:8 (1990) pp. 94–101.
37. For example, National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges, 'Submissions to the Family Court' (unpublished manuscript, 1991); Ruth Busch et al., *Domestic Protection and the Justice System: A Research Study of Breaches of Protection Orders* (forthcoming, 1992).
38. [1976] 1 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 638.
39. '... if more people were to take legal advice in respect of claims on the Corporation ... vistas of eligibility for some claimants might be widened considerably on occasions.' *B v Accident Compensation Corporation*, p. 6.
40. Ward, p. 99; Martin et al., *Otago Women's Health Survey*.
41. *B v Accident Compensation Corporation*, p. 10.
42. (Decision No. 317/91, 29 November 1991, Accident Compensation Appeal Authority.)
43. Ward, pp. 84, 93.
44. N.Z. Law Commission, *Personal Injury: Prevention and Recovery, Report on the Accident Compensation Scheme*, Report No. 4 (Government Printer, Wellington, 1988).
45. Martin et al., *Otago Women's Health Survey*.
46. Lowenstein, pp. 809–829.
47. 'Counselling Groups Oppose ACC Amendments', *ODT*, 28 December 1991, p. 2; Clare Bear, 'Alice in ACC-Land: Confusion and Catch-22s', *Broadsheet*, 193 (1992) pp. 31–38; Louise Delany, 'Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Bill: A Feminist

Assessment', *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, 22:1 (1992) pp. 79–102; Joanna Wane, 'Mean-spirited Makeover!', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 13 July 1992, pp. 32–34; Marcia Russell, 'Winners and Losers', *Listener & TV Times*, 1 June 1992, pp. 15–18.

48. Iyla Davies, 'Compensation for Criminal Injuries in Australia: A Proposal for Change in Queensland', *Bond Law Journal*, 3:1 (1991) pp. 1–24.
49. Peter Duff, 'Criminal Injuries Compensation and "Violent" Crime', *Criminal Law Review*, (1987) pp. 219–230.
50. Roger Carter, '"Only the Good Deserve Compensation": A Comment on *R. Ex Rel Foy v. The Crimes Compensation Board of Saskatchewan*, [1986] 2 W. W. R. 696 (Sask. C. A.)', *Saskatchewan Law Review*, 51:1 (1987) pp. 163–172.
51. Rosanna Langer, 'Battered Women and the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board: Re A. L.', *Saskatchewan Law Review*, 55:2 (1991) pp. 453–465.
52. See note 47.
53. *Re Chase* [1989] 1 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 333.
54. *Donselaar v Donselaar* [1982] 1 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 97.
55. ibid., pp. 106–107.
56. *Willis v Attorney-General* [1989] 3 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 574.
57. *A v M*, p. 228.
58. In *A v M* (No. 2) [1991] 3 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 254 the High Court held that as claims for exemplary damages may because of their nature require expenditure out of proportion to the amount of the award, in *A v M*, the Court should exercise its discretion to make an award of costs in excess of the scale and in the vicinity of a full indemnity. As well as this cost effectiveness, the fact that this was the first time someone had claimed exemplary damages when she had been raped by her husband also affected the decision. This may mean that in other similar cases costs against the man involved may not be awarded in the vicinity of a full indemnity. See note 35.
59. The Court was not explicit about this in *A v M*. It merely listed the batteries not included in the award; in *A v M* (No. 2) however it stated at the outset that it had awarded punitive damages for 'two incidents of rape'.
60. *A v M*, p. 245.
61. ibid., p. 252.

62. This was recognised a century ago by Lord Esher in *R v Jackson* (1891) 1 Queens Bench, p. 671, where the husband, according to Lord Esher, was contending for a right to imprison his wife, to punish her if he thought she was going to leave him, or for any other purpose, which right 'must go to the fact that he may perpetually imprison her ... a series of propositions which, if true, make an English wife the slave, the abject slave, of her husband'.
63. For an interesting discussion of the distinction between 'continual' and 'continuous', see *The Guardian of H* (Decision No. 317/91, 29 November 1991, Accident Compensation Appeal Authority), pp. 10–12.
64. New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, section 19.
65. Andrew S. Butler, 'The New Zealand Bill of Rights and Private Common Law Litigation', *New Zealand Law Journal*, (August 1991) pp. 261–266.
66. New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, section 3.
67. Crimes Act 1961, section 208.
68. Crimes Act 1961, section 209.
69. Crimes Act 1961, section 194 (assault by a male on a female).
70. Criminal Justice Act 1985, section 28 as repealed and substituted by section 6(1) of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No. 3) 1987.
71. Criminal Justice Act 1985, section 11 requires the Court to impose a sentence of reparation in every case where emotional harm has occurred, unless it would be inappropriate to do so; the relationship of reparation to other sentences is provided for in section 22 as repealed and substituted by section 4(1) of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No. 3) 1987.
72. Criminal Justice Act 1985, section 5 as repealed and substituted by section 2 of Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No. 3)1987.
73. Criminal Justice Act 1985, section 5(2) as repealed and subsituted by section 2 of Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No. 3)1987.
74. Section 12A Criminal Justice Act 1985, as inserted by the Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No. 3) 1987, section 3.
75. The Crimes Act section 319 (2) reads: 'Everyone is bailable as of right who is charged with any offence for which the maximum punishment is less than 3 years imprisonment, unless the offence is one against section 194 of this Act (which relates to assault on a child or by a male on a female)'.
76. *R v White* [1988] 1 New Zealand Law Reports, p. 264.
77. *Police v Shortland* 4 Criminal Reports of New Zealand, p. 157.

78. *Haira v Police* (unreported, 22 August 1991, High Court, Rotorua, AP 54/91).
79. *Thomas v Police* (unreported, 13 November 1991, High Court, Wellington, AP 222/91).
80. 'Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Project', *Lawtalk*, 362 (1991) p. 4; Pamela Stirling, 'Stop the Bashings', *Listener & TV Times*, 22 June 1992, p. 14.
81. 'Alternative to Jails Outlined', *ODT*, 3 April 1992, p. 3.
82. 'Behaviour Improved', *ODT*, 7 January 1992, p. 3; Pamela Stirling, 'Trained for Violence', *Listener & TV Times*, 29 June 1992, pp. 26–29.
83. 'Community-based Solutions Key to End Domestic Violence: NZLS', *Lawtalk*, 376 (1992) pp. 5–6.

After 'Before Five': The Politics of Early Childhood Care and Education In the Nineties

Helen May

Early childhood care and education in Aotearoa is provided by a diverse range of services such as playcentre, childcare, kindergarten, Kohanga Reo, Pacific Island language nests and family daycare. These services have been established by women for the educational benefit of young children as well as a support for childrearing women. All services have sought and won funding from the state but the state was selective, favouring half day services over full day services which might allow women to work. Women have been campaigning from the 1960s for new early childhood policies which would accept diversity, improve provision, support quality and enable women to participate in the workforce.[1] In the late 1980s, despite a declining economy, apathy amongst politicians, and resistance from Treasury, early childhood organisations won funding and policies for early childhood which were intended to redress old divisions between the services and support childrearing women. The politics of this achievement has been told elsewhere,[2] but Anne Meade, an important participant in this campaign, sums up when she argues that, the successes for early childhood were due to a brief coalescing of government policies on equity in relation to women, children and Maori, along with a long-term and well-organised early childhood lobby and that '... A temporary wedge was driven through the hegemonic barriers constructed by the male powerholders and the so-called "captains of industry" '.[3]

The new early childhood policy, known as Before Five,[4] introduced a staged funding plan from 1990–94 to equalise funding between the different services. There were additional

Women's Studies Journal, 8:2 (September, 1992).

subsidies for children under two as well as improved minimum regulations for buildings, staffing ratios and qualifications. In 1991 there was a change of government and National returned to power. The National Party in opposition had promised their support to the Before Five policies and the staged funding plan, but no sooner were the new policies being implemented than the new government began to review them. The turnaround, however, was not just a reflection of different political priorities between Labour and National governments. The Before Five policies had arisen out of concerns for equity for women and children and a belief that state intervention was necessary to achieve it. But the policy slipped onto the political agenda amidst a new mood of deregulation, devolvement and individualism that had been infiltrating policy decisions on government-funded services some time before any change of government.[5] Government officials and politicians who had resisted the philosophical and fiscal thrust of Before Five in the first place soon began actively to undermine and remould it. This paper is an early commentary on the shift in early childhood policy so soon 'after Before Five'.

The early childhood policy initiatives of the late 1980s originally came from outside mainstream education concerns, but got caught up in a restructuring of the whole education system. For a short time it appeared that early childhood might capture some of the benefits enjoyed by the rest of the education system, but it seems that the coalition of interests has been brief. In the 1990s early childhood has become entangled in something much bigger: the redesigning of the welfare state with a leaner role for government. The implications for women, young children and early childhood services are enormous if the erosion of provision already experienced continues. In earlier writing I have claimed that the existence of good quality early childhood services, and in particular childcare provision, is political in its challenge to the state, the workplace and the family: that it disrupts traditional patterns of how childrearing roles are shared and power is exercised between the state and the family, employees and employers, and men and women.[6] For this reason a shift in the state's support of early childhood services is a crucial barometer in an analysis of the gains and losses for women within our patriarchal society.

From 'New Left' to 'New Right' in Early Childhood Politics

The 1984 Labour Government came to power with an agenda for reform in early childhood care and education which linked the provision of quality early childhood services with equity for women in the workforce and public life.[7] The slow pace of reform during the first term, however, was an indication that rhetoric was stronger than action. Three-year integrated training was introduced and the administration of all early childhood services was brought under the umbrella of the Department of Education. While these initiatives softened the old philosophical divisions between the care and education of young children, the question of funding was not addressed. In 1987 the Treasury briefing papers to the incoming Labour Government had presented a scenario for education which articulated the beginnings of a philosophical shift to the right.[8] Sue Middleton argued that: 'A particularly narrow view is taken of education — it is primarily an instrument of servicing what policy-makers and business leaders perceive as the needs of the economy'.[9] The Labour Government's early childhood policy had originally been founded on a view of government intervention and responsibility which acknowledged that to achieve equity women needed additional support during their early childrearing years, and that society as a whole benefited from good quality early childhood services. The Treasury position questioned this premise, arguing that any outcomes of government-supported early childhood services should be in measurable educational/economic benefits to individuals.[10] In the event the Treasury view was not sustained in the Meade Report which recommended early childhood policy proposals to Government in *Education to be More* (1988),[11] nor the Government's response in *Before Five* (1989). Both of these reports received support from the early childhood organisations because of their acceptance of diversity, support for quality, and acknowledgement of funding as being crucial. Meade argues that Treasury's loss in 1988 was the first run of a new kind of ideological debate concerning government's role in supporting early childhood services, and that from that point early childhood became a site of struggle between 'Us in the field and Treasury and their ilk'.[12] Although the struggle was one of economic philosophy, to women activists in the early childhood movement it had all the

appearance of the patriarchy in a newly purchased cloak. Over the past twenty years many arguments had been used by governments to justify their unwillingness to increase early childhood funding. We had heard and fought against all of them.

During 1988–91 early childhood joined the roller coaster of education reforms, and in the 1989 budget new funding was won to implement the Before Five policies. This landmark gain, however, was soon countered by an administrative framework which began to undermine the original Meade proposals for early childhood. Many of the changes designed for the education sector as a whole were not in the interests of the early childhood services. Early childhood was fitted into new multidisciplinary administrative structures designed for schools and tertiary institutions in which specialist early childhood knowledge was devalued.

Childcare groups in particular were concerned about the implementation of the new funding policies. In August 1990, only eight months after the Before Five policies began, Joce Nuttall identified key areas in which she argued that the 'Treasury agenda [was] once again at work in ECE ... I believe that right-wing concerns are at the core of these decisions'.[13] Nuttall's concern was to do with the lack of accountability, 'in line with Treasury's anti-state interventionist stance for ECE', in the handing out of the new grants to early childhood centres with no controls to ensure affordability or quality.

With the change of government in late 1991 the pendulum swung further. The Treasury briefing papers to the new National Government were more explicit. They accepted that the state had a role in the funding of early childhood services, but argued that this funding should be targeted towards the 'disadvantaged'. Treasury claimed that the 160% increase in early childhood funding over the previous five years had done little to help disadvantaged children because there had been only a 4% increase in provision.[14] Treasury and the Ministry of Education who provided the figures had got their sums wrong — but the misconception remained. The actual growth over that five years was 64%.[15] This was high given the fact that early childhood funding included few provisions for establishment, because the increases in money had, in the first instance, been targeted to increase quality for existing centres. Treasury also took issue with the increased requirements for

quality to argue that the new regulations were pushing up the costs of wages for staff, which 'discriminates against the poor (including those who would like to work)'.[16] The irony was that the growth sectors of early childhood offered provision precisely to disadvantaged groups and/or 'those who would like to work', since they were Pacific Island Language Nests, Kohanga Reo, childcare and community playgroups.[17] There had been minimal growth in the older early childhood sectors of playcentre or kindergarten. Treasury believed that further increases in provision could be achieved by downgrading quality and targeting funding.[18] This had the appearance of halting the gains achieved by women and was a shift from the Meade philosophy of early childhood services as a support to women and families, and as a benefit to society as a whole given a policy of universal funding linked to quality objectives.

In late 1990 there were as yet few clues that the new National Government intended to target the usage of social services. A series of reviews in early 1991, however, became a blueprint for changes to be outlined in the National Government's first budget, and heralded a new phase in early childhood policy development. But before looking at these reviews it is necessary to examine the administrative structures set up by the Labour Government which first implemented the new early childhood policies.

Government Administration of Early Childhood Services 1990–91

The early childhood communities were pleased when Dr Maris O'Rourke was appointed to the position of Chief Executive Officer of the new Ministry of Education in 1989. O'Rourke was a long-term activist within early childhood whose left-wing feminist critique helped shape the directions of early childhood policy of the 1980s. Sadly, O'Rourke appears to have had little power to deal with the particular problems of early childhood in the new administrative structures, most of which were set up before her appointment. Nor has she been able to prevent the administrative muddles and poor advice concerning early childhood from within her own Ministry.

The Before Five policy first began to be undermined by the Ministry itself, during the implementation phase. There are two aspects to this claim. Firstly, the new administration fragmented early childhood expertise and secondly, philosophical differences arose regarding accountability.

In the old Department of Education there had been an Early Childhood Division at Head Office as well as a number of early childhood regional offices which dealt with all aspects of early childhood services. Although early childhood services had been isolated and excluded from policy provisions benefiting the other echelons of the education system, there was a cohesiveness to early childhood operations. There was considerable philosophical consensus between the early childhood movement and departmental personnel. For example, staff recruited to the Division had been directly involved in the politics and practice of early childhood. There were also close personal links, as departmental personnel in the regions and at Head Office were involved in community, educational and political early childhood activity. The Before Five policies developed from this cohesiveness, but with the restructuring of educational administration this was lost. The potential bonus of the new administration was that early childhood was to be brought on board as an equal partner, but so far the gains of this theoretical equity have not been realised.

Restructuring divided the administration and support of early childhood services among various agencies, drawing artificial lines between the functions of advisory and inservice, evaluation, training, qualifications, regulations and funding. Within the Ministry further divisions separated operations, policy, and curriculum development. This fragmented approach to administration was a disaster throughout the implementation period, as early childhood centres and organisations had to deal with multiple agencies, ill-informed personnel, and policies designed for schools, not community-based early childhood services. Furthermore, each new agency or unit was intended to run along multidisciplinary lines across the education sector. Specialised expertise, characteristic of early childhood professionals, was less valued. Early childhood expertise at the senior government level had always been lean, but much of the expertise built up within the old Department was lost when specialist early childhood appointments were

spread across various agencies and/or later when the new agencies were forced to downsize their staff. By 1991 much early childhood business was being managed by people with no background in the field. In the past patriarchal politics excluded and marginalised early childhood in the Department. Now, the educational management exercises a new form of patriarchial practice which isolates individual women early childhood specialists, whose educational background in early childhood still has low status, and who have to fight against the trend to squeeze all educational institutions into the same mould. Apart from the Early Childhood Development Unit which supports new developments and provides inservice training, there is now no proactive and cohesive approach to early childhood operations and policy development.

The second area in which the Before Five policy has been undermined is accountability. The new mood of educational administration favoured devolvement and deregulation, introduced under a mantle of parental choice and freedom. In general, early childhood centres, constrained by lack of funding and training, have not had a good record in upholding and imposing quality standards. The interests of children have often been accorded lower priority than the interests of parents who need low-cost early childhood services, of workers and teachers who want reasonable wages, and of the management of private childcare which looks for a profit margin. While kindergartens and playcentres have had some success in imposing standards of good quality, many kindergartens have nevertheless operated with unsafe staffing ratios, and some playcentres have operated in sub-standard accommodation. Support and training opportunities have increased the level of quality for children over the past few years, but there are still many centres where only the rigorous enforcement of regulations by government makes a difference for children. The Before Five policies brought in tighter minimum regulations for operating, but at the same time Ministry of Education officials withdrew from active enforcement; a trend exacerbated by the fact that there were fewer staff, and proportionally fewer of those with a background in early childhood. Neither did the new Education Review Office see the enforcement of regulations as its role. But the shift also had to do with the new mood of deregulation which sought to minimise centralised control.

The new operating style within the Ministry was undermining not only minimum standards set by regulation, but also the new quality standards for centres to work towards which had been defined in the Early Childhood Charter (The 'Purple' Management Handbook).[19] Against the advice of the Before Five working groups which advised the Government on the implementation process, but in line with new views on deregulation and devolution, the Ministry (or maybe the Minister) decided to pay the new grants to centres without guidelines as to how they should be spent. While there is evidence that many centres used the increased money to reduce fees, increase wages and staffing levels, support training and meet new building standards,[20] in some centres little was happening. Within six months of the new funding starting in 1990 the scandals began to surface. One newsworthy case, for example, was taken by a parent to the Parent Advocacy Council (since abandoned) against Paul Wilson, a private childcare operator. Despite grants to his centre totalling $702,354 over part of a year, there was no evidence that the additional resources had benefited the centre.[21] Under a media spotlight, the Minister of Education and the Ministry shifted their non-interventionist position and drew up accountability guidelines for centres receiving grants.[22] The guidelines issued in November 1990 allowed centres freedom to decide their spending priorities, but they had to provide evidence that government funding was being spent on supporting the indicators of quality—wages, staffing ratios and training, as well as achieving a balance between affordability and fees. Centres with under-two-year-olds were to be staffed at the Ministry's quality ratios of 1 : 3 in proportion to the increased grant they received, and centres with children over two had to demonstrate that they were moving towards this in step with the Government's staged funding plan. The guidelines lasted only until the 1991 July budget, which removed the requirements for accountability guidelines linked to quality standards. In October 1991 new guidelines were gazetted but they addressed financial auditing and had little to do with monitoring quality.[23]

The Ministry had now distanced itself not only from the direct protection of children in terms of minimum standards, but also from the requirement that centres receiving funding provide quality care and education. This development alarmed many

of us in the early childhood movement who had worked hard to negotiate the quality standards. The care and well-being of children have always needed regulation and enforcement because the interests of children are too fragile to compete with market forces.

The Early Childhood Reviews, 1991

Soon after assuming power, the National Government announced a series of reviews as a lead-up to their 1991 budget. While it was timely to review the new education policies a year after implementation, it was clear that there was a wider agenda linked partly to fiscal concerns, and a wish to redefine the role of Government in the support of individuals so as to exclude the idea of universal entitlement. The process was orchestrated under the cloak of budget secrecy by a Prime Ministerial committee called The Change Team, which explored a number of scenarios for the targeting of social services.[24] The suggested framework for entitlement was to be based upon the 'core family unit' of a 'couple', which economist Susan St John has since argued would undermine the growing financial independence of women from men in their family, and 'have the potential to trap women at home'.[25] It was clear that early childhood services, which had become crucial to the growth of women's independence, were now in potential conflict with new right policies which called for 'family responsibility' and families 'free' from dependence on the state. This might explain why four early childhood reviews were established, a number apparently excessive and out of proportion to the Government's actual contribution to early childhood service ($179,098,900 in 1990). But early childhood was on the agenda not so much for possible fiscal savings as for ideological reasons. As Meade stated: 'What seems to be happening in 1991 is a re-run of the same ideological battle, with ECE again the meat in the sandwich. Early childhood education was, and is again, an arena where ideological conflict is being worked out'.[26] It was as if the potential of Before Five was ideologically dangerous and should be curbed. The policies were increasing opportunities for childrearing women as well as giving direct support to cultural

revival and autonomy for Maori people through the Kohanga Reo. The new funding for the under-twos was reassuring women that they could remain in the workforce or return to work earlier than had previously been possible, knowing there were subsidies for quality care. Similarly, the new training policies made it clear that working with young children was no longer a training for motherhood for young girls, but required skilled adults whose training should be comparable to the other sectors of education.

Political fears of a fiscal blowout were providing a convenient rationale for a swing towards the Treasury views of early childhood which separated benefits for women and the benefits for children and quantified them in economic rather than social terms.[27] The radical potential of early childhood services and training for women and/or Maori needed, in the views of the dominant power brokers, to be restrained.

The reviews were different from earlier policy appraisals of early childhood services in which participation and consensus were important features. While submissions were called for, and 853 were received in the three-week time-frame, most people had only a vague idea concerning the actual terms of reference of the review working groups.[28] These were not made public. The submissions reflected the anxiety in the early childhood communities concerning any likely cuts in funding: 96.1% supported the existing funding provisions and 89.6% supported the existing staffing regulations. The submissions reflected the fear that any cuts would threaten access, affordability and quality.[29] Unlike earlier working parties which had community representation and early childhood expertise, the 1991 review groups were made up of government officials from the Ministries of Education and Women's Affairs, Treasury, and the State Services Commission, most of whom had no early childhood background. One independent representative, Crispin Gardiner, was contracted to the funding working group, but later dissociated himself from the review process and wrote an independent report (discussed below). The working groups did meet with the early childhood organisations, but their consultation was placed under the secrecy and haste of a budget deadline. Early childhood expertise which had been valued in the Before Five policy development was now deemed ideologically suspect. Gardiner recounts that his status as an Associate Professor

in Physics, rather than his extensive involvement in community childcare, was emphasised to the Minister who had to approve the appointment. It was known that the Minister would not accept an educationalist.[30] The few people from the Ministry on the review working groups who had early childhood backgrounds found it hard to hold the line against the ideological brief from Treasury and State Services. This was partly because the Ministry was unable to provide adequate statistical backup for its officials to support the Before Five policies, but the working papers and the review reports also show officials from Treasury and State Services determined to attack and undermine quality.

An Independent Report

Gardiner's *Review of Early Childhood Funding: An Independent Report* (1991) comprises the material developed while under contract to the Early Childhood Funding Review Working Group, but is very different in content to the official *Early Childhood Care and Education Funding Review — May 1991*, eventually released after the July 1991 budget.[31] Firstly, Gardiner's report provides an early appraisal of the impact of the Before Five policies on centres and identifies possible improvements to the policy. Secondly, he assesses the impact of various models of targeting funding for early childhood services and strongly recommends against any policy of targeting except in a minimal form. The Government, however, had little interest in improving the Before Five policy, which was now out of step with 'new right' agendas. The official review reports in fact acknowledged the conflict between the Government's goal to promote equal opportunities and improve women's labour market participation and the new priority goal to reduce dependency on the state.[32] Gardiner's report, in showing the potential success of the Before Five policy, demonstrated how dangerous its continuance could be to 'new right' goals.

He showed firstly that there had been an overall growth of 6.7% in provision in ten months. Much of this was in Kohanga Reo, Pacific Island Language Nests, childcare and care for under-twos, which reflected the needs of women in employment and the strengthening links between early childhood provision and

the cultural survival of minority groups. This kind of expansion, outside of the traditional kindergarten and playcentre, was not in accord with the 'new right' and unable to be sustained with a user-pays approach. Secondly, Gardiner analysed data collected from centres in November 1990 and showed clear links between the new funding and improving quality.[33] The majority of childcare centres were working towards meeting the quality standards in terms of staffing ratios and training, although Gardiner believed there was sufficient reason to be concerned about some commercial centres charging very high fees for no significant difference in quality — a result of the lack of accountability guidelines. The staged plan had not yet affected the funding of kindergartens, and because of their 1 : 20 staffing ratio kindergartens scored low on quality, although this was mediated by their low fees. Playcentres, however, were affordable and scored high on quality because of their high staff ratios. The new funding was still having little impact on playcentre but was intended to support the voluntary work of women and upgrade their buildings. Overall, the Before Five policies which sought to escalate centralised funding, regulations and quality control were appearing to work, but were not in accord with the newer market-force approach which placed less value on quality and more on deregulation and user-pays.

Gardiner looked at the impact on centres of targeting the funding according to the income of parents, and warned that the strong voluntary contribution to early childhood services, approximately 31% of total costs, would be in jeopardy if Government moved from a universal to a targeted approach. In all scenarios of targeting, from heavy targeting — in which fees doubled for high incomes but reduced to nothing on low incomes — to mild targeting, which slightly increased fees for middle and high incomes and reduced fees for those on low incomes — the effect was to increase funding to the same sector groups. Those sector groups were Kohanga Reo, Pacific Island Language Nests, community playgroups (many of these three groups were still unchartered and receiving only minimal funding) and playcentres (which were not spending the money they were already receiving). The other services such as kindergarten, home-based and childcare would suffer a considerable reduction in funding. Such a scenario, even in its mildest form, was probably unacceptable to the National

Government's constituency, despite Treasury's view that targeted assistance should benefit the 'poor and those who like to work'. The Government finally put the targeting of early childhood funding in the 'too hard basket' for the time being, and instead the the 1991 budget brought direct cuts to funding and regulations. But it is inevitable that as formulas for targeting improve in the other areas of social services the early childhood case will be revisited. The idea of universality of early childhood funding is fragile.

The 1991 Budget

The 1991 budget saw the introduction of some targeted assistance and will be remembered for the savagery of its cuts to spending on social services. Fortunately the targeting was of a cruder and weaker kind than originally discussed by the Change Team, but even so the proposals met with outrage, and throughout 1991–92 Government was to amend and pull back from the extremes of budget night pronouncements. Sadly, the voice of early childhood had little political clout, and by reducing the new subsidy for under-twos the Government was able to save $18 million from the early childhood budget which amounted to 11% of total funding — the highest level of cuts to any education or social service.[34] This was again a selective attack on early childhood, and upon the fastest-growing service, leaving playcentres (whose rolls are declining) and kindergartens (whose rolls are static) unaffected. The real impact on services for under-twos was a substantial shortfall in funding which meant the choice of reducing staffing costs or increasing fees.[35] Kindergartens were dealt a different blow by being bulk-funded on a formula that would lead to fee increases or cut-backs in teachers.[36] The ideals of equitable funding, high-quality services and affordable access, three of the cornerstones of the Before Five policy, were under attack, despite the Minister's claim in the budget that: 'in the making of the necessary changes the Government has been careful to secure the quality of early childhood and the health and safety of children'.[37]

It could be argued that early childhood services were fortunate in the new government's first budget to have still retained a

considerable measure of universality. On the other hand the budget also cut back regulatory requirements for qualifications, staffing ratios and accountability on the grounds that they 'made it unnecessarily difficult for providers to offer early childhood education at a reasonable cost'.[38] The Labour Government's staged plan for increasing early childhood funding over four years was also abandoned. After fifty years of slow improvement in the quality and funding of early childhood services, the downturn started before the equity policies implicit in Before Five could be achieved. This attack on early childhood went beyond the given rationale of a fiscal blowout. Cathie Bell of the *Dominion Sunday Times* concluded in an analysis of the early childhood review reports that there had been a standoff between Treasury and State Services and other members of the teams — usually the Ministry and the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The Treasury view was invariably the one accepted by Government.[39]

The area where there was an expansion in early childhood funding was the Parents as First Teachers scheme, brainchild of Lockwood Smith. The early childhood communities had been lukewarm towards this imported home-based programme which seemed inappropriate for New Zealand,[40] although they agreed that new measures were needed to extend early childhood provision and parenting support. In the past all successful early childhood programmes in New Zealand, some of which were home-based, had been community controlled and had grown out of community need, not the dreams of politicians. Many women knew that taking early childhood programmes into the home was not the kind of liberation from childrearing they had fought for over so many years.

Towards the Year 2000

The immediate task for women is to prevent further erosion of the hard-won gains which early childhood services have brought communities, families, women and children. The struggles of 1991 are likely to be repeated with Treasury and State Services becoming bolder now that they have turned the tide. New tactics will be needed: the strategies of the past were directed towards expansion

and improvement — not retrenchment and counter attack. There is ample evidence showing that the childrearing years are critical for either widening or narrowing the possibilities of independence for women.[41] For women now, Treasury's message is clear — childrearing is a personal choice, or an 'irrational desire',[42] and the state which had once seen a role for itself from 'the cradle to the grave' can no longer be relied upon for childrearing support. For children, the state has retreated from providing and monitoring a safe and high-quality environment for learning and growing.

* * *

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Notes

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2. Helen May, 'Growth and Change in Early Childhood Services', in Sue Middleton, John Codd and Alison Jones (eds.), *New Zealand Education Policy Today* (Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1990) pp. 94–109; Helen May, 'From a Floor to a Draw: A Story of Administrative Upheaval: A Post Meade Reflection on Early Childhood Policy', *Te Timatanga*, 9:2 (1991) pp. 3–11; Anne Meade, 'Women and Children Gain a Foot in the Door', *Women's Studies Journal*, 6:1/2 (1990) pp. 96–110.
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4. David Lange, *Before Five: Early Childhood Care and Education in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1989).
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8. NZ Treasury, *Briefing Papers to the Incoming Government* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1990).

9. Sue Middleton, 'Women, Equality and Equity in Liberal Education Policies 1945–1988', in Middleton *et al.* (eds.), *New Zealand Education Policy*, p. 85.
10. Cathy Wylie, *In the Country of the Blind the Sighted Have no Proof: An Assessment of Treasury's Case Against Preschool Education* (NZCER, Wellington, 1988).
11. *Report of the Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group Education to be More* (Wellington, 1988).
12. Anne Meade, 'Boffins in Early Childhood Services', in Max Gold, Lyn Foote and Anne Smith (eds.), *Proceedings of Fifth Early Childhood Convention* (Dunedin, September 8–12, 1991) pp. 55–67.
13. Joce Nuttall, 'Living With Before Five', *Te Timatanga*, 9:2 (1991) pp. 23–7.
14. NZ Treasury, *Briefing Papers.*
15. Crispin Gardiner, *Review of Early Childhood Funding: Independent Report* (Waikato University, May 1991).
16. NZ Treasury, *Briefing Papers*, p. 132.
17. Gardiner.
18. NZ Treasury, *Briefing Papers.*
19. Ministry of Education, *Early Childhood Management Handbook* (Wellington, 1989).
20. Gardiner; Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa (CECUA), *Survey of Childcare Managers: Reduction in Funding for Under Two-Year-Olds in Childcare Centres: Effects on Quality, Access and Centre Operation* (Wellington, 1991).
21. 'Tiny Tot Fees Become a Growing Problem', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 November 1990.
22. Ministry of Education, *Conditions for the Receipt of Early Childhood Bulk Grant* (Wellington, 1990, 1991).
23. Ministry of Education, 'Accountability in Early Childhood Centres', *Education Gazette*, (1991) p. 1; John Gill, 'Early Childhood Education Centres — Financial Planning and Accountability', *Accountants Journal*, (1991) pp. 54–55.
24. *Report of the Change Team on Targetted Social Assistance* (Prime Minister's Office, Wellington, March 1991).
25. Susan St John, 'The Core Family Unit: The Implications of the 1991 Budget for Women', *Women's Studies Journal*, 7:2 (1991) p. 13.
26. Meade, 'Boffins in Early Childhood Services', p. 64.
27. NZ Treasury, *Government Management: Vol. 2, Education* (Wellington, 1987); NZ Treasury, *Briefing Papers.* See also *Review of Early Childhood Education Staffing Regulations and Training and Qualifications* (Wellington, April 1991). This document clearly illustrates the division

of views between the members from the Ministries of Education and Women's Affairs (women), who supported the Before Five policy and philosophy, and the Treasury and State Services members. There was no agreement and their views were stated separately.

28. The Minister of Education issued a Press Statement. The only clues to the focus of the reviews were in statements such as the necessity to 'identify areas of savings', but mention of regulations, staffing, and funding formulae was sufficient to arouse concern.
29. Ministry of Education, *A Summary of the Submissions on the Early Childhood Reviews February 1991* (Research and Statistics, Wellington, 1991).
30. Personal communication.
31. *Early Childhood Care and Education Funding Review* (Wellington, May 1991). Gardiner was not a member of the working group which wrote the official report as his contract had expired. This report was written by a reconstituted working group under a new chairperson from the State Services Commission as the original chairperson from the Ministry suddenly resigned.
32. *Review of Early Childhood Education Staffing Regulations and Training and Qualification* (Wellington, April 1991); *Review of Regulations Governing Buildings for Early Childhood Centres* (Wellington, March 1991).
33. Gardiner worked out a formula for assessing quality in relation to trained staff, staffing ratios, wage rates and fee levels. The first three of these had been seen as major quality indicators in the *National Childcare Staffing Study in the USA* (Childcare Employee Project, 1990). Gardiner was using the scale to identify centres that may warrant further investigation by Ministry officials.
34. In late 1991 the Government decided to transfer $16 million of the money saved to the Department of Social Welfare's childcare subsidy scheme to assist parents on low incomes in paying their childcare fees. While this scheme needed upgrading, the money has come out of centre budgets. Early indications also show that the level set by the scheme will assist very few people. CECUA, *Survey of Childcare Managers*; Mary Alice, 'Message From President', *Newsletter*, (December 1991) p. 1, (Te Tari Puna Ora O Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association).
35. CECUA, *Survey of Childcare Managers*. In a nationwide survey of 190 childcare centre managements the Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa found that: 51% were considering raising fees, 39% were considering cutting back on staff, 26% were considering employing staff with less training or cutting wages. Some said they

would consider not offering care for under-twos and 10% indicated they might have to close.

36. Bulk funding began in 1992 causing several Associations to withdraw from the Kindergarten Union. There is already evidence of Associations not being able to pay all salary costs out of their bulk grants and planning cut backs. Interview on National Radio, Morning Report (30th April 1992).
37. Lockwood Smith, *Education Policy: Investing in People, Our Greatest Asset* (Wellington, July 1991) p. 18.
38. ibid.
39. *Dominion Sunday Times*, (11th August 1991).
40. Bruce McMillan, 'Some Critical Reflections on Parent Education', in Margery Renwick (ed.), *Parents as Partners, Parents as Educators* (NZCER Invitational Seminar, Wellington, 1991) pp. 43–51.
41. Rosemary Novitz, 'The Priority of the Mother Role', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1976; Society for Research on Women Inc (SROW), *Jobs, Children and Chores* (Christchurch Branch, 1984); Helen May, *Minding Children, Managing Men: Compromise and Conflict in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992)
42. NZ Treasury, *Government Management.*

Women in University Teaching[1]

Anne B. Smith

> *What we have at present is a man-centred university, a breeding ground not of humanism, but of masculine privilege. As women have gradually and reluctantly been admitted into the mainstream of higher education, they have been made participants in a system that prepares men to take up roles of power in a man-centred society, that asks questions and teaches 'facts' generated by male intellectual tradition, and that both subtly and openly confirms men as the leaders and shapers of human destiny both within and outside academia.*[2]

This paper explores some of the issues raised by Adrienne Rich's statement as they apply to women in university teaching. The issue of whether the university is a masculine domain is explored from a brief look at early history, an analysis of the statistics about women's participation, a discussion of my own and other women's experiences as university teachers, and an assessment of the impact of feminist thought, epistemology and pedagogy.

History

New Zealand was one of the earliest countries in the Empire to open its doors to women students and this was achieved with the support of liberal men. Christchurch and Dunedin were the site of the earliest developments though the first graduate of the University of New Zealand (and the second in the British Empire), Kate Edger, was at Auckland University.[3] It was some years, however, before women taught at the university level. At the same time as women staff first appeared at Victoria University, in 1911, Winifred Boys-Smith and Helen Rawson arrived to take up positions at the new School of Home Science at Otago. They were both highly qualified Cambridge science graduates.[4] Boys-Smith had been a teacher at the Cheltenham Ladies College.

Women's Studies Journal, 8:2 (September, 1992).

The Home Science School had been set up in response to worries about falling birth rates, racial fitness and the health of the nation. A more mundane worry was the shortage of domestic servants in the colony. It was hoped that Home Science at the university would improve women's knowledge of household and child care and hence support a healthy population, as well as solve the servant problem by making women more efficient in their own domestic sphere. Lady Stout said:

> To raise the status of homemaking it must be re-organised on higher and more scientific lines. Science must be applied to every department so that labour will be saved and time saved for other occupations and amusements, thus making the work a pleasure instead of never ending drudgery.[5]

Women's entry into university teaching therefore marked a reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes rather than a challenge to them. Cynics viewed the new Home Science school as a way to divert 'misguided women' from competing with men in other professions such as medicine. The School was also a useful counter to the argument that higher learning desexed women, because it elevated women's traditional knowledge to a higher plane. The first university women teachers were anything but feminists, despite their own non-traditional skills. Winifred Boys-Smith blamed the view that domestic science was menial on rapid urbanisation and the 'so-called emancipation of women' which resulted in women neglecting their duties at home. Women lecturers were either single or had a short career because they were expected to resign once they became engaged. For example Helen Rawson, the second woman university lecturer at Otago University, resigned as Professor of Home Science and married the professor of Geology in 1923.[6]

It is misleading, though, to believe that women only participated at Otago University as Home Science staff in the early days of university teaching. In the 1927 *Calendar* there were eighteen women (many were taken on between 1915 and 1925) out of a staff of 94 (18.6%) and apart from ten Home Science staff, there were women in Classics, Dentistry, English, Physics, Modern Languages, Biology, Mathematics and Bacteriology. Today there are no women in Microbiology or Mathematics at Otago University and only one in Physics, Botany and Classics. The situation today across the

country does not show a great change in the status or participation of women in university teaching from 65 years ago, as I shall show in this article.

In Home Science the situation for senior women has declined. An interesting irony is that Home Science (now Consumer and Applied Science), despite its 100% female student enrolment, had 100% (three) male professors in 1990. The Faculty has now been absorbed into the Faculty of Science and there are currently no professors.

Numbers of Women in New Zealand Universities Today

Table 1 shows the percentage of women by rank since 1986 at New Zealand universities. Figure 1 shows some of the data graphically.

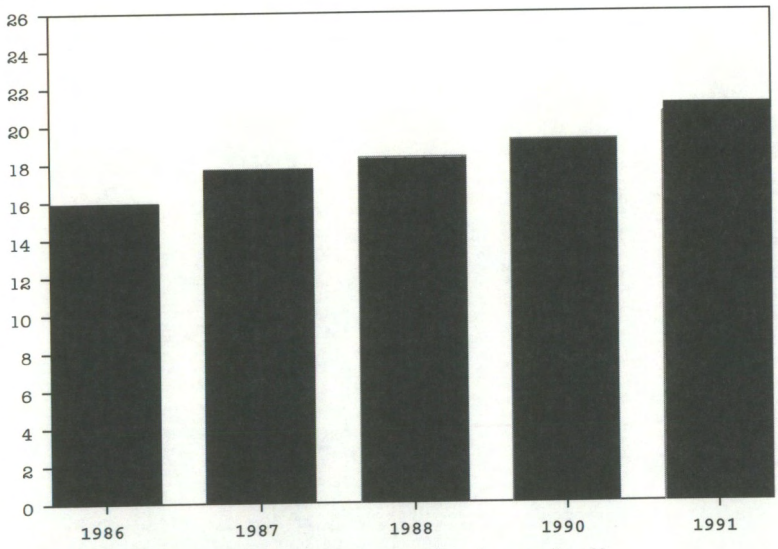

Figure 1: Women as Percentage of Academic Staff

* 1989 figures omitted

Women comprise 21.7% of academic staff, or about one in five in 1991. Women, however, participate largely in the junior ranks of the university as lecturers and assistant lecturers (Figure 2).

Table 1: Women Academic Staff in New Zealand Universities from 1986 to 1991*

	1986			1987			1988			1989			1990			1991		
	n	*N*	%	*n*	*N*	%	*n*	*N*	%	*n*	*N*	%	*n*	*N*	%	*n*	*N*	%
Professors	15	345	4.4	15	347	4.3	16	362	4.4	16	357	4.5	17	342	5	14	352	3.8
Associate Professors	25	393	6.4	36	398	9.1	31	414	7.5	28	408	6.9	29	427	6.8	31	384	7.5
Senior Lecturers	135	1344	10	145	1371	10.6	143	1414	10.1	143	1367	10.8	162	1361	11.9	193	1205	13.8
Lecturers	173	596	29	207	648	31.9	251	714	35.2	301	797	37.8	326	915	35.6	417	635	39.6
Assistant Lecturers	77	153	50.3	89	155	57.4	100	185	54.1	105	220	47.7	72	148	48.6	84	86	49.4
Total	468	2947	15.9	532	3033	17.7	580	3172	18.3	597	3149	23.4	623	3247	19.2	740	2677	21.7

n = number of women
N = total number of staff
% = women as percentage of total staff

*Figures for Totals include Demonstrators/Assistants/Senior Tutors which are not included as a category on the table. (Hence Totals do not add up to sum of tabled categories.)

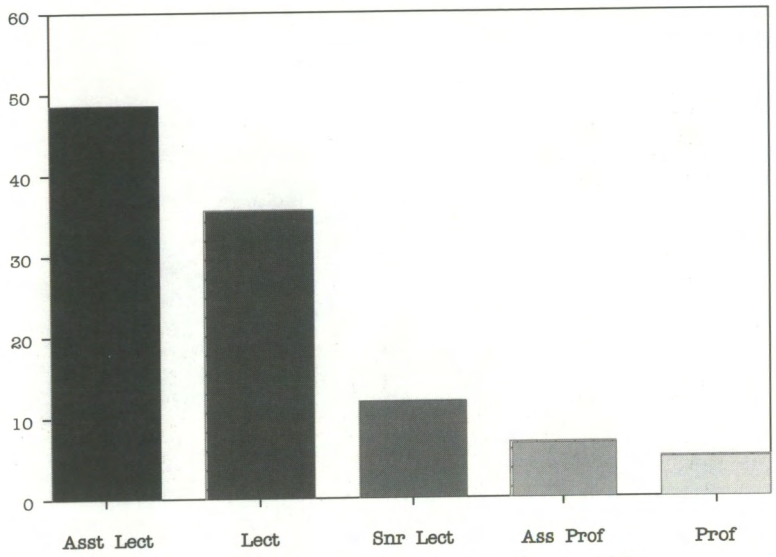

Figure 2: Women as Percentage of Staff by Rank, 1990

There have been minimal changes in the number of women in the senior ranks of the university over the last five years, with even a slight decline since 1990 in the number of professors (see Table 1). There was one woman professor in the whole of the South Island in 1991 and thirteen in the North Island! None of the universities' Vice-Chancellors are women. There is a gradual improvement in the percentages of female lecturers being appointed. Nevertheless at the current rate of change it will be about 30 years before there is an equal participation of women and men in university teaching. There is of course no guarantee that change will continue at its present rate. We must remember that 18% of the Otago University staff were women in 1927, and the number of women in universities declined before increasing again in the 1980s.

The situation for women in universities is in marked contrast to that of their counterparts in Colleges of Education where women were 49% of the staff in 1990, and Polytechnics where they comprised 43%.[7]

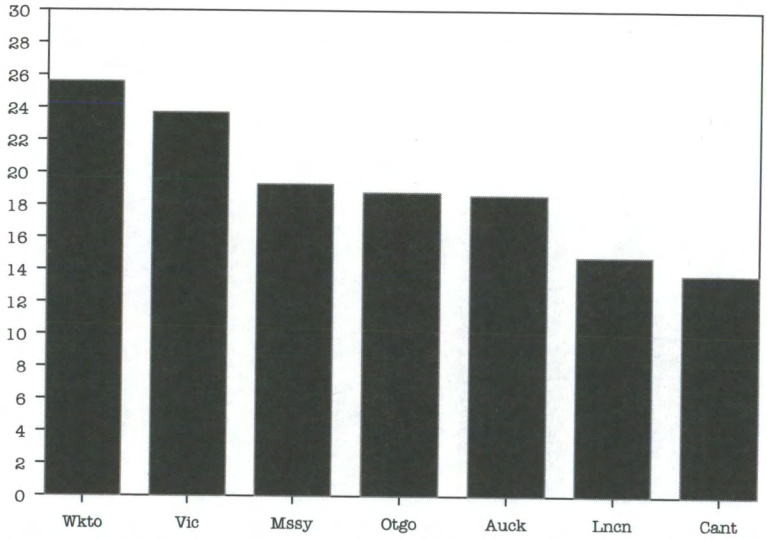

Figure 3: Women as Percentage of Full-Time Academic Staff by University, 1990

There are some regional variations in the participation of women in universities (see Figures 3 and 4). Waikato University has the best statistics for full-time women, followed by Victoria with Massey, Otago and Auckland in the middle, followed by Lincoln and Canterbury. The percentage of women full-time staff at Canterbury is about half that at Waikato. Waikato leads the figures in percentage of part-time staff who are women, followed by Canterbury and Massey, then Auckland and Lincoln with Otago and Victoria at the bottom. It is tempting to interpret Waikato's more favourable gender balance as being due at least in part to its policies of affirmative action. It seems likely, however, that the relative youth of Waikato University is also partly responsible for its good results. It is probable that more academic positions have been available during a time when there are more qualified women in the academic job market. It is clear that women are more visible in certain areas of the university than others. The usual picture is that Arts and Humanities have many more women,

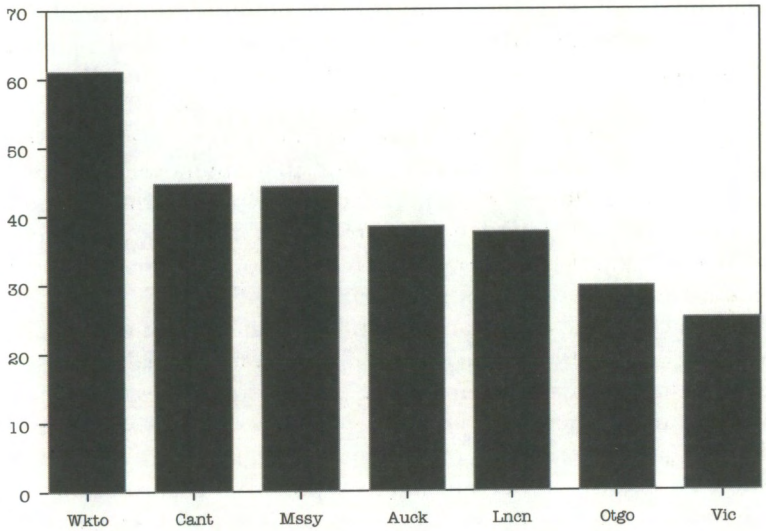

Figure 4: Women as Percentage of Part-time Academic Staff by University, 1990

with the professions like commerce, law and medicine in between and science and engineering the lowest. Victoria University had the highest participation of women academic staff in 1990 in Language and Literature (47%), followed by Arts (41.7%), with Law at 25%, Architecture at 22% and at the lower end Commerce and Administration (13.4%) and Science (11.3%).[8] Similarly in Auckland in 1991 the highest percentage of women (35%) was in the Faculty of Arts, then 31% in the Faculty of Law, followed by 25% in Commerce, 23% in Music, 20% in Medicine, 15% in Fine Arts, 13.5% in Science, 6% in Architecture and 1.5% in Engineering.[9]

The situation for Maori in the university and for Maori women academics in particular is extremely worrying. O'Neill found that Maori women comprised only 2.2% of all university students in 1987.[10] Pohatu identified 48 Maori academics (2.4% of full-time academics) in 1988 of whom 15 were women (31.3%).[11] Although the percentage of Maori women is better than the

pakeha percentage, the numbers are extremely small overall. At that time there were no Maori women holding positions above Senior Lecturer, and Maori women comprised only 4% of the total of women staff. At Victoria University Korndorffer and Bennett found that there were 29 Maori staff in 1990 and 16 (55%) of these were female.[12] Only 55% of the Maori staff were, however, appointed to tenured positions and the others were mainly employed on a limited or temporary basis. This appalling situation is unlikely to change unless active recruitment and appointment of Maori is sought and more work is done towards establishing a climate of biculturalism within the university.

So much for the quantitative picture of women within university teaching. In spite of the increasing proportion of female students in the university and their proven history of success[13] women are seriously under-represented throughout the university's academic staff, especially at the senior levels. It would seem that women's talents, career possibilities, potential contributions to the intellectual life of the university and to the education of people who are responsible for running the country remain largely under-used.

There seems little reason to believe that the participation of women in New Zealand is greatly different from that of women in universities in other Western countries. Dagg and Thompson[14] reported low percentages of women in Canadian universities. In 1985 the proportion of female staff had reached 17% and there was a similar pattern to New Zealand's, of women clustered in junior, untenured positions. By 1987 the percentage had only reached 18%.[15] Mack shows that the percentage of academic women in Australian universities varies from a low of 11.6% at Deakin to a high of 28.7% at La Trobe with women professors comprising less than 6% in most universities,[16] again a similar range to that of New Zealand. Cann & Martin report that women in Colleges of Higher Education in the United Kingdom comprised an average of 25% of staff and only 6% of principals (in an area where a substantial majority of students were female).[17] The figures were reported to be almost identical to those for United Kingdom polytechnics and universities. These conclusions from the United Kingdom could well be applied to the situation for academic women in New Zealand:

> ... it must be the case that women are under-achieving, are under-rewarded and are under-performing. From the point of view of the employer, it represents a waste of the talents of the women employed, of the investment made in their training and of the benefits that could be gained were they given the opportunity to fulfil their potential. From the point of view of the women themselves this will inevitably be a potent source of discontent.[18]

Some people may argue that the absence of women from the university is unimportant and that the university is merely upholding its supposedly gender-blind and meritocratic ideology. Ponter, Loveridge and O'Neill[19] point out that a major impediment for academic women is the deeply felt belief that discrimination, while it might be a problem elsewhere, does not happen in the universities. An institution which considers itself the 'critic and conscience of society' does not find it easy to diagnose bias within itself. The university has been described as an exclusive club which guards academic excellence but is accountable to no one but its members.[20] Aiken, Anderson, Dinnerstein, Lensink and MacCorquodale say that some men expressed the view, as one professor put it, that '... prejudicial attitudes might exist in the general society but not among academics, "if they are people for whom ideas matter"'.[21]

Men may not be aware of 'prejudicial attitudes' because they are entrenched within the institutions within which they have spent their lives. Kaplan cites the case of an Associate Professor in Philosophy who said that there was no discrimination against women at his university and that philosophers never noticed the sex of their colleagues. (His department employed only men!) He believed that philosophers would not be concerned about the difference between a broomstick and a human as long as it/he could do the job! [22]

One example of differences between male and female awareness is demonstrated in a study by Stewart, Verstraate and Fanslow.[23] They found that although academic men and women did not differ greatly in their acceptance of the view that sexist language was a problem, men were much less likely to recognise language such as 'chairman', 'prehistoric man' or generic use of 'he' as sexist than

women. All such terms are defined as sexist by the State Services Commission guidelines.

Arguments about the paramount importance of excellence as a criterion of employment at the university are currently re-surfacing at the University of Otago, in response to attempts to adopt Affirmative Action policies. It has been argued that the target of increasing the number of women in the universities could dilute excellence and result in the appointment of candidates of inferior competence and merit (for example in some submissions to Humanities Division, 1992). It never seems to occur to the proponents of this view that excellence is defined by the group in power and that in the university that power structure is almost entirely male. Women are more likely to question assumptions about merit and excellence and claims about neutrality of criteria when these are in reality constructed largely by men, in accordance with male life patterns and gender stereotypes.[24] Male power within the university is not necessarily due to greater merit but rather male control over methods of appointment, promotion and decision-making which preserve the status quo and do not recognise the achievements of women or the barriers against their progress in the university.

Many researchers in this area believe that the lack of women in university teaching creates a powerful hidden curriculum where students learn in largely negative terms about women's participation in the university.[25] Mack points out that male students also need the experience of listening to and learning from a woman. The absence of women perpetuates the cycle so that women students, lacking role models and mentors on the academic staff, do not themselves aspire to be university teachers. Pyke describes how the concept of mentoring has a long history within the academy which reinforces its androcentric nature and women's feeling of not belonging.[26] Mentors have a role in socialising norms and expectations, supporting the development of academics to full capacity and integrating them into the existing hierarchy. Colleague and network systems disseminate insider information about both formal and informal, unwritten rules.

One of women's major problems within the university is the lack of mentoring support. Women students are rarely treated as future professional colleagues[27] and lack anyone to tell them how to plan

a career and what the rules of the game are. Hence women are often simply unaware of important steps they need to take if they are to advance. Aisenberg and Harrington give a positive example of how mentors can help.[28] A student with two young children was returning to graduate school and had planned to work largely at home. Her mentor strongly encouraged her and assisted her to find childcare so that she could have regular contacts with others in the same field, attend extra lectures and seminars and have time for informal meetings. The student later reflected on how important this advice was in allowing her to build useful networks of academic acquaintances, make faster progress on her research and avoid the professional costs of isolation.

Universities were required by 1988 amendments to the Universities Act to introduce equal employment opportunity programmes. There is some evidence that they have done so but little evidence of any marked improvement in women's condition in the university since these policies have been introduced[29] although some universities have had more proactive policies leading to good results and optimism about the future. Korndorffer reports some excellent results at Victoria University, and these seem to be related to her proactive role as an Equal Employment Opportunity co-ordinator.[30] There is a need, however, for systematic evaluation of the effect of EEO staff and policies on women's situation in New Zealand universities. Universities may have tried to improve the situation for women but the basic problem still remains that what is said in the rhetoric of equal opportunities policies is constantly contradicted by the hidden curriculum of unequal opportunities.[31]

Kaplan says that it is difficult to accept the statements that Australian universities are Equal Employment Opportunity employers when there are so few female staff and so many female students. The lack of progress towards equality should certainly not be blamed on Equal Opportunity officers who are unable alone to battle the institutionalised inertia within the system, and encounter extreme resistance to even modest attempts to introduce targeting or any kind of affirmative action.[32] Korndorffer points out that:

> by operating in terms of a 'norm' that applies to a small minority group within the community — those who are white, male, able-bodied and, in general, middle-class, universities

> have provided that group with positive discrimination and affirmative action for centuries.[33]

One of the difficulties in bringing about change is that discrimination is often unintended and covert rather than direct and overt,[34] and such apparently intangibles are often difficult to demonstrate. Examples of covert discrimination are negative attitudes to working mothers, lack of funding for overseas study, unavailability of after school or holiday care and lack of 'shoulder tapping' opportunities.

Rich argues strongly against merely turning the university apparatus inside out and substituting 'she' for 'he'. She advocates change towards a more woman-centred approach and how this is being done will be explored later. She has a metaphor to describe the structures of the university:

> Some of the structures will be seen as unhealthy for human occupation even while their grandeur in its own day [sic] can be appreciated: like old and condemned buildings, we may want to photograph these for posterity: some may be reconstructed along different lines; some we may continue to live and use. But a radical reinvention of subject, lines of enquiry and method will be required.[35]

Women's Experience as University Teachers

There is little written about women's experience as university teachers in New Zealand. I will begin with a few recollections of my own and discuss other accounts from women academics. The experiences focus both on practical difficulties and the more subtle influence of attitudes.

I completed a Ph.D. in 1971 at the University of Alberta. Before being appointed at Otago University to a lectureship in Education in 1974, I had applied for a number of other jobs. I was offered a junior lectureship at one university, which shall be nameless, simultaneously with my husband being offered a position in another institution in the same city. The contract which was sent to me had the section about travel and removal expenses crossed out. (My husband's job offer did not include these expenses either but this was not standard for that institution — in contrast to the

university.) I had several other university job prospects which came to nothing when prospective employers wrote to me with enquiries about what my husband would be doing and what would be happening to my two children (aged two and four years) if I got the position. I came to Otago University mainly because I had a mentor there, who had initially encouraged me to go overseas and do postgraduate study. Otago University did, however, give me a fair job offer in keeping with my qualifications and experience so I was fortunate. The kind of overt discrimination demonstrated by those other universities, has, one hopes, largely disappeared, but the fact that these are examples from not so long ago goes some way towards explaining why so few women got into the system then and why so few have had the opportunity to move into the senior ranks of the university now.

I have a vivid memory from my first year of university teaching in New Zealand in 1974. My husband had obtained a position after a difficult six months seeking employment in this small city. (There are problems of dual careers in similar areas which have held back many wives of academics—but in some cases where men supported their wives' careers, men's careers suffered also.) We were attending a social occasion and I was making polite conversation to the wife of one of my husband's senior colleagues. To my utter astonishment she turned to me and started to attack me. She said that she had the utmost disrespect for women who put their own careers ahead of their husbands! I became aware that I was doing something which was distinctly deviant. Having two preschool children and a full-time career was also something that I learned was not done in polite middle-class society in New Zealand. Certainly there was no decent childcare available in the city. Our struggles then to find childcare for our children were the start of my much more lengthy struggle to start a model childcare centre in Dunedin, and to influence policy and structures over the whole country to allow families access to affordable, good quality childcare.

Many women academics experience difficulties in combining an academic career with motherhood. Spender says that the meaning of parenthood is sexually differentiated, with motherhood being perceived as an ongoing activity which is central to women's lives while fatherhood is a peripheral extra for men.[36] Anna Smith

explains Julia Kristeva's analysis of women's borderline position in our culture and its link to pregnancy and childbirth. She describes women as having a special feeling of involvement with their bodies. In Smith's view women with dependent children have a particular difficulty with becoming actively involved in the corporate world of power. They also have difficulties within the institution of the university.[37]

I do not remember being at all worried by not fulfilling the norm expected of me as a middle-class woman. I did not ever succumb to the guilt that many women seem to experience when combining a career with having young children. If anything I felt strengthened in my desire to 'show them' and relatively secure in the implications for my children of my interpretation of the Child Development literature — probably an example of my naivete at the time! From my discussions with other women lecturers with children, however, I am aware that many of them suffer guilt and anxiety about the care of their children.

Aisenberg and Harrington in their study of American academic women found that the experience of 'not fitting in' was widely shared, even though it was not always a destructive experience. Many women academics try to retain values from domestic and private roles and add to them a sense of identity which connects them to society at large, although they explicitly reject 'normal femininity'.[38]

Kath Irwin, a Maori feminist, vividly recalls the beginning of her academic career and her sense of 'otherness'. As I read this description I could imagine the impact that this colourful figure and personality must have had on the rather decorous environment of the university.

> I can see myself walking down the corridor, in a bright skirt (florals set on a black background, elasticised waist and frill at the hem), a matching peach-coloured tank top, my sunglasses perched stylishly (sigh, that's what I thought then) on top of my head. My high-heeled, suede, multi-coloured, wooden-soled shoes slipped on the carpet and were bloody difficult to walk in. I was twenty-four years old, fit, lean, tanned, married, heterosexual, and shit scared. If I didn't look or speak like a 'normal' academic, that was no loss, because I didn't feel like one either.[39]

Becoming a mother was a change from those carefree days. Kath was told that she wouldn't want to come back to academic work because she would be overcome with maternal emotion. She survived the first few months of her baby's life by being 'a cross between superwoman and Einstein'.[40] She took Horiana to work with her but was not allowed the use of an empty office to have the baby cared for nearby, and a male colleague wrote to complain about babies being present at staff meetings. Kath's Maori background had told her that babies should be everywhere. Here was a direct clash between her culture and the university's.

An academic woman in an Australian study describes well the struggle for survival many university women with children suffer:

> Most of all one remembers the utter tiredness, the sheer fatigue of children and housework and trying to be civil at dinner and then start a third session of the day to write up an article or research report, already overtired with so many people's demands.[41]

Another example from Aisenberg and Harrington:

> The baby was due in January, came in February .... And I was serving on 3 or 4 faculty committees, and writing and teaching, and advising 13 students. So I just got tired all the time, chronically tired.[42]

Margaret Wilson's 1986 study of the status of academic women in New Zealand suggested that a major difference between academic men and women's experience lay in their options for combining parenting with working at the university. More of the men (78%) had children than the women (46%). Of the women who did have children a large proportion (39%) had to employ outside paid help for childcare. None of the women had a partner to look after the children but 64% of the males had partners who looked after the children. Most women had no help with childcare from within their relationship while most men relied on support from within the relationship.[43]

Wilson and Byrne's study on the University of Queensland has an example of a male academic's attitude to his partner's childcare role:

> My wife has always mothered my [sic] boys—I wanted her to do this and she did it well and nurtured me as well.

> She ultimately became a part-time professional worker and I objected to her spending less time on the family ... two careers are great in theory but it is usually the woman's career that suffers. We are now reassessing our roles in family life. I am doing more parenting and am less of a workaholic. My job, while still important to me, means little if I lost my wife and children.[44]

Unlike most of their male counterparts many academic women with children not only lack a partner to nurture them and their children, they also have to contend with finding childcare themselves. While there has been considerable improvement for many university parents in provisions for preschool childcare, there are still enormous problems. Holiday care and after-school care are still in their infancy with little or no public provision. Academic men also often seem to receive support from their wives in many other areas besides child care — such as in domestic work like cooking and cleaning, typing, proof-reading, and acting as unpaid research assistants.

Colleagues' attitudes are very important. Academic women often work in the knowledge that some of their male colleagues disapprove of the fact that they are working at all. For example, Wilson's attitude survey showed that about a quarter of males either strongly agreed or moderately agreed that married women with preschool children should not work.[45] Wilson and Byrne's study showed that many academic women found it difficult to work in an aggressive and patronising context which they felt undervalued and trivialised their roles. This is probably even more so in faculties where women are very much in the minority. One woman wrote:

> ... the attitudes of some male colleagues belittles — or attempts to belittle and often at an unconscious level on their part — the achievements of women. Female pronouncements are regarded as rather humorous — or too simple and diffuse. I think that it is far too easy for women to be sucked into this male 'game'. Many young and aspiring graduates lose confidence in their abilities because they are constantly belittled by their male colleagues.[46]

Kaplan talks about the ways in which women can become isolated by their male colleagues in the staff club or corridors.[47] She points

out how significant and revealing of real attitudes a social event like lunchtime is. When males have formed a tight circle, it is difficult if not impossible for a woman to join the group. Kaplan argues that males have many brief conversations with each other in the corridor and frequently visit each other's offices, while very rarely engaging in such interactions with female colleagues. Kaplan quotes from a female colleague:

> The problem which bothers the woman academic ... is that she is denied many of the informal signs of belonging and recognition ... on such simple daily activities as finding someone to have lunch with, or someone with whom she can share a research interest. Perhaps, then, it is in matters such as these that she has achieved less than full membership in the 'club' and she is left with a feeling that she belongs to a minority group which has not gained full acceptance.[48]

Although 69% of women in Wilson's study felt that their colleagues treated them the same as male colleagues, 30% felt that they did not. About two thirds said that they had not been discriminated against but a third felt that they had. Universities were, however, seen as sexist environments by many women academics. One woman told Margaret Wilson: 'Women see themselves as separate from the university. They feel alienated from the male/macho world'.[49]

Many women prefer to operate in a less hierarchical and competitive style. Aisenberg and Harrington quote a woman who was in a secure professional position but who felt uncomfortable with the rules and reluctant to use them. She said:

> I find it very, very difficult to get ahead personally if it involves competition ... I'm somebody who does strive to better myself, but I think that it's always within the context of cooperating with other people ... I don't like competition that requires that in order for one person to win others have to lose ... that's the negative use of power.[50]

Another woman described how in university seminars or committees people would size each other up and try to establish positions in the pecking order. For example men would ask questions which were really assertions, implicitly saying 'I know more than you do. Look at me, aren't I the knowledgeable one?' [51]

There is evidence that the pattern of male student dominance of classroom interaction which has been found at primary and secondary schools[52] also exists at university. Sadker, Sadker and Klein report on their study of 46 American college classrooms which showed that female students were twice as likely as males to silently sit and observe.[53] Males were called on more frequently and given more praise. The evidence conflicts about whether this male domination is more common in female-taught or male-taught classes. A few studies have shown that female teachers achieve more equitable interactions but others have shown that there is no difference between male and female staff.[54]

I have memories of being terrified when giving my first large university lecture and I have never come to enjoy the experience. It may be that this is a result of my socialisation as a woman as belonging in the private rather than the public sphere. Developing a congenial personal teaching style and a serious public voice is a major issue for many women within the university. Aisenberg and Harrington say that many women's speech styles demonstrate lack of confidence and such features as silence, muteness, apology, self blame, diffidence, hesitancy.[55] These are not easily modified.

Belensky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule suggest that many women have discomfort with a lecture system in which knowledge only flows in one direction, from teacher to student.[56] The role of the omnipotent professor delivering 'truths' with a powerful voice also sits uneasily with many women. Rich criticised such academic communication for obscuring the influence of the personal and giving the impression of divine origin 'supposedly emptied of the "dross" of self'.[57] Fortunately there is increasing recognition of the falseness of this 'objectivity'.[58] University teaching, however, especially at the introductory level and with current unfavourable staff-student ratios, encourages this disembodied approach. There are alternative methods more compatible with feminist thinking which I will discuss later.

Dagg and Thompson report that a feminist curriculum may evoke very negative behaviour from male students. They cite Bezucha's description of a US women's history class where male students refused to allow discussion to take place by joking and chatting and generally showing their feelings that the material was irrelevant. They stopped only when a black woman slammed

her fist on the table and demanded that they pay attention, demonstrating that women can make themselves heard when they feel strongly.[59]

Another chilling anecdote illustrates how students may resist the introduction of feminist content into courses:

> When Sheila McIntyre tried to bring a woman's perspective to her law classes at Queen's many of her male students responded drastically. They could not prevent her lecturing as she thought appropriate but they could try to destroy her credibility. They depicted her and two other women professors pornographically on the walls of the men students' bathroom. The women were named and cartooned naked in a sexually repugnant manner or as having odd sexual propensities ... She writes: 'You should try walking into a classroom feeling human when you know 60 per cent of the student population may have read such entries, may find them amusing, or the ultimate insult, and the words stay on the wall'.[60]

If women manage to break into the male domain of academic life many find themselves daunted or alienated by role expectations, lack of support and the pressures of a dual role. Yet some women have responded, and have been able to be a positive influence on the university.

Feminist Influences on Curriculum, Epistemology, and Pedagogy

I have talked about the experience of women in the university. But women, especially feminist academics, have changed the university and the last twenty years have seen a major transformation of many disciplines within the university as well as a burgeoning and healthy development of feminist scholarship and teaching.

Adrienne Rich said in 1979 that to move towards a woman-centred university, it was necessary not only to remove obstacles to women's progress, but also to change content and style. I believe that in some areas this has happened. Rich argued then that women's history and experience had been devalued in every university discipline. She challenged the trend towards fragmentation of knowledge, asserting that specialisation was an

'escape from wholeness', and that there was a need for a more dialogic and exploratory style.[61]

The question of whether women have a different style of thinking than men is a difficult one, but I personally find the research of Belensky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule[62] seductive. They argue that women have distinctive ways of knowing the world which differ from those of men. The most valued form of knowing in the academy is 'separate knowing' which is characterised by prediction, mastery, control, evaluation, impersonality and distance. 'Connected knowing', on the other hand, involves empathy, acceptance, first-hand experience, receptivity. If you take a separate approach to my paper you will be looking carefully for flaws in my reasoning, asking what information I have omitted or misinterpreted, and thinking of evidence which disconfirms my ideas.[63] If you take a connected approach, you will empathise with me, pay attention to what I am trying to say, think with me rather than against me, and look for what is right about my reasoning. Separate knowing is familiar to academics because this is what we are socialised to do.

Clinchy laments the view that 'connected knowing' is seen as a 'flabby' kind of knowing and she argues that there are some important and difficult skills, such as listening, involved.[64] Listening allows people to pick up information that separate knowers miss. Spender argues that the flashes of so-called intuition shown by women are the result of information picked up by careful listening.[65] Connected knowing is not uncritical but rather non-critical — it means trying to understand what the other person is saying and get it right. Clinchy believes that women are more likely than men to be bilingual or bimodal between connected and separate knowing. Both ways of knowing attempt to avoid bias and to avoid judging an argument in terms of its conclusions, and both have a contribution to make to scholarship in the university.

The concepts of connected and separate knowing have been criticised for exaggerating gender differences.[66] Male dominance can be legitimated by the theory, and continue to oppress women. Once a gender difference is identified it can be seen as 'only natural' and used to rationalise lack of change. It is necessary to reject the simplistic view that most women are connected knowers and that most men are separate knowers or that it is impossible to

change ways of knowing the world. Most academic women have to be adept in the skills of separate knowing to master their disciplines and function in the academic world at all. Furthermore they use the 'doubting game' to criticise sexism within the university. Nevertheless there seems to be a useful point that there is value in 'the believing game' (connected knowing) and that it can have a positive input into teaching, learning and research.

There are implications for university research and teaching style in feminist epistemology. Clinchy suggests that we should explore non-traditional research paradigms — scientific truth is not the only sort of truth.[67] There is also narrative truth based on the sharing of experience which has a different standard of validity and which is the basis for qualitative research methods. Belensky et al. advocate 'connected teaching' where the teacher does not take the role of the all-knowing one, and where knowledge flows back and forth between student and teacher. Both teachers and students engage in a dialogic process of thinking where uncertainty and tentativeness occurs, and where it is recognised that there are many points of view.[68]

Stanley talks about knowledge as a commodity in the 'academic mode of production'.[69] Traditional knowledge had as its dominating motifs the separation between knowers and what/who is known, between subjectivity and objectivity, and between science and nature. The result according to Stanley, is 'alienated knowledge' which bears no relation to the conditions of its production. Feminist approaches to knowledge, however, insist that such divisions do not exist in the world of experience:

> For feminists, the known are also knowers, research objects are their own subjects, objectivity is a set of practices for separating people from knowledge of their own subjectivity .... 'knowledge' is not simply defined as 'knowledge what' but also as 'knowledge for'. Succinctly the point is to change the world, not only to study it.[70]

Aisenberg et al. find that women choose to study and teach primarily in areas concerned with human nature, experience and capacity and this is because it touches their experience of the world. Other features of women's scholarship are writing women into fields where they have been traditionally excluded, sensitivity to issues of power distribution in society, and transcendence

of disciplinary boundaries. In crossing boundaries women can convert their outsider status into a source of strength, but may in the process get into difficulties. For example when making links to other disciplines some feel that they lack expertise in the new area. There can also be major difficulties for graduate students being supervised by people in different disciplines with different expectations.

The creation of Women's Studies, either as separate departments within universities or as major components of different disciplines, is a feminist response to dissatisfaction with aspects of the current university curriculum. Anderson suggests that feminist scholarship should involve a change in style as well as content:

> ... to include women means more than just adding women into existing knowledge or making them new objects of knowledge ... including women refers to the complex process of redefining knowledge by making women's experiences a primary subject of knowledge, conceptualizing women as active agents in the creation of knowledge, looking at gender as fundamental to the articulation of knowledge in Western thought and seeing women's and men's experiences in relation to the sex/gender system.[71]

If Women's Studies offers this kind of challenge to traditional values and methods, it is hardly surprising that it is viewed with profound distrust by many within and outside the university.[72] It is also the case, however, that feminist scholarship builds on the disciplines of the academic establishment, and that feminist teachers have to participate in the academic games of tenure, promotion, publish or perish. Hence there is also criticism from some feminists. Hooks suggests that feminist scholarship 'can create a new sphere of theoretical elitism' and that feminists who do work that is not considered theoretical or intellectually rigorous are excluded from the privileged bonding which occurs in academic feminist theorist circles.[73] This can have a very negative effect on women (such as those involved in action projects), who do not see their work in such theoretical terms. Dobrowolsky also fears that feminist scholars can become the new gatekeepers of knowledge if they establish exclusionary borders. She says that women of colour have often been alienated and feel that their experience is not being taken into account. There must, she feels,

be more awareness of women's lives and experiences than is shown by many feminist theorists.

Kolodny says that feminist inquiry is no longer a 'sort of illicit half sister in the academic world' but has achieved a respectable place. She sees it as problematic, however, that feminist theory has become 'trendy' with many males rushing in to prove that they are at least something of a feminist. She wants to guard against the danger of feminist theory becoming 'merely another entrée into sophisticated critical theory circles'.[74] In her view theory is only as good as its practice:

> if respectability is achieved at the cost of visionary politics, then feminist inquiry is rendered an empty, enervated exercise, essentially timid and accommodationist. The challenge implied by feminist inquiry in any discipline, after all, is not whether you do it but whether you can live it.[75]

Conclusions

I have argued that women currently still occupy a marginal position in university teaching. We are still very few in number and our experience of being academic staff members has revealed many unwitting and invisible barriers to progress and to the employment of more of us. While we have had some successes in the struggle to improve women's condition in the university, such as the appointment of Equal Employment Officers and the setting up of EEO standing committees, the university establishment have usually been reluctant to adopt proactive affirmative action policies. Affirmative action was recommended in 1987 by the Watts Committee yet it still seems to evoke strong opposition.[76] Despite the criticisms made by their opponents, affirmative action programmes do not require the dilution of standards nor do they prevent appointment on merit. They do ask, however, for a critical evaluation of existing merit criteria. Currently although there is every reason why universities should be at the forefront in equity issues, their results lag behind other tertiary institutions and the public service. Furthermore if the situation of women in the universities is marginal, that of Maori women is even more so. We have to work harder to provide an environment which includes

and respects Maori values and culture, so that there is a favourable climate for Maori staff and students in the university.

On the positive side, most women in the university feel less excluded these days. The main reason for this is that we have formed our own networks across the university. Indeed being a minority is an advantage when it brings us into contact with women in other disciplines and amongst support staff whom we otherwise might never have got to know.

Feminist scholarship has made a powerful and enduring contribution to the university. Women's Studies departments have challenged the fragmentation of knowledge through their interdisciplinary approach. Feminist academics have challenged such traditional views of academe as a 'value-free stance' and the silencing of the personal voice. These ideas have influenced many departments and disciplines.

As a psychologist, having come from a branch of the discipline which prided itself on being 'hard' rather than 'soft', I have personally found feminist scholarship a challenge and a stimulus. I have ventured across previously closed borders but will continue to work using psychological methods because I still have questions requiring empirical answers which can be used to influence policy in early childhood centres and schools. But my work will be greatly modified and enriched by feminist thinking. I hope and believe that this will be so for all of us working in universities, regardless of gender or discipline.

* * *

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Notes

1. This paper was first presented as the Herbison Lecture at the New Zealand Association for Research in Education Conference in Dunedin in December 1991.
2. Adrienne Rich, 'Towards a Woman-Centered University', in *Lies, Secrets and Silence* (Norton & Co., New York, 1979) p. 127.

3. W. J. Gardner, *Colonial Cap and Gown* (Whitcoulls, Christchurch, 1979) p. 72.
4. H. McDonald, 'This Educational Monstrosity', BA Hons thesis, University of Otago, 1984.
5. ibid., p. 9.
6. ibid.
7. Helen Slyfield, *The Position of Women in Education in 1990* (Demographic and Statistical Analysis Section, Ministry of Education, 1991).
8. W. J. Korndorffer and M. L. Bennett, *Report on the Equal Employment Opportunities Staff Database* (Victoria University of Wellington, 1991) p. 14.
9. Trudy McNaughton, 'Full-time Academic Staff Funded from Block Grant at Auckland University in 1991' (unpublished, 1991).
10. Anne Marie O'Neill, 'Gender and Education: Structural Inequality for Women', in J. Codd, R. Harker and R. Nash (eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education.* (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1990) pp. 74–98.
11. Godfrey Pohatu, 'The Watts Report: Implications for the Maori Presence in Southern Universities: An Opinion', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 2:1 (1988) pp. 75–85.
12. Korndorffer and Bennett, p. 31.
13. See for example S. P. Keef, 'Direct Entry to University From the Sixth Form: Gender Performance Differentials in First Year of Study', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 25:1 (1990) pp. 71–74.
14. A. I. Dagg & P. J. Thompson, *MisEducation: Women and Canadian Universities* (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1988).
15. S. W. Pyke, 'Gender Issues in Graduate Education' (Trevor Lennam Memorial Lecture, University of Calgary, March 1991).
16. K. Mack, 'Women in Universities', *Legal Service Bulletin*, 15:5 (1990) pp. 211–214.
17. J. Cann, G. Jones and I. Martin, 'Behind the Rhetoric: Women Academic Staff in Colleges of Higher Education in England', *Gender and Education*, 3:1 (1991) pp.15–29.
18. Spencer et al. (1987), cited in Cann et al., p. 20.
19. E. Ponter, J. Loveridge and A. M. O'Neill, *Report on the Status of Academic Women: Massey University* (Report to Council Committee on Status of Academic Women — Massey University, 1989).
20. R. R. Pierson, ' "Women Have Nothing to Gain From a Harvard of the North": The False Equation of Elitism with Excellence in

Education', in F. Forman, H. Haddad, D. Hallman and D. Masters (eds.), *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective* (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Press, Toronto, 1990).

21. S. H. Aiken, K. Anderson, M. Dinnerstein, J. Lensink and P. MacCorquodale, 'Trying Transformations: Curriculum Integration and the Problem of Resistance', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12:2 (1987) p. 266.
22. G. T. Kaplan, 'Coming Up With Bright Ideas: Women in Academia', *Vestes*, 2 (1985) pp. 19–22.
23. M. W. Stewart, C. D. Verstraate, and J. L. Fanslow, 'Sexist Language and University Academic Staff: Attitudes, Awareness and Recognition of Sexist Language', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 25:2 (1990) pp. 115–125.
24. K. Mack, 'Women in Universities', *Legal Service Bulletin*, 15:5 (1990), p. 214.
25. Cann et al.; Dagg and Thompson; Kaplan; Mack; Ponter et al.; and Pyke.
26. Pyke, p. 9.
27. N. Aisenberg and M. Harrington, *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1988).
28. ibid.
29. Mack, p. 211.
30. W. J. Korndorffer, 'Equal Employment Opportunities in Universities: From Policy to Practice', in J. Codd, R. Harker and R. Nash (eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education* (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1990) pp. 215–232.
31. Cann et al., p. 25
32. Mack, p. 212.
33. Korndorffer, p. 217.
34. M. A. Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand* (prepared for the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand, Inc., 1986).
35. Rich, p. 141.
36. Dale Spender, *Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal* (Women's Press, London, 1989).
37. Anna Smith 'Women in the Beehive', *Women's Studies Journal*, 8:1 (1992) p. 81.
38. Aisenberg and Harrington, p. 40.
39. K. Irwin, 'Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemmas of a Maori Feminist', in S. Middleton and A. Jones (eds.), *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1990) p. 59.

40. ibid., p. 64.
41. B. G. Wilson and E. M. Byrne, *Women in the University: A Policy Report* (University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1987) p. 34.
42. Aisenberg and Harris, p. 45.
43. Wilson, p. 26.
44. Wilson and Byrne.
45. Wilson, p. 31.
46. Wilson and Byrne, p. 31.
47. Kaplan, p. 20.
48. ibid.
49. Wilson, p. 35.
50. Aisenberg and Harris, p. 60.
51. ibid., p. 61.
52. Karen Newton, ' "John Says a Few Words, Margaret Listens": "Sharing Time" in the Primary School Classroom', in Middleton and Jones (eds.), pp. 135–148; M. Stanworth, 'Girls on the Margins', in G. Weiner and M. Arnot, *Gender Under Scrutiny* (Hutchinson/Open University, London, 1987).
53. M. Sadker, D. Sadker and S. Klein, 'The Issue of Gender in Elementary and Secondary Education', in G. Grant (ed.), *Review of Research in Education*, 17 (1991) pp. 269–334.
54. ibid., p. 297.
55. Aisenberg and Harris, p. 59.
56. M. F. Belensky, B. M. Clinchy, N. R. Goldberger, and J. M. Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing*, (Basic Books, USA, 1986).
57. Rich, p. 144.
58. Alison Jones, 'Writing Feminist Educational Research: Am "I" in the Text?', in Middleton and Jones (eds.), pp. 18–32.
59. Dagg and Thompson, p. 31.
60. ibid., p. 52.
61. Rich, p. 143.
62. Belensky, p. 55.
63. Blythe V. Clinchy, 'Gender and Modes of Knowing: A Lamentation', paper presented at a conference on Interdisciplinary Approaches to Knowledge and Gender (University of Calgary, June 28th, 1991).
64. ibid., p. 6.
65. Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980).
66. Mary Crawford, 'Agreeing To Differ: Feminist Epistemologies and Women's Ways of Knowing', in Mary Crawford and Margaret Gentry (eds.), *Gender and Thought: Psychological Perspectives* (Springer, Verlag, 1989) pp. 128–145.

67. Clinchy, p. 25.
68. Belensky et al., pp. 214–229.
69. Liz Stanley, 'Feminist Praxis and the Academic Mode of Production', in L. Stanley (ed.), *Feminist Praxis: Research Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology* (Routledge, London, 1990) pp. 3–19.
70. ibid., pp. 11,15.
71. M. L. Andersen, 'Changing the curriculum in Higher Education', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12:2 (1987) p. 225.
72. Pierson, p. 280; A. Z. Dobrowolsky, 'On Gates and Border Crossings: A Borderline View of Feminism and the Academy', paper presented at a conference on Interdisciplinary Approaches to Knowledge and Gender (University of Calgary, June 28th, 1991).
73. bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (South End Press, Boston, 1990).
74. Annette Kolodny, 'Dancing Between Left and Right: Feminism and the Academic Minefield in the 1980s', *Feminist Studies*,14:3 (1988) p. 461.
75. ibid.
76. Ronald Watts, *New Zealand Universities: Partners in National Development* (Report of the Universities Review Committee to the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee, 1987).

Women's Studies Resources: A Checklist

Mary Ann Crick

This article is a guide to some of the key resources in the field of Women's Studies and it is hoped that it will be of use to educators, researchers and interested personnel working in this area. It itemises reference works, bibliographies, sources for current awareness, titles of periodicals, indexes and abstracts to Women's Studies literature, and publishers and booksellers of Women's Studies material. Its coverage is both New Zealand and international.

Because there is so much publishing in this field at present the checklist does not attempt to be fully comprehensive but rather to highlight the main sources that would be useful to Women's Studies' practitioners. They range from the general to the specific. It should be possible to locate items through most university libraries and some of the larger public libraries. If they are unavailable then use the Interloan library scheme or put pressure on your library to obtain its own copies.

The checklist has been divided into categories according to type of material. New Zealand entries have their own section. Where appropriate, full bibliographic details follow each individual entry.

Reference Works

New Zealand

Macdonald, Charlotte, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (eds). *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

Contains some 300 biographical essays including both women whose lives are well documented and those whose lives

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would otherwise pass unnoticed. Essays contain footnotes and references and there are detailed subject indexes. Very wide-ranging and comprehensive, therefore an invaluable reference resource for New Zealand women's history.

Ministry of Women's Affairs: Te Minitatanga Mo Nga Wahine. *Women's Organisations and Groups in Aotearoa.* Wellington: The Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

A directory of services and social networks of relevance to women in New Zealand. Published on an irregular basis.

International

Blain, Virginia, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: women writers from the Middle Ages to the present.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

A compilation of biographical information on more than 2,700 women writing in English from the Middle Ages to about 1985. It includes American, British, African, Asian, Commonwealth, Caribbean and South Pacific women and covers a range of genres of material, from poetry, novels and drama to diaries and nonfiction.

Capek, Mary Ellen S. (ed). *A Women's Thesaurus: an index of language used to describe and locate information by and about women.* 1st edition. New York: Harper Collins, 1987.

The result of a collaborative project of the National Council for Research on Women and the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, this thesaurus attempts to synthesise the diversity of language used to think, talk and write about women. It lists some 5000 terms in an 'alphabetical display' with cross-references to broader, narrower, related and preferred terms. Included are brief definitions of uncommon terms. Other sections include a 'Rotated Display', a 'Hierarchical Display', a 'Subject Group Display', a 'Use/Do Not Use Display' and a 'Delimiters Display'. An excellent tool for non-sexist use of language for use in writing, cataloguing and research.

Carter, Sarah and Maureen Ritchie. *Women's Studies: a guide to information sources.* Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Co., 1990.

Describes reference sources available within Women's Studies. Not a bibliography itself, but a guide to the sources of information available on the subject. Focuses on all major woman-centred English-language reference works, monographic and serial, and covers broadly the decade 1978 to 1988.

Dickstein, Ruth, Victoria Mills and Ellen J. Waite. *Women in LC's Terms: a thesaurus of Library of Congress subject headings relating to women.* Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1988.

This guide to the Library of Congress subject headings used for women and topics of relevance to women's lives lists over 3,500 entries. Designed both to aid researchers and librarians using subject catalogues and indexes when researching in Women's Studies materials and to assist librarians who catalogue and index this material.

Humm, Maggie. *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989.

Provides a comprehensive guide to the terminology and history of feminist theory, relating the categories of feminist thinking to mainstream scholarship as it is practised in the western world. Succinct definitions of a wide range of terms and topics including entries on issues relating to the family, work, sexuality, gender, race, imperialism and representation.

Kramarae, Cheris and Paula A. Treichler. *A Feminist Dictionary.* London, Boston: Pandora Press, 1985.

Produced to 'document words, definitions, and conceptualizations that illustrate women's linguistic contributions; to illuminate forms of expression through which women have sought to describe, reflect upon and theorise about women, language, and the world; to identify issues of language theory, research, usage, and the institutionalized practice that bear on the relationship between women and language; to demonstrate ways in which women are seizing the language;

to broaden knowledge of the female lexicon; and to stimulate research on women and language'. Words or ideas are traced through a series of cross-references and original sources cited. An extensive bibliography is included.

Morgan, Robin (ed). *Sisterhood is global: the international women's movement anthology.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1984.

A country-by-country encyclopaedia of information about the status of women including topics like marriage and divorce policy, contraception policies, women's 'herstory', and 'mythography'. Each chapter contains an essay or creative piece further expanding on women's place in the society. A list for further reading is included with each section.

Seager, Joni and Ann Olson. *Women in the world: an international atlas.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.

Documents women's everyday lives and contains colourful informative maps that delineate patterns of women's experience with coded information about marriage, motherhood, work, politics, welfare and change.

Searing, Susan. *Introduction to Library Research in Women's Studies.* Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1985.

Designed to be an introduction to research tools and library services on topics relating to women. The core of the book is an annotated bibliography that describes selected bibliographies, indexes, catalogues, handbooks, directories and biographical dictionaries. Intended as a guide to library research for Women's Studies undergraduate students but also as a desk manual for librarians.

Spender, Dale and Cheris Kramarae (eds). *International Encyclopedia of Women's Studies.* To be published by Pergamon Press in 1993.

This will be the world's largest databank and collection of research on women with contributions from international feminists on topics such as radical feminism, violence, ecofeminism, etc. It will be divided into fifteen sections with 100 to 120 contributors each writing between 1000 and 5000 words.

Tierney, Helen (ed). *Women's Studies Encyclopedia.* Westport, Greenwood Press.

Volume 1: Views from the Sciences, 1989. The first of a three-volume project focuses on recent feminist research in the natural, behavioural and social sciences; health and medicine; economics; linguistics; political sciences and the law. Articles generally provide a definition, historical overview and current research findings. An excellent resource for beginning students and researchers new to a field.

Volume 2: Literature, Arts and Learning, 1990. The emphasis in this volume is on women as producers of literature, art and music. There are also articles on other aspects of women's relationships to writing and the fine arts and on women's education. Most articles present the results of current research on a topic. A short bibliography follows each signed article.

Volume 3: History, Philosophy and Religion, 1992. Follows the same format as the previous two volumes covering the subjects stated in the title.

Tuttle, Lisa. *Encyclopedia of Feminism.* New York: Facts on File, 1986.

A comprehensive one-volume reference work which attempts to cover the full spectrum of feminist thought and activity, both past and present. Major figures, events, organisations, slogans, books and ideas are described from a feminist perspective. Extensive cross-referencing and a substantial bibliography.

Bibliographies

There is a growing volume of bibliographic material relating to Women's Studies—general coverage and subject-specific, international and country-specific. Some of the more general bibliographies are listed below.

New Zealand

Maori Women: an annotated bibliography. Wellington: Published by Michelle Erai, Everdina Fuli, Kathie Irwin and Lenaire Wilcox, 1991.

This printed bibliography represents Phase One of a project which aims to raise the visibility of the lives and works of Maori women. Phase Two will create a permanent computerised database on Maori women to be located in the Education Department of Victoria University. Phase Three will engage in whanau-hapu-iwi-based research on the oral histories of Maori women. The work is divided into the annotated bibliography, notes on authors, subject index and an appendix.

Meads, Diana, Philip Rainer and Kay Sanderson (comps). *Women's Words: a guide to manuscripts and archives in the Alexander Turnbull Library relating to women in the nineteenth century.* Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library/National Library, 1988.

The aim of this work is to locate and describe all material located in the manuscripts and archives section of the Alexander Turnbull Library concerning nineteenth-century women. The guide lists every collection catalogued up to the end of 1986 in which nineteenth-century writings by or specifically about women were located. It includes women's diaries and letters and also love letters and legal documents created by men, whenever this material casts light on the role and place of women in nineteenth-century society. It is not confined to women in New Zealand but includes every woman, whatever her nationality or background, whose papers are in the Library. The index includes both names and subject headings.

Sargison, Patricia A. *Victoria's Furthest Daughters: a bibliography of published sources for the study of women in New Zealand 1830 – 1914.* Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust, New Zealand Founders Society, 1984.

A useful source for New Zealand material, this bibliography lists printed works (other than newspaper articles) and theses concerning women and their activities in New Zealand during the pioneering period of pakeha settlement, published up to the end of 1982. Arrangement is by subject, and author, title and subject indexes are provided.

International

Adelaide, Debra. *Bibliography of Australian Women's Literature: 1795 –1990.* Port Melbourne: D. W. Thorpe, 1991.

A listing of fiction, poetry, drama and nonfiction published in monograph form. Arranged alphabetically by author.

Ballou, Patricia K. *Women: a bibliography of bibliographies.* 2nd ed. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986.

All the bibliographies cited are concerned primarily with women or with a topic traditionally associated with women. In literary form they include annotated and unannotated lists of citations, bibliographic essays, literature reviews, library catalogues and guides to archives and manuscript repositories. Imprint dates are from 1970 to 1985. A previous edition was published in 1980.

Bettinson, Margaret and Anne Summers (comps). *Her Story: Australian women in print, 1788 –1975.* Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1980.

Originated as bibliographies published in *Refractory Girl* in 1973. Presents a feminist perspective on Australian history and sociology. Covers both published and unpublished material including books, chapters from books, articles from periodicals, parliamentary papers, theses and manuscripts.

Daniels, Kay Murnane and Ann Picot (eds). *Women in Australia: an annotated guide to records.* 2 vols. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977.

A guide to archival and manuscript collections in Australia. Annotations are quite lengthy and provide an extensive identification of sources for Australian social history.

Doughan, David and Denise Sanchez. *Feminist Periodicals, 1855 – 1984: an annotated critical bibliography of British, Irish, Commonwealth and international titles.* Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987.

A guide to feminist periodicals for those working in Women's Studies (particularly feminist history). Titles listed are mainly British with the majority being held in the British Library Newspaper Library, the Fawcett Library, the Feminist Library and Information Centre, and the British Library.

Humm, Maggie. *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Feminist Criticism.* Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987.

Provides access to major books and articles about feminism from both the United States and Great Britain published since the 1960s. It is divided into sections: theory and sexual politics including the Women's Movement; literary criticism; sociology, politics and economics; arts including film, theatre, music and media; psychology; history; anthropology and myth; education and Women's Studies. Each section is arranged chronologically to highlight the development of feminist ideas.

Loeb, Catherine, Susan Searing and Esther Stineman. *Women's Studies: a recommended core bibliography 1980 –1985.* Littlejohn, Co.: Libraries Unlimited, 1987.

A supplement to Stineman's bibliography published in 1979. (See below.)

Stineman, Esther. *Women's Studies: a recommended core bibliography.* Littlejohn, Co.: Libraries Unlimited, 1979. (See also 1987 supplement above.)

Lists over 1,700 books which are considered to be basic recommended readings in Women's Studies. It includes fiction and biography. The annotations are evaluative and good author, title and subject indexes are provided. It is an excellent starting point for research or background reading on almost any topic of Women's Studies.

Journals

Periodical literature is the cutting edge of women's scholarship and feminist theory. *The Index/Directory of Women's Media* published annually by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (3306 Ross Place, NW, Washington, DC 20008) lists information on feminist periodicals. *Feminist Periodicals: a current listing of contents* (see Indexes and Abstracts section) is an excellent source for bibliographic and subscription details as well as serving as a current awareness directory.

New Zealand is well served by feminist and Women's Studies journal literature. Celebrating 20 years of publication, *Broadsheet* documents the women's movement in New Zealand. The Women's Studies Association is responsible for publishing the *Women's Studies Journal* and *Women's Studies Association Newsletter* as well as the *Women's Studies Association Conference Papers.* These invaluable resources are available from the Association at P.O. Box 5067 Auckland.

New titles for periodicals relating to Women's Studies are regularly joining the market but some general ones which would be of interest to New Zealand Women's Studies' personnel are listed below.

The bibliographic citation for the following journals include full title, publisher, subscription address, year of commencement and frequency of issue.

New Zealand

Broadsheet: a New Zealand feminist magazine. Broadsheet Collective, P.O. Box 56-147, Auckland. 1972 –. Four times per year.

News, analysis and in-depth articles mainly focusing on New Zealand women and events. Consciously strives to be bicultural and to incorporate the views of Maori women. Essential reading for New Zealand Women's Studies and feminism.

Race Gender and Class. Co-ordinating Collective. P.O. Box 1372, Otautahi, Christchurch. 1985 –. Once or twice a year.

Publishes 'articles relating to positive change' in Aotearoa and has a policy of publishing in both Maori and English.

Sites: a journal for radical perspectives on culture. Department of Social Anthropology, Massey University, Palmerston North. 1984 –. Twice a year.

The journal of the New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group. Examines cultural questions in the New Zealand context within the broad tradition of left scholarship. Issues such as class, gender and ethnicity are covered.

Suffrage News — women's suffrage: Whakatu Wahine. Wellington: Suffrage Centennial Services, P.O. Box 10-049, Wellington. 1992 –. Six times per year.

A publication from the 1993 Suffrage Centennial Services Unit established to mark100 years since women gained the vote in New Zealand. Outlines numerous projects planned for the celebration, several of which will become major resources for Women's Studies.

Women's Studies Association Conference Papers. N.Z. Women's Studies Association, P.O. Box 5067, Auckland. 1978 –. Annually.

Papers and workshop proceedings from the annual conference.

Women's Studies Journal. N.Z. Women's Studies Association, P.O. Box 5067, Auckland. 1984 –. Twice per year.

Journal of WSA, a feminist association formed to promote radical social change through the medium of Women's Studies. Full length articles, book reviews and listing of current research in New Zealand.

Women's Studies Newsletter. N.Z. Women's Studies Association, P.O. Box 5067, Auckland. Four times per year.

Newsletter of WSA, containing news reports, conferences, articles and book reviews.

International

Australian Feminist Studies. Research Centre for Women's Studies, University of Adelaide, G.P.O. Box 498, Adelaide 5001. 1985 –. Twice per year.

Publishes both disciplinary and transdisciplinary scholarship and discussion in the fields of feminist research and Women's Studies courses.

Connexions: an international women's quarterly. People's Translation Service, 4228 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609. 1981 –. Four times per year.

'The collective product of feminists of diverse nationalities and political perspectives committed to contributing to an international women's movement.' Each issue focuses on a specific theme through feature articles, interviews and personal narratives often translated from foreign language publications.

Differences: a journal of feminist cultural studies. Indiana University Press, 10th & Morton Sts, Bloomington, IN 47405. 1989 –. Three times per year.

Brings together cultural studies and feminism and aims to provide a forum for an examination of cultural politics and discursive practices informed by feminist criticism.

Feminist Issues. Transaction Periodicals Consortium, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. 1980 –. Twice per year.

A journal of feminist social and political theory with emphasis on the international exchange of ideas. Includes articles by English-language feminists as well as translations of feminist texts by women of other countries.

Feminist Review. Feminist Review Collective. Routledge, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE. 1979 –. Three times per year.

The United Kingdom's leading socialist feminist journal, featuring contemporary political and cultural issues. Has a broad international perspective.

Feminist Studies. Women's Studies Program, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. 1972 –. Three times per year.

Presents scholarly research, essays, art, book reviews, and poetry, fiction and creative narratives pertaining to the feminist experience in the social sciences, history, politics and literature.

Frontiers: a journal of women's studies. University Press of Colorado, P. O. Box 849, Niwot, CO 80544. 1975 –. Three times per year.

Includes feature articles, book reviews, poetry, etc., with each issue focusing on a theme, e.g., women's oral history, mothers and daughters. Aims to bridge the gap between the community and the academy.

Hecate: a women's interdisciplinary journal. P.O. Box 99, St. Lucia, Queensland. 1975 –. Twice per year.

Perspectives on the status of women from a socialist and women's liberation standpoint. Includes articles, interviews, plays, poems and stories.

Hurricane Alice. 207 Lind Hall, 207 Church St, S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55445. 1983 –. Four times per year.

'The mission of this journal is to read and write women's experience fully; to evolve a new prose form that integrates personal voice and personal experience into critical reviews of our arts and culture.'

Hypatia: a journal of feminist philosophy. Indiana University Press, Journals Division, 10th & Morton Streets, Bloomington, IN47405. 1986 –. Four times per year.

Dedicated to the publication of scholarly research in feminist philosophy. Provides both authors and readers with a context for understanding feminist philosophy that is unavailable in mainstream philosophy journals.

Ms. Lang Communications, One Times Square, New York, NY 10036. 1990 –. Six times per year.

This mass circulation magazine floundered in 1990 but now is revamped. Covers international and American news, the arts, books, popular culture, feminist theory and scholarship, ecofeminism, women's health, spirituality and political and economic affairs.

NWSA Journal: a publication of the National Women's Studies Association. Ablex Publishing Corp, 355 Chestnut St, Norwood, NJ 07648. 1988 –. Four times per year.

Publishes scholarship which links feminist theory with teaching and activism. Topics are interdisciplinary with emphasis on works by and about women of colour, and research analysing class issues and feminist pedagogy.

Off Our Backs. 2423 18th St NW, 2nd floor, Washington, DC 20009. 1970 –. 11 times per year.

The oldest continuously published feminist publication in the United States. Includes up-to-date comprehensive news on abortion rights, health and reproductive technology, lesbian rights, child care legislation, etc., plus in-depth coverage of all major conferences in the U.S.

Refractory Girl. 6 Bishop St, Papershaw 2049, Australia. 1973 –. Four times per year.

A feminist studies journal covering the whole women's area. Includes some creative writing and artwork.

Sage: a scholarly journal on Black Women. P.O. Box 42741, Atlanta, GA 30311-0741. 1984 –. Twice a year.

Interdisciplinary forum for critical discussion of issues relating to black women. Issues include feature articles, interviews, profiles, book reviews and bibliographies.

Signs: a journal of women in culture and society. University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637. 1975 –. Four times per year.

Includes feature articles, research, review essays, reports, book reviews, letters/comments and archival notes.

Spare Rib. 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R OAT. 1972 –. Twelve times per year.

'One of the longest running, and most widely read feminist publications in the world, it documents women's ideas and struggles worldwide.' Each issue carries feature articles and extensive reviews of books, films, theatre, dance and music.

Women: a cultural review. Oxford University Press, Pinkhill House, Southfield Rd, Eynsham, Oxford OX8 1JJ. 1990 –. Three times per year.

This journal explores the role and representation of women in arts and culture, past and present, taking up the challenges of debates on sexuality and gender. British Book News stated 'the journal bears every mark of potential success: its international editorial board is distinguished; it covers a wide and important range of issues for feminist academics (and, indeed, for anyone interested in the debates surrounding feminist issues); its production values are high'.

Women's International Network News (WIN News). 187 Grant St, Lexington, MA 02173. 1975 –. Four times per year.

'WIN News is a worldwide, open, participatory communication system by, for, and about women of all backgrounds, beliefs, nationalities and age groups. It serves the general public, institutions and organisations by transmitting internationally information about women and women's groups.'

Women's Studies. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1 Bedford St, London WC2E 9PP. 1972 –. Four times per year.

Provides a forum for the presentation of scholarship and criticism about women in the fields of literature, art, history, sociology, law, political science, economics, anthropology and the sciences. Also includes poetry.

Women's Studies International Forum. Pergamon Press, Fairview Park, Elmsford, NY 10523. 1978 –. Six times per year.

An international multidisciplinary journal for the rapid publication of research communications and review articles in Women's Studies.

Women's Studies Quarterly. Feminist Press at the City University, 311 East 94th St, New York, NY 10128. 1972 –. Four times per year.

Focused on teaching and the scholarship most useful to teachers. Articles concern theory and practice of Women's Studies and women in academic professions. Annual reporting of information on United States Women's Studies programmes and Centres for Research on Women.

Many subject-specific Women's Studies periodicals are also published. They include:

Afflia: journal of women and social work
Berkeley Women's Law Journal
Broomstick: by, for and about women over forty
Calyx: a journal of art and literature by women
Camera Obscura: a journal of feminism and film theory
Canadian Journal of Women and the Law
Common Lives/Lesbian Lives: a lesbian quarterly
Feminist Teacher
Harvard Women's Law Journal
Healthcare for Women International
Healthsharing: A Canadian women's health quarterly
Heresies: a feminist publication on art and politics
Journal of Australian Lesbian Feminist Studies
Journal of Feminist Family Therapy
Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion
Journal of Women and Aging
Journal of Women and Religion
Journal of Women's History
Lesbian Contradiction: a journal of irreverent feminism
Lesbian Ethics
Psychology of Women Quarterly

Resources for Feminist Research
Sinister Wisdom: a journal for the lesbian imagination in art and politics
The Wise Woman
Woman of Power
Woman's Art Journal
Women and Criminal Justice
Women and Environments
Women and Health
Women and Language
Women and Performance: a journal of feminist theory
Women and Politics
Women and Therapy
Women's Art Magazine
Women's History Review
Women's Research Network News
Women's Studies in Communication
Yale Journal of Law and Feminism

Related journals include:

Family Relations
Gender and Education
Gender and History
Gender and Society
Genders
Reproductive and Genetic Engineering: journal of international feminist analysis
Sex Roles: a journal of research

Indexes and Abstracts

The following resources are designed to aid access to periodical literature in the specific area of Women's Studies. Most allow an author, title and subject approach to the literature.

New Zealand

Index New Zealand. National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga, 1987 –. (Previously Index to New Zealand Periodicals.) Both in printed and fiche form but available on-line via Kiwinet.

A general New Zealand index to journal articles, theses, reports, monographs and conference papers about New Zealand and the South Pacific. Includes a section 'Women' and associated subject headings. Has two sections: General and Research.

International

Feminist Periodicals: a current listing of contents. University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Librarian, 112A Memorial Library, 728 State St, Madison, WI 53706. 1980 –. Four times per year.

Produced by Susan Searing, Women's Studies Librarian at the University of Wisconsin, it reproduces the table of contents pages from current issues of major feminist journals in each issue, and provides a comprehensive listing of journals selected. This excellent resource is designed 'to keep the reader abreast of current topics in feminist literature; to increase readers' familiarity with a wide spectrum of feminist periodicals; and to provide requisite bibliographic information should a reader wish to subscribe to a journal or to obtain a particular article at her library or through interlibrary loan'.

Studies on Women Abstracts. Carfax Publishing, P.O. Box 25, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England OX14 3UE. 1983 –. Six times per year.

Each issue contains more than 30 nonevaluative book abstracts and a list of books received for abstracting. It covers 'education, employment, women in the family and community, medicine and health, female sex and gender role socialisation, social policy, female culture, media treatment of women and historical studies'.

Women's Studies Abstracts. Rush Publishing, P.O. Box 1, Rush, NY 14543. Four times per year.

Articles from both scholarly and popular periodicals, from education to employment to interpersonal relations. Arrangement by subject with a detailed subject index. Most entries are not abstracted despite the title.

Women's Studies Index 1989. G.K. Hall, 70 Lincoln St, Boston, MA 0211. 1990 –. Annually.

A new annual providing access to 78 important American and international journals and magazines—feminist and mainstream women's periodicals, plus titles in related fields. Both scholarly and popular titles are represented. Coverage includes current news, the arts, education, work, politics, health, spirituality, as well as titles by and about women of colour, lesbians and third world women. Authors, subjects and cross-references are in a single alphabet.

Current Awareness Tools

With the plethora of material relating to women now being published it becomes increasingly difficult to keep abreast of all the new titles. Most of the journals include book review sections but there are also specific reviewing tools.

Belles Lettres: a review of books by women. 785 Verbenia Dr, Satellite Beach, FL 32937. 1985 –. Four times per year.

Designed '... for an audience of people who are committed readers of literature by women; for readers who want to keep informed of what books by women are being published by trade, university and small presses; and of readers who desire

a forum for lively, insightful discussion of current women's writings'.

Bookpeople. 2929 Fifth St, Berkeley, CA 94710.

An American distributor offering the best of the small presses and selected trade and mass market titles. Publishes separate subject checklists. The Women's Checklist includes books, cassettes and periodicals of particular interest to women.

Feminisms (previously *Women's Studies Review*). Center for Women's Studies, Ohio State University, 207 Dulles Hall, 230 W. 17th Ave, Columbus, OH 43210. 1988 –. Six times per year.

Reviews 'works by, for, or about women in a wide variety of media including fiction, poetry, drama, art shows, films, exhibits and scholarly research in any fields'. Average 7 –12 book reviews per issue.

Feminist Bookstore News. P.O. Box 882554, San Francisco, CA 94188-2554. 1976 –. Six times per year.

Intended as a communications vehicle for the informal network of feminist bookstores but very useful for feminist librarians and researchers, and Women's Studies teachers. Every issue contains articles on bookstore policy and politics, as well as over 200 book reviews and announcements.

Feminist Collections: a quarterly of women's studies resources. University of Wisconsin System, 112A Memorial Library, 728 State St, Madison, WI 53706. 1980 –. Four times per year.

One of three excellent publications from the University of Wisconsin (see also *New Books on Women and Feminism* below and *Feminist Periodicals* in the Index and Abstracts section). It contains book reviews, publishing news, research exchange, special issues of periodicals and a lengthy listing of 'Books Recently Received'. Also covers feminist librarianship. Informative snippets on many Women's Studies developments.

New Books on Women and Feminism. University of Wisconsin System, 112A Memorial Library, 728 State Street, Madison, WI 53706. 1979 –. Twice per year.

This bibliography represents a selection of books and periodicals which have come to the attention of the Women's Studies librarian, primarily from reviews and publishers' catalogues. Divided into subject areas with both author and subject indexes. An excellent current awareness checklist.

The Women's Review of Books. Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 828 Washington St, Wellesley, MA 02181-8255. 1983 –. 11 issues per year.

Directed to 'the feminist intellectual community', with each issue containing approximately 15 reviews. Also includes 'This Month's Bookshelf' listing recently received titles plus numerous publishers' advertisements.

For New Zealand material check *New Zealand National Bibliography* as the major citation source but also keep an eye on the book reviews in journals such as *Broadsheet, Women's Studies Journal, Women's Studies Association Newsletter, Sites, Race Gender and Class.*

Publishers

There are now numerous publishing houses focused solely on publishing feminist and Women's Studies literature.

In New Zealand *New Women's Press,* run by Wendy Harrex and distributed by Tandem Press, Birkenhead, Auckland, is devoted solely to the publication of Women's Studies material, both fiction and nonfiction. The recently formed *Bridget Williams Books* is also committed to publishing women's titles. Several feminist publications on sexual abuse and lesbians have been published by *Papers Inc* or directly under Miriam Saphira's name. *Penguin, Heinemann Reed, Dunmore Press,* and *Daphne Brassell Associates* also publish works relating to Women's Studies. Addresses for these publishers can be located in *New Zealand Books in Print.* To keep pace with what they are publishing ask to be put on the mailing list for their catalogues.

Overseas feminist presses have burgeoned. The following list represents some of the better known ones.

Cleiss Press, P.O. Box 8933, Pittsburgh, PA 15221. Feminist and lesbian nonfiction.

Crossing Press, P.O. Box 1048, Freedom, CA 95019. Includes all genres in its Feminist Series.

Feminist Press, City University of New York, 311 E 94th St, New York NY 10128. A nonprofit educational organisation that reprints feminist literary classics, biographies, bibliographies and curriculum materials.

Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, P.O. Box 2753, New York, NY 10185. 'Committed to producing and distributing the work of Third World women.'

Naiad Press, P.O. Box 10543 Tallahassee, Florida 32303. Specialises in lesbian titles.

Onlywomen Press, 38 Mount Pleasant St, London WC1X CAP. Lesbian fiction and nonfiction.

Sheba Press, 10A Bradbury St, London N16. Feminist fiction and nonfiction and works by Black and Third World women.

South End Press, 116 St Botolph St, Boston MA 02115. 'Progressive publishers of feminist theory and literature.'

Spinifex Press, 4/49 –59 Stanley St, West Melbourne, Victoria 3003, Australia. A new independent publishing venture set up by Renate Klein and Susan Hawthorne aimed at publishing innovative and controversial feminist titles by Australian and international authors.

Virago Press, 41 William IV St, London WC2N 4DB. Fiction and nonfiction relating to Women's Studies as well as 'Modern Classics' series.

The Women's Press, 229 College St, #204 Toronto, Canada M5T 1R4. Women's social and political issues.

The Women's Press, (London) 124 Shoreditch High St, London E1 6JE. Books by and about women in literature, art history and politics.

Check the annual edition of *The Index/Directory of Women's Media* for further information about feminist publishers.

Many mainstream publishers have introduced Women's Studies series in response to the demand for feminist and Women's Studies material. *The Haworth Press* publishes 'Women and Health', 'Women and History', 'Women and Politics', and 'Women in Therapy' series. *Macmillan* have 'Women in Society' while *Pergamon's* Athene Series of feminist books include a range of interesting titles. *Falmer Press* is introducing a major new series 'Gender and Society — Feminist perspectives on the past and present' edited by Jane Purvis. *Routledge* has begun several series including 'Thinking Gender', 'Gender and Performance', 'Perspectives on Gender' and 'Heroines'.

Books in Print, British Books in Print, Canadian Books in Print and *Australian Books in Print* itemise the publishers and their imprints. Also check *New Zealand Books in Print* to see if there is a local agent.

There is now a biennial International Feminist Book Fair. Amsterdam is the venue for 1992 and Australia mooted for 1994. Feminist Book Fortnight is held annually in London in June and New Zealand has the Listener Women's Book Festival scheduled annually in September.

Women's Bookshops and Libraries

New Zealand is well served by specialist women's bookshops including *The Women's Bookshop*, 22 Dominion Rd Auckland, *Kate Sheppard Women's Bookshop*, 145 Manchester St Christchurch, *Women's Shop*, Square Edge Palmerston North and *Dimensions*, 266 Victoria St Hamilton. The university bookshops and many of the general bookshops have also built up their collections of feminist and Women's Studies material and are worth keeping an eye on for new titles.

The *Ministry of Women's Affairs Library* is based in Wellington with its primary function to provide information service to Ministry staff. It has over 6000 titles in the book collection and individual titles are available to readers and researchers through Interloan. The collection is a specialised one of books, reports, and papers — published and unpublished — about women's issues in general but

with a particular focus on public policy issues relating to women. It is especially strong in the areas of employment, education, violence, childcare and health. The Ministry will lend not just books but also specific articles copied from journals. All journal titles have been reported to the National Library and can be traced through the Finding List at your local library.

Other libraries such as the Continuing Education Library at Auckland University have developed a collection of Women's Studies material. A computer database and bibliography of holdings is now available.

There are various collections of archives and manuscripts in New Zealand libraries which are worth noting. Auckland Public Library is the depository for the Broadsheet Archives while the University of Waikato houses the Rosemary Seymour Archives. Alexander Turnbull Library has a conscious policy to collect papers and material relating to women as well as having a gay and lesbian archive. The Auckland Institute and Museum Library also collects material concerning women in New Zealand.

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Feminist Periodicals: A Current Listing of Contents. 11:3 (1991).

Searing, Susan. *Introduction to Library Research in Women's Studies* (Westview Press, Boulder, Co., 1985).

Acknowledgement is also made to Carol Beu, Theresa Graham, Jane McRae, Margaret Tibbles, Jane Wild and Christine Woods. A special thank you to Florence Crick-Friesen who in her first eight weeks slept sufficiently to enable completion of this article.

Mary Ann Crick is the Continuing Education Librarian at Auckland University. She has developed a strong Women's Studies collection there, and compiled a computer database of these holdings. She was a member of the Auckland committee of the Women's Studies Association from 1986 to 1989. She is currently on parental leave since the birth of her daughter Florence in March.

Book Reviews

Speaking For (About? To?) Myself

Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand
Rosemary Du Plessis (ed.) with Phillida Bunkle, Kathie Irwin, Alison Laurie and Sue Middleton
Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992. $39.95

This collection presents a conundrum for a reviewer such as me, for many of the articles are underpinned by the notion that who we are explains what we think. Furthermore who we are is often constituted in these essays by large-scale categories (ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation) which would sit more comfortably in a questionnaire than in a collection of feminist voices. Within this discourse I (white, Canadian) should not be reviewing this book at all. Will what I say be heard or will what I am (not New Zealander) discount anything said? Will I simply be speaking to myself?

The question of 'who we are' dominates this collection and raises serious questions for feminists at this time. 'The personal is political' now sits uneasily with the politics of difference. Radical feminism, with its valorisation of 'the womanly', and standpoint feminism, with its emphasis on experience, have come under the destabilising purview of post-modernism's anti-essentialism and fragmented subjectivities. Critiques of objective knowledge grate against a need to classify ourselves and others. The 'we' of the 1970s has been replaced by the 'I' of the 1990s. As we cling to our differences, global economic, political and cultural systems cut across them. Is this why Sue Middleton's essay in this book seems to me precisely not what she intends it to be — a basis for an indigenous women's studies in New Zealand? Much of the account

Women's Studies Journal, 8:2 (September, 1992).

of her adolescence could have been written of growing up, for example, in a small town in central British Columbia.

Middleton's essay is one of the introductory group which deal with 'key issues in feminism'. The book comprises twenty-four articles in five groups, a division which is explained in the preface but unfortunately not made apparent in the table of contents. As well as key issues these groups include: culture, work, the state, and feminist politics. A significant omission is the failure to have even a single article by a Pacific Island woman. The articles vary widely in style, content, scope and, presumably, intended audience. With the exception of the series of articles on the state it is a loose collection of writings rather than a focused exploration of a set of themes or debates. Most of the articles seem to be aimed at an introductory undergraduate level and it is with this presumed audience in mind that this review is written. A review of this length cannot deal adequately with so many articles so I have chosen to deal with only a few of the papers.

The book opens with Kathie Irwin's discussion of why the question of speaking on the marae has been so central to debates about Maoritanga and feminism. Her account is lucid and accessible. I would expect it to form part of any introductory women's studies paper in New Zealand. Middleton's article is followed by Julie Glamuzina's critique of approaches to the history of Aotearoa. Her choice of Sinclair's *History of New Zealand* as a focus for critique seems pointless. There is much exciting contemporary historical writing which could have formed the basis for an essay on this topic and these would have presented more of a challenge than a book first published forty years ago. This section also includes a beginner's guide to feminist critiques of science by Phillida Bunkle. She uses the National Women's tragedy as illustration but her argument that the medical model has continued to prevail needs more development and she falls prey to an all-too-common tendency to romanticise Maori culture. Pania McArdell's *Whanaupani* begins with a moving account of her experience of family and the education system but it is undercut by the disjointedness of the rest of her article.

The culture section includes a most original critique of Telerugby by Lynne Star, a delight to read and one of the few articles in the book with a glimmer of humour. Roma Potiki

discusses her attempts to develop Maori women's theatre in a context where not speaking the language is seen by some to undercut her 'Maoriness'.

I found the sections on work and the state to contain the best papers. Ruth Habgood surveys the international literature on household division of labour, and drawing on her own research asks how applicable it is to New Zealand: she argues that much of it is relevant to our local context and that 'appealing to his better nature' is not going to result in a more equitable division of labour in homes. Jan Jordan uses interviews with sex workers to argue that sex work can be a rational career option. She nods in the direction of 'context' but does not come to grips with the irony of using a rational choice model in a society in which women must sell sex in situations dangerous to life and health in order either to maintain a reasonable standard of living or to support life-destroying addictions. Prue Hyman's article critiques the 'rational choice' model which dominates much current economic thought and provides insights into the functioning of 'economics' seldom available in readers at this level. It sits nicely with Anne Else's elegant account of the models of the family and gender assumed by the New Right.

Alison Jones and Camille Guy's article, the third to last in the book, should have been put in the first section where it could have been fruitfully read with and against Irwin's, Middleton's and Glamuzina's articles. This piece is a courageous attempt to come to grips with the politics of 'naming', both oneself and others, which has dominated feminism in New Zealand and underpins the opening articles of the book. The trouble with this politics of naming, as Jones and Guy argue, is not merely that the crude categories of ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation (class is curiously muted here) explain very little about individual subjectivities or that this kind of naming is often a defense against criticism of ideas. The problem lies in the assumption that by naming ourselves with these categories we somehow explain our ideas, although the connections are seldom either readily apparent or critically developed. The idea that what we know is always partial, always influenced by our locations in time, space and culture has been central to the development of feminist knowledges. The point is that this should not protect ideas from

critical scrutiny from a variety of positions. If that happens we are not speaking for ourselves but only to ourself.

Maureen Molloy, Sociology, University of Auckland
June 1992

Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women
Helen May
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992. $34.95

A sense of possibilities lost hangs over this book; of lives unfulfilled because of being caught in the dilemmas of womanhood: children *vs* career, private *vs* public life, husband *vs* wife. It is a drama played out in the lives of the twenty-five Pakeha women interviewed—twelve rearing children in the 1940s and 50s and thirteen raising families in the 1970s and 80s. The stories of conflict and compromise are told sensitively, and there is an effort to contextualise the individual lives in the wider social changes of the period by a reading of the *Listener* and the *Woman's Weekly*. Yet, on completion, I felt the picture of the postwar lives of Pakeha women was incomplete.

Helen May obviously appreciates that there are many ways to read such lives and hers is only one view. I would like to know more about how that view was constructed. Some indication of the questions she put to the twenty-five women would have been useful here. Were the women asked, for example, what satisfactions they derived from 'minding children and managing men'? An insight into the moments of pleasure might have provided some explanation for the otherwise unanswered question, why did women put up with sacrificing their interests to those of their husbands and children? Who made the decision as to how many children to have when to some of the women (the author at least, who lays her own life bare), the constraints that children placed on women's self-fulfilment in other ways was clear. I find it difficult to accept Judith Fyfe's statement, which May reiterates, that the women raising families in the forties and fifties were 'a generation without options': to deny women the capacity to make choices about their lives is to see them as passive victims. Women of the

1990s might feel that they do not have the option of refusing paid work but they, like their foremothers, make all sorts of choices about how they will conduct their lives.

The choice for domesticity is conveyed here as a failure, although May certainly notes that some women found home life more satisfying than poorly-paid and uninteresting jobs. What is missing to counteract this sense of failure is the fun — the family picnics, the pleasure in children's developing language, or whatever it might be. The 'problem children' are mentioned — and here the reader will be moved by the suffering of mothers and babies — but what of the majority of 'unproblematic' children? What rewards did mothers experience in seeing their children flourish and take new and unexpected directions? Reading *Minding Children and Managing Men* alongside Anne Salmond's *Amiria*, I was struck by how Amiria Stirling conveyed her life, which might be read as one of poverty and hardship, with a great vitality and a sense of humour. A sure sense of self-esteem shines through her account. If indeed Helen May's informants lacked this sense of their self-worth, then that raises interesting questions about the comparative role of women in Maori and Pakeha society.

Domesticity as failure points to paid employment outside the home as success and this is an implicit assumption in the book. Yet because the partners of the twenty-five women are invisible, we have no sense of the contradictions and conflicts for these men in pursuing full-time employment. If there were none, then May's assumption would be well-founded but I suspect that men, or single working women, also have aspirations which are unfulfilled and live lives hedged with contradictions. How do couples negotiate these pressures together? Why do women, as May writes, 'prefer to absorb the tension and act as a buffer against conflict' (p. 14)? What does it say about relations between the sexes in New Zealand that the *New Zealand Review* could warn in 1945 that 'A husband would rather be caught in the beam of an enemy searchlight than in the awful glare of an understanding woman' (p. 52)?

Another implicit assumption in the book is that it was not until the second wave of feminism that women recognised their real needs. Hence, May writes: 'The fact that governments could bestow

tangible benefits on women [with the advent of the Social Security Act in 1938] made it difficult for women to organise collectively and confront government power and priorities the way women of a later generation did' (p. 33). Yet later she gives examples of collective action in the Housewives' Union and we know that the National Council of Women was active, for example, in pressing for a national women's hospital from the late 1930s. Groups of women were meeting and discussing issues and pressing for political change in the years up to the 1960s; their priorities were not necessarily those of the women of the 1970s but they are an indication of the felt needs of women at the time.

May traces a shift in women's experience from an ideal of 'self-sacrifice' towards one of 'self-fulfilment' without critically appraising this development. Collective solutions to social problems inevitably involve self-sacrifice since the needs of the group have priority over the needs of the individual. Women have excelled, it seems to me, at putting the needs of the group first. Is this something we should bemoan? If we denigrate this skill, we are in danger of buying into the politically current rampant individualism which promises the 'opportunity' for 'personal responsibility' for health, and a host of other 'personal responsibilies'. Self-sacrifice, if we could teach men how to master the art, might have a place in creating collective solutions to provide for children and the least advantaged in our society.

Because of the lack of detailed information on the women interviewed for the book we cannot know how representative they are of Pakeha women in postwar New Zealand. It is certain, however, that *Minding Children, Managing Men* will be much used because it fills an important gap in our social history. As the above indicates, it is provocative — one wants to argue 'but my mother's life was not like that' — and this is part of its value. It is a book which I will return to many times to make sense of the recent past. Helen May has charted previously untraversed terrain. By doing so she invites others to explore it with different methods and, in turn, to create different pathways towards understanding women's choices in the postwar world.

Barbara Brookes, History, University of Otago
July 1992

Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement 1970–1990
Maud Cahill and Christine Dann (eds.)
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991. $27.95

Betty Friedan started it all with her account of living through the second wave of feminism. Now we have a volume in which feminists in Aotearoa/New Zealand reflect on their life experience and its entanglement with contemporary feminism. These are tales of involvement in women's self-help groups, childcare initiatives, women's studies courses, trade union feminism, consciousness-raising groups, abortion rallies, housing collectives and struggles to get women on the killing chain in the freezing works. Some women focus on their own lives, while others attempt to reflect on past and current directions in feminist theory and practice.

I found this a difficult book to review critically. These are the stories of women I have known as friends or through their writing for over a decade. Their articles in *Broadsheet* and the *Women's Studies Newsletter*, together with passionate, critical, witty and funny presentations at United Women's Conventions and Women's Studies conferences have shaped my view of myself, my relations with others, and the ways in which I have attempted to analyse the context in which I live. I arrived in the country at the time when 'the women's liberation movement' described in these pages was blossoming — its existence, conflicts, failures and high moments are integral to my experience of living here for the last 20 years.

The book begins with a brief introduction to the accounts offered. This first chapter summarises some issues surrounding education, health, fertility control, sexuality, heterosexism, employment, equal pay and domestic labour in the 1970s. It looks at the ways in which these are still important for feminists in the 1990s. This sets the context for the contributions to this volume, but it does not capture a significant theme which emerges in these accounts — the diversity of feminist strategies and analyses, the divisions between feminists and why they have occurred.

Christine Dann's own contribution to this collection addresses some of these divisions, but it is wound around her life story, rather than offered as an analysis of patterns which emerge in the stories

of the contributors. She looks at the emergence of what she calls 'qualifying adjective' feminism (p. 81). By the late 1970s there was no longer 'a women's movement', only radical, liberal, socialist, cultural, Maori and spiritual feminisms — assumptions about the consensus of 'a women's movement' had been disrupted by the experience of feminist politics. This is somewhat at odds with the way the editors thank the contributors to this volume:

> They are women; they are the women's movement — we owe them our gratitude. (p. 9)

I also have immense gratitude to these women, but to say in the 1990s that 'they are *the* women's movement' is questionable. In 1977 Christine Dann looked critically at the concept of 'the women's movement' in the light of the divisions which emerged at the United Women's Convention in Christchurch. It seems problematic to refer to this possibly mythical entity fifteen years later.

The women who tell their stories in this volume have participated in a set of complex, contradictory and lively challenges to forms of social organisation and ways of thinking that privilege males and maintain heterosexuality as a norm. They are part of a multi-faceted feminism which has had to confront class, global capitalism, heterosexism, race and colonialism as well as inequalities between women and men. Feminist literature extends from popular psychology focusing on 'intimacy' and 'self-esteem' to books on women in management, Equal Employment Opportunity, feminist spirituality, home birth, feminist post-structuralism and trade union activism. *Changing Our Lives* tries at times to play a nostalgic tune about 'the women's movement', while the complications and divisions of contemporary feminisms creep out of the personal narratives.

Sandra Coney has suggested that this book provides an account of how the pursuit by feminists of personal change has taken over from an earlier commitment to change systems of inequality. This critique has some foundation. By the early 1990s some of the women who tell their stories in this book are preoccupied with their children, their households, tarot, astrology, goddess rituals, safe places and personal well-being rather than street actions, collectives and consciousness-raising groups. Even Viv Porzsolt,

who believes that 'the radical feminist rejection of rigorous analysis and political organisations has contributed to the demise of the women's liberation movement', indicates that she now places higher priority on 'nurturing myself' and does not 'plunge into hectic political activity, as I used to do' (p. 24). Phillida Bunkle addresses this issue by arguing that feminism:

> ... must be positioned to look both ways. We must learn to nurture ourselves without retreating from the challenge of forging a liveable future. (p. 186)

Changing Our Lives suggests that women after years of political action do need time to recuperate, to focus on their own psychological health and physical well-being, to reflect on where they are going and why, and to respond to the needs of elderly parents or their children. But it is significant that the feminism of many of these women has changed, not just because they have become older or 'burnt out', but because the context in which they live has changed.

Feminism flowered, as Viv Porzsolt suggests, in a relatively prosperous economic climate. Women's demands for a better deal in paid work went hand in hand with relatively full employment. Now they accompany a long term recession. Any job for many women is better than no job, and demands for access to better paid men's jobs lose their force when those jobs in manufacturing and the skilled trades are disappearing.

The context for feminist activism has changed and with it comes changed strategies. Complex coalitions and networks of alliances are needed in the 1990s to make the connections between issues ranging from the claims of the tangata whenua, to the poverty of beneficiaries, the remaking of health service delivery, access by women to control of their fertility and the dangers of cosmetic surgery. Those who identified with the women's liberation movement of the 1970s are responding differently to these challenges depending upon where they are placed in the structures of this society.

Viv Porzsolt is now an EEO co-ordinator, Phillida Bunkle teaches in Women's Studies at Victoria University, Rae Julian has been a Human Rights Commissioner, Mary O'Regan writes about her experiences as the first Secretary of the Ministry of Women's

Affairs. These positions are evidence of the institutionalisation of aspects of feminism in the last fifteen years. Their involvement in these institutions has had an impact on what these women now do and how feminism now affects their lives.

However, the concerns of feminist women in the public service and academia are often very different from those of other women. Viv Walker, a Wellington trade unionist, argues that for many women the most crucial factor in their lives is whether or not they have a washing machine (p. 108). Contributions like hers bring feminists engaged in heady abstract debates about feminist theory or strategising within state bureaucracies back to earth with a bump. Will feminism in the 1990s combine attention to the needs of the women with pre-schoolers and no washing machines with academic deconstructions of 'equality' and 'power'? Is this possible, or is the fragmentation of the concerns of academic, trade union, femocrat, spiritual and environmentalist feminists inevitable?

While many of the women who tell their stories in this volume certainly have important tales to tell, I would have liked some information from the editors about the basis for selecting contributors and the process by which they arrived at these first hand accounts. I suspect, like many similar collections, this one grew out of the editors' personal networks. Were some people interviewed or did everyone write their first person account? Were they given any questions to consider in their contributions? What was presented as the orientation of the book? At a time when we are all more conscious about the way the process of production affects what is presented to us as 'knowledge', some 'transparency' with respect to these things would have been valuable.

Christine Bird suggests that 'activists are the ones who don't stop asking questions, who say we don't have to accommodate ourselves to this society or to any theory; we can change them' (p. 137). *Changing Our Lives* suggests that there are still many questions to be asked and answered about feminism in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as well as about the intellectual and political tools needed to understand and change this society. Hopefully there will be women around in the next decade to pose new questions and to act on the basis of their critical analysis of feminism during the last twenty years. This book will be a useful resource for them.

It is also an interesting record of the lives of women who have not been 'accommodating'. Some of them continue to ask difficult questions and live challenging, and not always comfortable lives.

Rosemary Du Plessis, Sociology, University of Canterbury
April 1992

Ladies a Plate: Change and Continuity in the Lives of New Zealand Women
Julie Park (ed.)
Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1991. $29.95

On first reading, the title *Ladies a Plate* suggests that the contents might focus on women and their relationship with food, or perhaps the customs of women in rural New Zealand. Fortunately, as with most evocative titles, the sub-title makes it clear that the book aims to depict the construction, maintenance and transformations of women's lives and identities in New Zealand. But does it? Certainly a comprehensive sociological account of women's identities and lives has been absent in the New Zealand literature. Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith firmly presented the case for a gendered society in New Zealand but this excellent synopsis was not based primarily upon the personal voices of women.[1] While the latter have been expressed in several accounts of women's lives, such as *The Smith Women*,[2] these generally have not provided the kind of wide-ranging overview presented in *Ladies a Plate*. This collection also presents a strong generational perspective. The advocacy of 'detailed, historically aware ethnographies'[3] rather than debates at a high level of generality shines through, giving this study an emphasis on time and place in the lives of New Zealand women. Another welcome contribution of this collection is that it combines the anecdotal with an accessible survey of recent relevant literature. Undue weight is not given to exceptional women, whether they be exceptionally gifted or oppressed. Much of the testimony is from everyday, middle Pakeha New Zealand but such an observation is not aimed at glossing over the complexity of such lives or the struggles these women have faced.

Somehow I wish that the preface had not indicated that the book would depict the many ways of being a woman in New Zealand.

Although experiences of Maori and Pacific Island women and other minorities are discussed (especially in Marivee McMath's chapter on socialisation), I consider that the balance of the book would have been improved had greater weight been given to their perspectives. Perhaps a personal bias, but I felt that women who have not had children, and also those who have never married, get short shrift. I would like to see future studies include more on the perceptions of single mothers. Overall, I found that the emphasis and detail given to younger women (those under forty years) lacked the richness of the material on older women. An exception was Phyllis Herda's chapter on women and their relationship with food.

All this criticism points to the strengths and shortcomings inherent in the basis for the book, a study conducted between 1985 and 1988 on the place of alcohol in the lives of New Zealand women. Around 2000 women participated in this. The implications of transferring this research, together with some questionable methodological features, to a publication of greater generality needs to be considered. The study aimed to have geographical and demographic representation, as well as focusing on target groups of women of different age, ethnicity, occupation and sexual orientation. Class seems to have been glossed over, although Rosemarie Smith does address this when discussing identity. Like most community studies the alcohol survey, which appeared to rely heavily upon 'snowballing' or networking, raises the question of selectivity in locating representatives of various groups. However, no claims are made that this is a random survey. A strength of the methodology is that it allowed for more personal and in-depth interviews, where women's concerns were seriously noted. I did however raise my eyebrows at the reliability attached to voluntary beverage diaries as a source of information on women's alcohol intake. The possibility of alcohol intake being under-reported could have been examined, particularly as Cathy Banwell notes that most of the respondents have definite views about the equation of a 'good woman' with moderate or low alcohol consumption.

A general question then is the extent to which the results of testimony gathered from the alcohol survey, while aiming to be representative (but still open to selectivity), can be a basis from which to make generalisations about New Zealand women.

The writers acknowledge this by qualifying their statements with references to the original study. One of the biases of the survey is that rural women get particular emphasis (for example 120 out of 314 life stories are from Eastern Southland). This is not to decry the fine work done by Smith and McMath, but this emphasis could have been discussed more clearly, particularly in view of the overwhelming urban basis of New Zealand's population.

The book, especially Herda's chapter, suggests that all is not well with 'Ladies a Plate'. As her excellent literature survey indicates, the female Pakeha obsession with food has been perceived and acted upon as both a blessing and a curse. It gives a validity and meaning to women's lives but also undermines the very basis of this. Food as a basis of self esteem can generate eating disorders, but more commonly an excessive workload for New Zealand women. This is aptly portrayed in Appendix B, which reproduces some of the hundreds of controversial letters to the *Southland Times* over the role of the 'farmer's wife' in catering for shearers.

Regardless of the above flaws, which read more like a wish-list for future research and publications, this is a valuable text: it fills a gap in the depiction of the lives and identities of New Zealand women. The emphasis on food and alcohol provides metaphors through which the gendered 'themes of acceptance and exclusion, diversity and conformity' are explored. It provides a useful introduction to feminist literature in the subject areas and has extensive testimony from the participants in the survey. These accounts are particularly useful for teachers but there is still much scope for further analysis of them. The book is also essential reading for those interested in methodology and feminist research in New Zealand. The writers have been careful to listen to what women consider important. This is revealed, for example, in the discussion of the so-called 'empty nest syndrome', which respondents preferred to construct positively as a chance to 'fly the coop'. Finally the last chapter provides a useful introduction to how New Zealand women are challenging traditional gender boundaries but facing continuing obstacles in education, the workplace, their public mobility, property and public life. The saga of the Mt Eden bowling club indeed illustrates how access to a bar is indicative of the restrictions still placed on so many New Zealand women.

Notes

1. Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand's Gendered Culture* (Oxford University Press, Auckland,1989).
2. Rosemary Barrington and Alison Gray, *The Smith Women* (A. H. and A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1981).
3. N. Quinn, 'Anthropological Studies of Women's Status', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 6 (1977), pp. 181–225.

Jacqueline Leckie, Anthropology, University of Otago
May 1992

Women and Education in Aotearoa 2
Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds.)
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992. $34.95

There are many powerful voices in our society today telling educators that there is no need for gender equity in our education system, that so-called 'social engineering' must be replaced with more and more competition, and that teachers (and teaching is primarily a women's occupation) are irrational, self-interested and greedy. Politicians, big business and even some (white, male, privileged) educators claim for themselves the only rational and true analyses of the education system, and these analyses do not include feminist perspectives. It is difficult to counter the androcentric assumptions of the neo-liberal ideologues who appear to have control of education policy in 1992; after all, ideologies are markedly resistant to evidence. Nevertheless, if any book can provide significant arguments against recent education policies, *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2* is that book.

Sue Middleton and Alison Jones have put together an outstanding collection of research articles by feminist educational scholars in Aotearoa. The most striking aspect of the collection is the diversity of the research being undertaken on women in this country in the education field. Moreover, the work represented here is important. There is not an article in this book that I will not reread, recommend to students, provide as course readings or use in my own research work in some way in the near future. This collection is a magnificent addition to the Women's Studies

literature, and deserves to become a best seller. My only concern about the book, as a whole, is that it has no index, which, added to the footnoting system used, makes it difficult to track down a favourite passage.

In general the editors have worked hard to ensure that the book has a 'postmodern' feel to it—what they describe in the introduction as an attempt to 'seek to understand the multi-layered, shifting and contradictory interplay between the power relations/structure of the society and the practices, language, desires, bodies and thoughts of the people who form it' (p. ix). Many of the contributions debate the relationship between structural oppression and the lived experiences of participants in the research (including the researchers themselves). There is much in this approach which is useful for feminist research, particularly in the education field where analysis is needed on so many levels. As a confirmed 'structuralist' I am unconvinced by some postmodern claims, but found the reflexivity of the research approaches employed in this book both insightful and useful.

Although the normal convention in reviews of edited collections is to focus on two or three articles, I found myself unable to leave out any because each paper is so significant. I also wanted to outline for readers the depth and diversity of this collection. Each paper is therefore described, briefly and inadequately, below.

This book is not just about research on women, it is also about researchers who undertake research on women, and about the complexities that characterise that research. Alison Jones' analysis of her own research work sets the scene for this reflexivity with a focus on women's positioning as researchers. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's account of the construction of Maori women in discourses, and Kathie Irwin's fascinating account of her own development as a Maori academic, underline and extend this theme. Tuhiwai Smith's paper should be compulsory reading for anyone whose research or writing includes a focus on Maori women. Irwin's account, as a mother-academic-Maori woman within the university, is fascinating and thought-provoking. She grounds her discussion within the context of massively increasing workloads for all academics during the 1980s, arguing that just as women began to be employed as academics in large numbers, workloads began to increase markedly.

Two historical articles, one on women in technical education (Barbara Day) and the other on early childhood education (Helen May), demonstrate once again how good New Zealand women are at capturing their history. We are fortunate to have many researchers in this country who have uncovered and described our mothers' and grandmothers' lives, not least in the area of education. These two papers carry on that tradition.

This book also contains a number of outstanding research articles on women in education. There are four articles on classroom research. Jenny Young-Loveridge uses statistical and interview data to examine gender differences in mathematics. Her longitudinal study demonstrates that there were no significant differences between boys and girls, although girls who began school with 'relatively low number knowledge' appeared to progress more slowly than boys in the same position.

Karen Newton's excellent study of classroom 'talk' focuses on morning talks in primary school classrooms. She argues that girls' unwillingness to participate in these talks may be less a function of powerlessness than of a relatively powerful choice not to participate. However, in these morning talks girls do learn, perhaps, that what boys say is more important than what girls say. Karen's research raises a number of questions that need to be considered in further research: in particular, the need to look at relations of power on a number of levels simultaneously and to ensure that our structural analyses of power relations are not simply imposed directly onto what we observe in the classroom.

Lise Bird's study of girls in positions of authority in primary school demonstrates the complexities of classroom research. Lise argues that radical feminist 'certainties' need to be replaced by a deconstructionist approach, which looks at the inconsistencies as well as the evidence of oppressive practices. Her own account does this well. The intrusive and violent strategies employed by many of the boys to show their authority is contrasted with the apparent ease with which girls who are given authority are prepared to exercise it.

Adrienne Alton-Lee and Prue Densem offer a compelling account of the nature of learning within the framework of sexist curricula. Not surprisingly, the almost complete exclusion of women from the two units of work studied meant that both boys

and girls constructed men as being more important than women: the focus on white colonial men acted to oppress those, particularly of other cultures, who did not belong to this dominating group. The long section on curriculum change at the end of this chapter should be required reading for all teachers!

The four remaining papers examine the context of schooling. Bill Rout's account of masculinity focused on relations between boys, and how one form of (exclusively) male culture was played out in the school context. I noticed, for example, that the most sexual graffiti appeared in the *boys' toilets*, i.e., where girls could not see it; in other words, it was written for boys and not for girls. This paper is useful but I am not entirely convinced it belongs in this particular collection. It does not add much to our understanding of *women* and education in Aotearoa, and seems to be outside the general scope of the book.

Marian Court's study of women's leadership in administrative positions is contextualised within notions of masculinity and femininity. Essentially, she argues that where women do take on leadership positions, the forms of leadership they use are 'affiliative' rather than 'authoritative', entailing quite different approaches to their work.

I read Geraldine MacDonald's compelling account of patriarchy at work in senior school examinations avidly. It is a brilliant portrayal of how male dominance is justified in this one crucial area of education. As universities are moving increasingly to limited entry based on bursary examinations, the male bias of these exams takes on a new importance. This is a significant, carefully researched and cleverly presented account.

Last but by no means least is Sue Middleton's account of gender equity in school charters. Perhaps I could, rather than describe Sue's paper, pay tribute to the work that she has done over a decade for, with and on behalf of women in education in Aotearoa. Sue has consistently worked to put women on the agenda, when many other educational researchers have preferred to ignore them. *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2* reflects the high intellectual and research standards both Sue and Alison have set in this field, and it deserves to be widely read and debated. I hope those powerful men I referred to in the introduction to this review both read this book and work to ensure that education

policies take account of women's positions in the education system. Whether they do or not, for all those women educators fighting for change in our society, this book is an invaluable resource.

Liz Gordon, Education, University of Canterbury
May 1992

Fictions of the Female Self: Charlotte Brontë, Olive Schreiner, Katherine Mansfield
Ruth Parkin-Gounelas
Macmillan, Houndmills and London, 1991. NZ$150 (approx.)

Ruth Parkin-Gounelas grew up in New Zealand, but now lives and works in Greece. This is her first book; it 'treats the work of three generations of post-Romantic women writers of fiction as precursors (and in some sense initiators) of the contemporary, neo-feminist preoccupation with female selfhood', looking at how, 'in different ways and in relation to the different pressures of their respective periods, [they] set as their primary aim the formulation of female subjectivity' (p. 3). She sets up the context of a (shifting but consistent) discourse which positioned men as objective, validly speaking subjects, even when they came to speak (as they did in the Romantic period) of their own subjectivity, over against women as always excessively subjective objects, 'specifically constructed through relatedness to others' (p. 20). Given this context, 'the prototypical nature of the enterprise' of formulating female subjectivity 'meant that it involved as much compromise as experimentation' (p. 3).

The three authors discussed here of course experimented and compromised in distinct ways. Charlotte Brontë's work involves 'women's novelistic engagement with (or, at times, disengagement from) the newly awakened preoccupation with subjectivity that was to reshape the nineteenth century novel' (p. 7); Schreiner 'regarded her own fiction as being necessarily self-referential' (p. 11); and Mansfield 'typifies the ... collusive yet rebellious response to the avant-garde, Modernist ideology ... [her project was] the inscription of the female subject into English fiction ... [which] had little to do with the (male) Modernist insistence on the "impersonality" of the artist' (p. 7).

Critics of all three, recognising the intense and compelling nature of these enterprises, have constantly confounded persons and personae (Parkin-Gounelas herself comes close to doing so at times, notably in the sections on Mansfield). Disparagement and neglect of their work, characteristically based on judgements related to gendered dualities, has alternated with various forms of *succès de scandale* and/or 'the dubious honour of a mythical status'. More importantly, 'Marginalisation, either social or geographical or both, tended ... to go hand in hand with an authorial obsession with the inscription of selfhood' (p. 23). The canon-shapers repeatedly castigated this obsession, constructing it as a failure 'to transform ... experience from [personal, immanent] "life" into [impersonal, transcendent] "Art"' (p. 15) .

Yet how, for female authors, could this transformation be brought about? Writing and being read as women, they could not make any claim to be 'representative' — unless, as Mansfield once wrote to Murry of herself, they turned themselves into 'a writer first and a woman after'. Male authors, as Parkin-Gounelas notes in a neat aside, were unlikely ever to feel the need to make a parallel statement; instead they took their right of representation for granted.

As an interested but not expert reader in the field, I found this an approachable and stimulating discussion which made me want to reread the books it highlights — a good test of any such work. But more importantly, I read it as a female writer of non-fiction, working within conventions where a voice of objective, distanced, impersonal author/ity is still almost universally expected (in reviews, for example). I too am concerned with the difficulty of becoming the 'speaking subject' in such a context; and what is more, of finding a 'readable' way to write which acknowledges and explores the complex relations involved — for men as well as for women — between the speaking subject and the socially inscribed body, as well as between new and existing texts.

So, much of what Parkin-Gounelas finds in the authors and texts she discusses made rich and resonant sense to me, though on occasion I vehemently disagreed with her. At some points the arguments appear to become uncharacteristically ahistorical (as in discussing recent 'object relations theory', or stating too simply that Brontë wrote in a society 'that defined writing as

a male activity'). It could be argued that in looking at the work of Schreiner and Mansfield, she does not pay sufficient attention to the colonial dimension. She seems to assume, too, that Mansfield did 'keep' something called a 'journal', though 'She would almost certainly have disapproved of the tidying up and trimming down ... after her death by Murry'. In fact she left a mass of scraps, which she specifically asked Murry to destroy in order to 'leave all fair'—an injunction which he, unlike L. M., (fortunately?) ignored, cutting and pasting to create the various publications presented as her *Journal*, and thus undoubtedly giving an enormous boost to critical interest in her work.

Such reservations apart, I found this an insightful and stimulating book, and will go back to it, both as a reader and a writer. It will be useful to set alongside Rachel Brownstein's *Becoming A Heroine* and Judith Lowder Newton's firmly materialist *Women, Power and Subversion.* However, the publishers obviously aimed only at the specialist and library markets, so it is unlikely to reach a wide audience.

Anne Else, Historical Branch, Internal Affairs, Wellington
May 1992

Other Books Received

Celia Briar, Robyn Munford and Mary Nash (eds.), *Superwoman Where Are You? Social Policy and Women's Experience* (Dunmore, Palmerston North, 1992). $39.95.

Catherine Delahunty, *Past Light* (Penguin, Auckland, 1992). $24.95.

Lauris Edmond, *The Quick World: Autobiography Volume III* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992). $29.95.

Sue McCauley and Richard McLachlan (eds.), *Erotic Writing* (Penguin, Auckland, 1992). $24.95.

Women's Studies in New Zealand: A List of Current Research

Compiled by Bronwyn Dalley

Brookes, Barbara History Department, University of Otago, Dunedin. Women's history in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Currently working on a book examining how the supposedly 'natural desires' of marriage, home and family have shaped women's lives.

Cahill, Maud English Department, University of Otago, Dunedin. Research interests in cultural and literary history using feminist and poststructural theory, particularly in relation to New Zealand and Australia. Currently writing a PhD looking at nineteenth-century colonial feminist literature.

Chetwynd, Jane Department of Community Health and General Practice, Christchurch School of Medicine, Christchurch. Interests focus on women's health in general. At present I am working in the HIV/AIDS field, concentrating on the issue of sexuality. I am working with the NZ Prostitutes' Collective to assess the needs of sex workers to protect themselves from HIV. I've also recently completed a national survey of sexual relationships and practices among adult New Zealanders.

Chrisp, Jill Waiariki Polytechnic, Rotorua. Articulation of Women's Studies papers between University and Polytechnic; bicultural/separate development—the issues of indigenous women and how they relate.

Crosthwaite, Jan Philosophy Department, University of Auckland, Auckland. My major research interest is the critique of traditional political theorising which feminist analysis provides, though I am also interested in the possibilities of a distinctive

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feminist perspective on ethical and epistemological theories. I am interested in issues of medical ethics in general, and in particular the area of informed consent.

Daley, Caroline History Department, Victoria University, Wellington. I have recently completed a PhD which examined gender relations in a local community in late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand. At present I am examining aspects of gender relations in the public sphere between 1893 and 1939 as part of a postdoctoral fellowship at Victoria University entitled 'Beyond Suffrage: Gender and the Political Process'.

Dann, Christine Box 46, Diamond Harbour. With Rosemary Du Plessis, I am working on a 'Benefit Cuts Survival Study', examining the strategies for survival adopted by those on the DPB. From June I am involved in a Women's Outdoor Recreation Study, interviewing women involved in outdoor pursuits, including mothers and women engaged in high-risk activities. This is the first in-depth look in New Zealand at what outdoorsy women do, why they do it, and how they experience it. I am also trying to complete a history of the Green Movement in New Zealand, as well as work on the Historical Atlas, and begin a new gardening book on the perennial garden.

Du Plessis, Rosemary Sociology Department, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. My research interests include women's paid and unpaid work, feminism and the state, and the politics of popular culture.

Else, Anne Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington. Editor of *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand/Ngā Roopu Wāhine o te Motu.*

Griffin, Penelope German Department, University of Otago, Dunedin. My interest is in German women's literature. I am working on a thesis analysing the form of the female protagonist in women's writing of the German Democratic Republic.

Holmes, Mary Department of Sociology, University of Auckland. My PhD research is in the area of representations of feminism. I am exploring the contested meanings of feminism in New Zealand over the last 20 years and examining the uses/effects of various representations in political decision making. One of my chapters will explore feminism as Women's Studies.

Julian, Rae 16 Orari St, Ngaio, Wellington 6. My interests are all areas to do with women's rights, and the barriers to progress, especially employment and participation in public life, childcare, pay equity, equal employment and educational opportunities.

Lake, Marilyn Women's Studies/History, LaTrobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia, 3083. My research interests focus on the history of feminism in Australia with special reference to feminism's relationship with national identity, racial identity, and socialist politics.

Langston, Marian Physical Education, Otago University. At present doing PhD research, talking to pregnant women, also interested in 'the body' and the ways the body is controlled and used.

Leckie, Jacqueline Anthropology Department, University of Otago. Current research interests are immigrant and ethnic women's organisations in New Zealand, and women's labour and contemporary labour relations in the South Pacific.

Lynch, Pip Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, Lincoln University, Canterbury. Interests include qualitative analysis of women's experiences of outdoor recreation, girls in outdoor education, and menstrual waste disposal methods in the back country.

Mann, Deborah Department of Management Studies and Labour Relations, University of Auckland, Auckland. Currently working on a thesis which examines the structure/culture of feminist/women's organisations in New Zealand. Interested

in critiques of organisational structure literature and the interface of culture and structure.

Rogers, John Onehunga High School, Auckland. I am doing an investigation for the Diploma in Mathematics Education (1992) which focuses on the issue of single-sex teaching and the question of whether it changes the attitudes of 4th form girls at Onehunga High School. An ongoing interest is the achievements and attitudes of girls who have been taught in separate classes at the 4th form level only.

Rowland, Robyn Women's Studies, Geelong Campus, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, 3217. Feminist analysis of reproductive and genetic engineering, childhood vaccination decisions.

Stivens, Maila Women's Studies/History, University of Melbourne, Victoria, 3052. Interests in family and household, gender and underdevelopment, with special reference to Southeast Asia and especially Malaysia. Currently involved in a project on work and family in the new Malay middle classes.

Swift, Donna Anthropology Department, University of Otago. Research interests are images and attitudes associated with menstruation, women's health issues, and feminist anthropology and feminist research methodology.

Trotman, Rachel Sociology Department, University of Auckland, Auckland. Current research interests include feminisms as they relate to the issues of sameness/difference, 'the body', race, class and religion, 'Third World' and Black feminisms, deconstruction, postmodern theory, how 'others' are constituted, and reproductive technologies. In particular, I am interested in the state of feminism in New Zealand, Maori women, and how feminism is constructed and construed theoretically, academically, as well as in popular culture.

Yates, Dianne Continuing Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton. Interested in feminist futures and women's visions of alternative societies in the New Zealand context. This includes speculative fiction and intentional communities.

New Zealand Social Research Data Archives

The New Zealand Social Research Data Archives has been established at Massey University. Its brief is to collect, clean, document and preserve computer-readable data relating to social, political and economic affairs and to make that data available for further analysis.

The NZRDA invites readers from any discipline in the social sciences to deposit data sets with the Archives. Such data represent a valuable resource which, if not deposited and archived, could disappear. Depositors can stipulate the conditions under which the data sets can be made more widely available.

Both those wishing to deposit or acquire data sets should write to:

Director
New Zealand Social Research Data Archives
Faculty of Social Sciences
Massey University
Palmerston North
New Zealand

or phone: (06) 3569099 ext 8008
fax: (06) 3505627
Email: NZSRDA@massey.ac.nz

Forthcoming Conference: 'Suffrage and Beyond'

Call for papers for an international conference to commemorate the centenary of women's suffrage in New Zealand, 27, 28, 29 August 1993. The theme of the conference is 'Suffrage and Beyond'. The conference will be held at Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington. Anyone wishing to a give a paper should submit an abstract for consideration by 31 January 1993 to the conference organizer, Melanie Nolan, History Department, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, telephone 4721 000.

The New Zealand Historical Association Conference

Will be held at Knox College, Dunedin, from 29 January to 1 February 1993. A major theme of the conference is women's history in keeping with the suffrage year centenary. The conference will host a women's breakfast and a women's history workshop. Inquiries should be directed to the Conference Convener, History Department, Otago University, Box 56, Dunedin.

Information for Authors

The *Women's Studies Journal* welcomes contributions from a wide range of feminist positions and disciplinary backgrounds. It has a primary, but not exclusive, focus on women's studies in New Zealand. We encourage papers which address women's experience, explore gender as a category of analysis and further feminist theory and debate.

All manuscripts will be sent out for anonymous reviewing with the aim of providing the author with feedback and constructive suggestions.

Enquiries about the *Journal* and contributions only should be sent to:

Women's Studies Journal
Women's Studies
Department of English
University of Otago
P.O. Box 56
Dunedin

Please send two double-spaced copies, with generous margins. A separate title page should include the title and the author's name and address. Since contributions will not be returned authors should retain a copy of their work. A style sheet is available on request.

Women's Studies Association (NZ) (Inc.)

The Association is a feminist organisation formed to promote radical social change through the medium of women's studies. We believe that a feminist perspective necessarily acknowledges oppression on the grounds of race, sexuality and class as well as sex. We acknowledge the Maori people as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa. This means we have a particular responsibility to address their oppression among our work and activities.

Full membership of the Association is open to all women. Other individuals may become associate members.

Annual subscription (includes GST):

- full membership (women) $20.00
- associate membership (newsletter only) $20.00
- corporate membership (institutions) $24.00
- low/no income $12.00

Cheques and enquiries to: P.O. Box 5067, Auckland, New Zealand.

Annual Conference: The Association holds an annual conference where members present the latest feminist research and discussion papers, and workshops explore issues important to women. The *Conference Papers* are published annually. 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.

THE BODY ◇ LAW ◇ EDUCATION

Anituatua Black talks to Barbara Brookes/ Marian Langston **Pregnancy and Power** / Tiina Vares **Feminist Women and Breastfeeding** / Marian Evans and Robin Mackenzie **Gender-Specific Injury and the Law** / Helen May **The Politics of Early Childhood** / Anne Smith **Women in Universities** / Mary Ann Crick **Women's Studies Resources Checklist**

Reviews of New Books / Listing of Current Research