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FEMINISM AND EDUCATION
IN POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

For the purposes of this thesis, feminism has been viewed as both a set of social theories which identify, describe and account for the contradictions experienced by women in their everyday lives and the social movement which has developed and employed these theories to assist in generating political strategies aimed at redressing social inequalities and injustices recognised as based, wholly or in part, on gender. Since the late 1960s, many New Zealand educators have been influenced by feminism. Although feminist social scientists have given some attention to the origins of post-war feminism, there has been little attention given by scholars to describing and explaining how individual women came to adopt a feminist analysis of the social world. This thesis is a sociological analysis of the lives of twelve feminist educators, born in New Zealand in the years immediately following World War Two. The method used in this is life-history analysis, which focusses on 'biography, history and social structure.' It is argued that these New Zealand women, who attended school in the post-war years, and who have, as adults, become both educators and feminists, experienced in their lives contradictions and a sense of 'marginality', which generated in them visions of both the desirability and the possibility of change in their own lives and in the lives of women in general. During their schooling, they experienced contradictions between their upbringing to be professionally-autonomous 'intellectuals' and the expectations of them as women to be subordinately 'feminine.' They also experienced contradictory expectations with respect to their sexual morality: while the dominant ideology of family and school emphasised pre-marital virginity, the permissive anarchy of the 'sexual revolution' stressed freedom of sexual expression. These women believed that education could provide a vision of the desirability and the possibility of change in their own lives and in those of their students. As feminist educators within institutions, these women experienced a 'double marginality': as women, they were marginal in attaining senior positions within professional hierarchies and as feminists they were members of a small and dissenting minority.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

For the purposes of this thesis, feminism will be defined as both a set of social theories which identify, describe and account for the contradictions experienced by women in their everyday lives and the social movement which has developed and employed these theories to assist in generating political strategies to redress social inequalities and injustices recognised as based wholly or in part on gender. Since the late 1960s, feminism has re-emerged as a mass social movement and has influenced government educational policies in many countries, as well as stimulating critiques in a number of the academic disciplines, including the sociology of education. Although feminist scholars have given some attention to the origins of feminism, there has been little effort on the part of social scientists to describe and explain how individual women become feminists, or how they come to identify, interpret and analyse the contradictions in their everyday lives in a feminist way.

Some existing studies of feminism have focussed on the history of the movement (Banks, 1981; Bunkle, 1979-80; Freeman, 1973), while others have adopted a Marxist perspective in order to try and explain why it was that the socio-economic conditions of the post-war era were generative of the resurgence of feminism as a mass social movement (Bartky, 1977; Bland et al, 1979b; Eisenstein, 1981, 1982; Mitchell, 1973). In describing and explaining the origins of contemporary feminism, academic feminist researchers have studied the socio-historical context of the movement and have neglected to analyse the experiences of individual women. The feminist and sociological literatures lack studies of the lives of feminists, of how individual women articulate the events and ideas which influenced their thinking about themselves as women, how and why they came to adopt a feminist analysis of the social world, and how their feminism has influenced their lives.

Feminism has been particularly influential in education. A large literature has been generated within the academic subject of educational studies (e.g. Byrne, 1978; Deem, 1978, 1980; Frazier and Sadker, 1973; MacDonald, 1980a, 1980b; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Spender, 1983). Women's studies courses have proliferated in universities and in the wider community (Bowles and Klein, 1983;

Keohane, 1982; Spender, 1978; Tobias, 1978). Government policies on sexual equality have been formulated and implemented in a number of countries. Here in New Zealand, feminist teachers' groups have been formed in several cities. Educational researchers have, however, neglected to study feminist educators, how they account for their feminism or how it has influenced their practice.

This gap in the literature is, perhaps, understandable when one examines the current preoccupations of sociologists of education, who have become increasingly concerned with the school as a site of social and cultural reproduction. Rejecting the liberal view that schools are agents of social mobility and human emancipation, many writers in the 'new' sociology of education (Bates, 1978) have concentrated on the analysis of how schooling constructs and reproduces the class and gender inequalities and ideologies of the wider society. In this they have failed to account for the emergence of radicals (including sociologists) in educational settings. Sociologists have neglected to study radical teachers.

This thesis offers a sociological analysis of the life-histories of twelve feminist educators, all born and educated in post-war New Zealand. The directions of inquiry in the interviews were how do feminist educators account for their radicalisation, and how does their feminism influence their practice? The method used is life-history analysis, which focuses on what Mills and others have referred to as "biography, history and social structure" (Mills, 1959; Laing, 1971; Plummer, 1983). The women interviewed were asked to describe their socialisation in the family, their schooling and higher education, career paths, personal (including sexual) relationships with 'significant others' and involvement with feminism and other types of radical politics. The life-history approach has been curiously neglected in the sociology of education, few researchers having asked people to describe and evaluate their own schooling or the process of their politicisation. The life-history method enables the researcher to analyse both the lives of individuals and the social context of their experience, relating "the personal troubles of milieu and the public issues of social structure" (Mills, 1959, 14).

In this the method assists in resolving some of the tensions which have characterised theoretical debates in sociology and, more specifically, the sociology of education (Bates, 1978; Douglas, 1970; Filmer, 1972; Flude and Ahier, 1977; Giroux, 1982; Young, 1971b). While functionalists and structuralist Marxists have been accused of reducing the individual to a passively socialised bearer of roles, norms, discourses, or ideologies (Giroux, 1982; Willis, 1977), the phenomenological assumptions of interpretive sociologists have been seen as exaggerating the powers of social actors to construct meanings so that the power relations of the wider society and the limitations these impose on personal choice are under-emphasised (Sharp and Green, 1975). A life-history method allows the researcher to concentrate on both social structure and individual agency (Laing, 1967; Mills, 1959; Plummer, 1983). People are seen, not as mere victims of their conditioning, but as creative strategists who devise means of dealing with, or resolving, contradictions.

A life-history approach to the study of the radicalisation of feminist educators in post-war New Zealand requires of the sociologist an analysis of the lives of individuals and of the dominant beliefs about, and choices available to, women at the particular time and place. In order to understand the contradictions experienced by women and girls in the post-war period, some knowledge of women's work during the war and the post-war years is necessary.

During the war women had assumed responsibilities in public life which hitherto had been male preserves. They had served in non-combat duties in the armed forces overseas and here in New Zealand had worked in jobs normally done by men. These changes necessitated a re-evaluation of women's capacities for physical labour (N.Z. Army, 1943b; Seward, 1944). However, after the war most of the married women who had been doing 'men's jobs' left the paid work-force in favour of domestic duties (Friedan, 1963; Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Reekie, 1983). Their children were given access to free secondary education, an opportunity which had previously been open only to those who could afford it. The government's prescription for post-war education was both liberal and meritocratic: schools would produce adults able to take their place in a liberal democracy as "workers, neighbours,

homemakers and citizens" (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition). The only limit to aspirations was 'ability'. Although all children were to receive a broad, general liberal education, girls were to receive in addition compulsory training in domesticity as preparation for their anticipated future role as homemakers. Sexuality was dealt with as a science topic (the 'facts of reproduction') and defined as belonging only within the 'sanctity of marriage' (Department of Education, 1959 edition; Department of Health, 1955); sexual experimentation outside of this was viewed as a sign of 'delinquency', a 'social disease' which social engineering could prevent (Department of Education, 1962). The post-war woman, then, was to experience in her schooling a set of cultural practices which were based on the assumptions of both a liberal ideology¹ of equality of opportunity and, at the same time, an ideology of domestic 'femininity' - women's true role economically was as biological and social reproducer of the work force (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 1943b); the patriarchal nuclear family (with the husband as breadwinner) was seen as essential to the maintenance of social cohesion and public morality (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition; 1962; Department of Health, 1955). Schooling was to reproduce both these ideologies.

During the 1950s and 1960s, girls in 'academic' streams were strongly pressured to take up school teaching as a career, an option which had long been seen as compatible with women's role as socialisers of children. The post-war baby boom and the expansion of the availability of secondary and higher education meant that there was a severe shortage of teachers. During the 1960s there was a concerted campaign on the part of the government to recruit "one sixth form girl school leaver in two" to programmes of teacher training (Department of Education, 1962, 585). At the same time, married women teachers were called back into service; at a time of 'national emergency' the 'reserve army' (Marx, 1867, 1976 edition) of women's labour was again seen as necessary by the government. The expressed needs of government in the area of 'manpower planning' (Foucault, 1980a) brought about changes in beliefs about women's work: as in war-time it became more acceptable for married women to engage in paid work outside the home (Bland et al, 1979b). However, their work was

1. The term 'ideology' will be discussed in Chapter Three.

regarded as disposable when not 'needed', their careers not to be taken as seriously as those of men; it has, for example, been argued that teaching for women was merely a "short adventure between school and marriage" (Watson, 1966, 159).

The daughters of the post-war baby boom, then, were exposed to contradictory sets of expectations. This was particularly accentuated for girls in academic streams. Although the rhetoric of liberalism² and 'meritocracy'³ promised them equality of educational and vocational opportunity, limited only on grounds of 'merit,' they were socialised as women to choose only those occupations (such as teaching, nursing and secretarial work) seen as 'feminine' (MacDonald, 1980a). Although both men and women were expected to marry and raise children, men were expected to have both family and career, while women were expected to choose one or the other, or, if they continued to teach, their careers would be subordinate to those of their husbands. While the ideology of liberalism valued intellectual, professional and emotional autonomy, that of 'femininity' portrayed women and girls as financially and emotionally dependent on men. Liberalism and 'femininity' were, in a sense, contradictory.

A further contradiction became evident in the post-war years in conflicting attitudes towards female sexuality. Women were taught that they must endeavour to make themselves attractive to men, but must not 'give in' to men's sexual advances (Beaglehole, 1943; Department of Health, 1955; Hubert, 1943). Those who trained for the professions were expected to delay sexual activity⁴ until marriage, yet those who married while training to be teachers lost their studentship. During the late 1960s the revolution in contraceptive

2. Discussed in Chapter Two.

3. Discussed in chapter Four

4. The term 'sexual activity' is problematic and somewhat ambiguous. In this thesis it will be used in the sense of being a 'non-virgin'. See Diorio (1984).

technology (the 'pill') made it more possible than ever before for young women to have heterosexual relationships and to avoid unwanted pregnancies. While the official ideology (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition; Department of Health, 1955) was that sex outside marriage was either 'sinful' or 'delinquent', the rhetoric of the 'sexual revolution' widespread in university settings of the early 1970s (Firestone, 1979; Ingham, 1982; Mitchell 1973) accused virgins of prudery or having psychological 'hangups'.

There were, then, contradictions both between the ideologies of femininity and liberalism and between different attitudes towards female sexual morality. Feminism is a set of theories and political practices which address these contradictions and the different types of 'feminisms' (liberal, Marxist, radical feminist and socialist) (Banks, 1981; Bunkle, 1979-80; Eisenstein, 1981; Jaggar, 1977; Jaggar and Struhl, 1978; Sayers, 1982) may usefully be seen as different strategies for resolving them at both personal and public levels. Liberal feminists (e.g. Friedan, 1963) seek equal representation with men throughout the hierarchies of capitalist society, e.g. in management, in the skilled trades, in political office, and a sharing of domestic tasks between husband and wife; the object of liberal feminists is to bring about equality within the present social order for both sexes. Radical feminists (e.g. Firestone, 1979; Rich, 1976, 1977; Spender, 1983) challenge present social constructions of female sexuality, viewing these as constructions of a male-dominated (patriarchal) culture. Through sharing experience with other women in 'consciousness-raising', radical feminists hope to understand their oppression and work towards constructing a female reality. Radical feminist strategies are, to varying extents, separatist. Socialist feminists (e.g. Barrett, 1980; Eisenstein, 1981, 1982; Mitchell, 1973; Rowbotham, 1973) draw on Marxist theory and view the social relations of class and gender as being, at least partly, determined by people's relations to the modes of production and (biological and social) reproduction in a particular society. Socialist feminists have analysed women's roles in productive and reproductive labour and, together with men of the political 'left', work towards the overthrow of the capitalist system. This is seen as oppressive to both sexes, although the nature of this

oppression is seen as different for men and women. This thesis analyses the lives of New Zealand women who espouse each of these positions. Each woman describes the influences and events in her life which led her to adopt her theoretical position on the social world in general and, more specifically, her educational theory and practice as a feminist teacher.

Although research on this process of becoming a feminist is scant, there have been a few analyses of the emergence of feminism in the post-war years which suggest that the post-war resurgence of feminism (including 'academic feminism' or women's studies) as a social movement has been inspired by women's recognition of the contradictions in their lives and their apprehension of the possibility of change (Bartky, 1977; Bland et al. 1979b; Mitchell, 1973). Writers such as Freeman (1973), Mitchell (1973) and Firestone (1979) have shown that the 'second wave' of feminism was stimulated largely by educated, middle-class women. However, apart from some recent feminist fiction (Alther, 1976; Piercy, 1983) there has been little analysis of the precise nature of the contradictions experienced by such women in their everyday lives (Ingham, 1982). This thesis explores the contradictions experienced by 'educated' women of the post-war era and their feminist analyses of these. Education, at a time of 'full employment' offered women the possibility of financial independence from men as well as the chance to enter a profession, to achieve status in their own right. For many women, pursuit of higher education also meant moving away from home. The resulting physical freedom offered them the chance to explore new political philosophies and to experiment with sexual lifestyles which were different from those of their parents (Firestone, 1979; Ingham, 1982; Mitchell, 1973). Education offered many women a vision of the possibility and the desirability of change.

The life-history technique has been described as being "particularly suited to discovering the confusions, ambiguities and contradictions that are played in everyday experiences" (Plummer, 1983, 68). In this study of the contradictions in the experiences of New Zealand women who have become both educators and feminists, four major inter-related themes are explored: the process of becoming

educationally 'successful', experiences associated with female sexuality, the process of becoming radicalised politically, and the implications of feminism for educational practice. At some time in their lives, all twelve of the women had experienced contradictions between their sexual and intellectual/professional lives and between the dominant ideology of feminine domesticity and the permissive attitudes of the 'sexual revolution.' The women's feminism is seen both as a response to, and a strategy for dealing with, these experienced contradictions in their personal and political lives. The life-histories are presented thematically, moving from the school years, through early adulthood to the time at which the interviews took place (1981-4) when the women were in their thirties. In the remainder of this chapter I shall outline the major themes which will be analysed in the life-history chapters of this thesis: the nature of the contradictions experienced by 'academic' post-war New Zealand women during their school years. the process of coming to articulate personal experiences of oppression, marginality or discrimination as political or social issues, and how being a feminist influences educational practice.

During the 1960s when these women were at secondary school. the dominant method of organising pupils and knowledge in New Zealand secondary schools was that of 'setting' (Department of Education, 1962; Harker, 1975; Sutch, 1966; Whitehead, 1974). Setting is that method of streaming in which pupils are allocated to classes on the basis of subject choice. The larger secondary schools (both single-sex and co-educational) had 'top' streams of pupils taking 'academic' (sometimes called 'professional') courses, general streams, and technical streams (commercial or homecraft for girls, agriculture or shop-work for boys).

The issue of subject choice is, therefore, crucial in coming to a sociological understanding of a pupil's schooling. Subject choices are strongly influenced by family aspirations and expectations. A number of sociologists have studied what they have termed the 'reproductive strategies' of class-located patriarchal families (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Hodges, 1979; Nash, 1985; Tilly, 1979). Within the family, children acquire the set of linguistic

competencies, tastes, habits of mind and dispositions of their parents' class/cultural group, what Bourdieu (1971a, 1971b, 1976) has called the 'habitus'. Whereas the children of a landed aristocracy or wealthy parents may inherit property or capital, the children of professional and other middle-class families may 'inherit' 'cultural capital' - that particular 'habitus' which is characteristic of the ruling or professional classes and which is validated in the academic streams of schools (Bourdieu, 1971a, 1971b, 1976):

"Those whose 'culture' (in the ethnologists' sense) is the academic culture conveyed by the school have a system of categories of perception, language, thought and appreciation that sets them apart from those whose only training has been through their work and their social contacts with people of their own kind" (Bourdieu, 1971b, 200).

In other words, while the children of working-class families and ethnic minorities may find their cultures invalidated at school, children of upper and middle-class families in general, according to Bourdieu, find their culture legitimated. Their cultural capital, through helping them win school credentials and to gain access to professional occupations, is convertible to 'real capital.' According to writers in this tradition of 'cultural reproduction' in the sociology of education, parents endeavour to ensure the reproduction of the family's social position through encouraging children to enter occupations of similar, or higher status, to their own (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Connell et al, 1982). In the case of girls, the choice of, say, an 'academic' or a 'commercial' course may be also be, at least partly, motivated by the family's marital strategies in that girls' careers may be seen as instrumental to their finding a 'suitable' professional or executive husband (Connell et al, 1982).

The concept of cultural capital is a particularly useful one in analysing the educational life-histories of women who have been successful within the formal education system. Many previous sociological studies of school success, however, have been of a statistical nature seeking to establish correlations between fathers' occupation and children's achievement (e.g. Elley and Irving, 1971; Harker, 1975). Although there has, more recently, been some

recognition in the New Zealand literature that mother's occupation could be important (Irving and Elley, 1977), there has been little recognition in this country, even by feminists (Place, 1981) of the importance of the mother's 'cultural capital' to a child's aspirations and school success. In 'social stratification' studies, many 'educated' women are classified alongside the less educated as 'housewives' (Gray, 1981; Oakley, 1974). In studying the educational success and career aspirations of women, the mother's experiences of, and attitudes towards, education are especially important.

This is perhaps of particular importance in coming to understand the experience of 'post-war babies'. Before the Second World War, secondary schooling was available only to those who could afford it (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition; McLaren, 1973; Sutch, 1966). Many children did not attend secondary school and, because education was not seen as being as important for girls (Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Tennant, 1977), many women did not have the opportunity to extend their full intellectual capabilities. In addition, many mothers of post-war babies had missed out on the chance of secondary or higher education because of the Great Depression or the War. Perception of their mothers' lives as educationally or vocationally frustrated, unhappy or unfulfilled helped to motivate many post-war girls to make the most of their educational and vocational opportunities (Alther, 1976; Friday, 1976; Ingham, 1982; Mitchell, 1973; Piercy, 1983). Trying not to become like one's mother was a major influence on many of these women's working and sexual lives. They saw change in women's lives as desirable and education as a means to make it possible (Ingham, 1982; Mitchell, 1973).

The women portrayed in this thesis had all taken either academic or commercial courses at school. The literature suggests that distinct, and differentially-valued, adolescent girls' subcultures were associated with academic and commercial streams (Findlay, 1976; Frame, 1982). Within these subcultures, girls constructed 'ideal typifications' (Becker, 1976; Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Keddie, 1971) of one another. Girls in lower streams, such as 'commercial'

and 'homecraft' were perceived by many academic girls and some teachers as both intellectually inferior to (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Findlay, 1973; Frame, 1983; Taylor, 1984), and as more sexually active than (Becker, 1976), academic girls. Although there is little, if any, published research in New Zealand to support this typification of lower stream girls as being more sexually active than academic girls (Becker, 1976), it is important in illustrating how some academic girls at this time perceived overt heterosexuality and intellectuality as contradictory. There is, however, some supporting evidence that 'commercial girls' perceived themselves as being of lower status in the school than their academic peers (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Taylor, 1984).

As well as experiencing contradictions between their intellectual/professional aspirations and their sexuality, young women of the post-war era were also exposed to contradictory sets of expectations regarding the expression of their sexuality. By the time they reached university or teachers' college, it is likely that most young women had been exposed to the permissive ideas of the 'sexual revolution' (Alther, 1979; Firestone, 1979; Mitchell, 1973; Piercy, 1983). These ideas contradicted the ideology of virginity before marriage which was dominant in school and other government sex education policies (Department of Education, 1944, 1962; Department of Health, 1955). The literature suggests that parental attitudes of the 1950s and 1960s to their daughters' sexuality was often repressive, or 'Victorian' (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Foucault, 1980a; Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Thompson, 1971 edition). Sexual matters were not discussed openly within families at the time (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Frame, 1983). The decision to 'lose ones virginity' outside of marriage could be stressful for young women, precipitating a degree of alienation from their parents (Alther, 1979; Barrington and Gray, 1981; Firestone, 1979; Ingham, 1982; Mitchell, 1973; Piercy, 1983).

This argument that educated women of the post-war era experienced contradictions between their sexuality and their intellectuality/professionality and between different constructions of female sexuality raises an important question for this study of

feminist educators. If the experiences of 'educated' women of the post-war era were so contradictory, why did they all not become feminists? The existence of conducive social conditions is a necessary, but not a sufficient, explanation of why some women educators became feminists, while others did not. In this thesis it will be argued that women who become feminists have had personal experiences of 'victimisation' (Bartky, 1977) or 'marginality' (Bourdieu, 1971a), have had access to feminist ideas, perceived the contradictions in their lives as social phenomena, and apprehended both the desirability and possibility of change.

An example will illustrate the argument. A woman is living in an unhappy marriage. Her husband works long hours, while she stays at home to care for their preschool children. She becomes depressed, develops headaches and insomnia. She consults a doctor, who prescribes tranquillisers. Both her husband and the doctor express concern at her inability to 'cope' and describe her as 'neurotic' and 'immature'. She accepts their definition of her condition. In other words she deals with the tensions in her life by accepting them and blaming herself for the stress she experiences. Let us imagine an alternative scenario for the same woman. While out shopping, she is attracted to a large crowd standing around a caravan from which an evangelist is preaching. He addresses himself to "all you lost and lonely people out there" and tells his audience that, if they would only admit Jesus into their hearts, their lives will be filled with joy and meaning. The woman steps forward and is converted. She believes that her former unhappiness was caused by living a Godless life. In both of these cases, the woman is experiencing stress, but does not interpret her situation as a response to social contradictions. However, if she had access to feminist ideas, say, through picking up a copy of Friedan's Feminine Mystique or meeting feminist women at her local Plunket rooms, her interpretation of her situation might have been very different. She might, for example, have demanded that her husband spend more time with her and the children and questioned the allocation of, and split between, domestic tasks and paid working roles in advanced capitalist societies. She might have become involved in the struggle for quality child-care and decided to advance her education or take a job. What is crucial in

the making of a feminist is the process of coming to interpret experienced personal oppression and/or discrimination as an outcome of social contradictions. In Mills' (1959) terms, private troubles are seen as public issues.

A number of writers have noted that women who became involved with the feminist movement during its resurgence in the early 1970s had previously had exposure to the ideas of other radical political movements of the 1960s, such as the student movement, the peace movement (specifically, the anti-Vietnam War protests), and the civil rights movement in the United States (Bunkle, 1979-80; Freeman, 1973; Mitchell, 1975; Tobias, 1978). There are few written accounts of how individual feminist women who were born in the years since the Second World War developed their feminist ideas and to what extent their ideas about the oppression of women were influenced by previously held political theories about the nature of oppression, e.g. Marxism, pacifism, anarchism, socialism or anti-racism. According to Bourdieu (1971a), those who come to adopt a radical critique of a social institution have had experiences of marginality within it. For example, he cites the university:

"...the attacks against academic orthodoxy come from the intellectuals situated on the fringes of the university system who are prone to dispute its legitimacy, thereby proving that they acknowledge its jurisdiction sufficiently to reproach it for not approving them" (1971a, 179).

In this thesis it will be argued that the experience of marginality is radicalising when it is analysed as a manifestation of a social injustice rather than a 'personal problem' and when the 'victim' feels able to do something about changing it. Through providing access to ideas which articulate personal experiences of e.g. class, racial, cultural or gender marginality as social issues, rather than as expressions of personal inferiority or inadequacy, education can be a means of politicisation and empowerment (Friere, 1972; Giroux, 1982, 1983c; Mills, 1959).

Feminist teaching may be defined as a process in which teachers and students work together to articulate personal experiences of oppression, marginality or discrimination as social phenomena, to study and construct theories which explain gender-related social inequalities and injustices and their relationship to other forms of inequality and injustices (e.g. class, race), and to devise political and educational strategies aimed at redressing these. Feminist teachers endeavour to bring to their students a vision of the desirability and the possibility of change in their personal and wider social lives (Bowles and Klein, 1983; Freeman and Jones, 1980; MacKinnon, 1982; Rich 1979; Rutenberg, 1983; Spender, 1981a, 1983b; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Tobias, 1978).

Feminist teachers have been described as experiencing a further form of marginality, since, as feminists in educational institutions, they are members of a small and dissenting minority group (Mies, 1983; Rutenberg, 1983; Spender, 1978). This sense of marginality has been described as characteristic of feminists in schools (Spender and Sarah, 1980) and institutions of higher education (Bernard, 1973; Bowles, 1983; Coyner, 1983; du Bois, 1983; Hochschild, 1975; Mies, 1983; Spender, 1978; Tobias, 1978). Those whose teaching subject is 'academic feminism', or women's studies, may experience a 'double dose' of marginality in that their subject also has marginal status. As an interdisciplinary field in an institution structured according to 'discipline-based' administrative units (Bernstein, 1971), women's studies programmes are often administrative anomalies, struggling for visibility and legitimacy in university funding and planning (Bowles, 1983; Coyner, 1983; du Bois, 1983; MacKinnon, 1982; Mies, 1983; Spender, 1978; Tobias, 1978). This continuing experience of marginalisation may act as a further radicalising influence on feminist educators and their students in educational settings:

"Such marginality is an instant lesson in politics. By virtue of her connection to a vulnerable discipline, a Women's Studies student is forced to confront tensions similar to those she will encounter in the struggle against oppression outside the university" (Rutenberg, 1983, 76).

This thesis consists of two parts. The first presents a critical review of sociological perspectives and research on feminism, women's education and educational policies and practices in the post World War Two era both overseas and in New Zealand. The object of this is two-fold: to develop conceptual tools for the analysis of the life histories, and to come to a theoretical understanding of the social (particularly educational) context in which individual feminist educators planned and lived their lives. The second part of the thesis presents case studies of feminist educators: how they became both educators and feminists and how feminism influences educational strategies.

PART ONE contains six chapters. Chapter Two is a critical review of the major theoretical tendencies in feminist thought. Such an overview is necessary as a framework to assist in understanding feminist influences on the thinking of women in the case studies and on educational thought in both academic and policy-making circles. Liberal feminism, classical Marxism, the Marxist-feminist debate, radical feminism and socialist feminism are discussed. Socialist feminism is seen as offering a particularly useful framework for understanding the contradictions experienced by young 'educated' women in the post-war era. Chapter Three analyses the 'official ideology' of girls' education (Bland et al 1979a, 1979b; Wolpe, 1974) in post-war New Zealand. Following Foucault (1980a), sexuality is seen as having been constructed in key government documents and educational practices of the time as largely a 'medical' issue and a question of the social control and reproduction of the labour force. The expectations placed upon academic girls with respect to their sexuality (subordinate 'femininity') and their intellectuality (meritocratic, but gendered, liberalism) are analysed as inherently contradictory. Chapter Four outlines and critiques perspectives and research in the international literature of the 'sociology of women's education' (MacDonald, 1980b, 13) with the aim of developing a conceptual background for the analysis of New Zealand feminists' experiences in educational settings. Liberal feminism and the 'normative paradigm' (Lawton, 1975; Wilson, 1971) in the sociology of education are seen as sharing common functionalist and positivist assumptions. Radical feminism and the 'interpretive paradigm' are

criticised as sharing common phenomenological biases towards relativism and therefore under-emphasising structural constraints on human consciousness and actions. Socialist feminist perspectives are seen as offering a useful basis for analysing feminists' life histories because they take into account the dynamics of the cultural reproduction of both class and gender. Chapter Five reviews previous sociological research on post-war inequalities of class, race and gender in New Zealand education. Chapter Six describes major post-war theoretical and political tendencies in the New Zealand feminist movement and discusses their contributions to educational practice.

PART TWO adopts a case study approach in order to develop a sociological analysis of the experiences of post-war New Zealand women who have become both educators and feminists. Chapter Seven describes the methodology of the life-history study. Chapter Eight explores the process of becoming 'educationally successful' through analysing case studies of academic and commercial girls: how subject choices were made in the context of the process of cultural reproduction within families, the distinct and differentially-valued typifications of female sexuality and intellectuality constructed and reproduced in the adolescent girls' subcultures of academic and commercial streams. Chapter Nine explores different experiences of marginality during the school years: social class, rural-urban, ethnic and other types of cultural marginality are exemplified in the case studies. Relationships between these early experiences and the women's adult theoretical perspectives are outlined. Chapter Ten examines how personal experiences of marginality, discrimination or oppression may be translated into political awareness of the power relations and dynamics of the wider society. This chapter presents cases of women who claimed to have been radicalised politically during their school years through having access to radical ideas which articulated for them their personal experiences. Chapter Eleven addresses questions of female sexuality through analysing its social construction and reproduction in the family and school as contradictory. Case studies are presented to show how different feminist theories and strategies were designed to cope with experienced sexual contradictions. Chapter Twelve studies the women's educational strategies as adult feminist

educators, how these were influenced by their own personal experiences in educational settings, and how, as feminist educators, they have experienced marginality as feminists in educational institutions. Chapter Thirteen presents a case study of feminist educational strategies in a specific institution, the University of Waikato, as a means of analysing sociologically the experience of 'marginality' described by feminist teachers in the life histories and in the literature. It is argued that the social organisation of feminist scholarship is antithetical to the dominant patterns of 'classifying and framing' (Bernstein, 1971) educational knowledge in that it is premised on interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinary rather than specialisation and on the collective sharing and analysis of experience rather than merely a 'handing down' of knowledge by 'experts' (Coyner, 1983; du Bois, 1983; Freeman and Jones, 1983; Mies, 1983; Rutenberg, 1983; Spender, 1983b). Examples are given in this chapter of students' experiences of, and responses to, feminist teaching strategies. Chapter Fourteen summarises the main arguments of the thesis and suggests some directions for further enquiry.

In brief, this thesis offers a sociological analysis of the educational ideas of women who were born in New Zealand in the immediate post-war years and who have become both educators and feminists. It is argued that the social and educational context in which these women planned their careers and their personal lives was one of contradictory expectations with respect to female sexuality and intellectuality/professionality. As a set of social theories and political practices, feminism exposes, analyses, and works to redress these contradictions. Feminists perceive gender-related personal experiences of discrimination, victimisation or oppression as symptomatic of the social conditions in which women live. They perceive change in their personal lives, and in the lives of women in general, as both desirable and possible. The women described their perspectives as influenced by other radical theories as well as feminism. The increased availability of education in the post-war years offered children from economically, impoverished families with the necessary 'cultural capital' opportunities to gain credentials and to enter professional occupations - an opportunity denied many of their parents. Those from marginal social class or ethnic backgrounds

in academic settings could identify strongly with some of the radical social theories which were readily accessible in many educational institutions of the 1960s and early 1970s, e.g. anti-racism, sexual libertarianism, Marxism and socialism, anarchism and pacifism. These theories articulated students' experiences of class, ethnic, and other forms of cultural marginality as social issues. Education offered many who had come to desire change in the status of oppressed groups a vision of the desirability and the possibility of bringing this about. Feminist teachers view education as an arena of political activity. They aim to help their students to view their personal experiences of oppression, marginality or discrimination as social issues rather than merely personal troubles and to devise theories and strategies aimed at bringing about women's liberation.

PART ONE: FEMINISM AND SCHOOLING

FOR GIRLS IN

POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER TWO

FEMINIST THEORY:

A LITERATURE REVIEW

The term 'feminist theory' is commonly used to refer to both the academic theories upon which women's studies scholars draw as an aid to scholarship, and the theories generated by feminists working within the 'grass-roots' women's movement (Stanley and Wise, 1983). An outline of the major tendencies in feminist thought (both academic and 'grass-roots') is necessary to this thesis for two reasons. The first is to construct a typology of feminist theories to use as a basis for selecting a representative group of feminist educators for study in the life-history chapters. I shall argue in later chapters that the splits and divisions between liberal feminists, the various versions of radical feminism, and socialist feminism common to both Britain (Banks, 1981) and the United States (Jagger and Struhl 1978) are also characteristic of the movement in this country (Bunkle, 1979-80). Second, through offering critiques of the major feminist theoretical perspectives, I hope to develop conceptual tools for the analysis of women's education and the emergence of feminism as a mass movement.

In this chapter I shall overview liberal feminism, classical Marxism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism. Liberal feminism derives from the tradition of liberal thought characteristic of the rise of the bourgeoisie with the development of capitalism. Rejecting the feudal belief that social status was determined at birth, liberal thinkers argued that wealth and status should be achieved on the basis of both 'ability' and hard work. Liberal thinking, then, was 'meritocratic'. Liberal feminists demanded the extension of the liberal ideology to women. Today liberal rhetoric is used politically to lobby government and other employing bodies to implement programmes of affirmative action for women and to remove discriminatory practices against their achievement of the same goals in public life as men.

Classical Marxists view women's oppression as a product of the institution of private property. Engels argued that patriarchy came about as a result of the institutions of private property, monogamous marriage being instituted to protect the certainty of male blood lines to ensure patrilineal inheritance. Marx viewed women as a particularly exploited group under capitalism; their unpaid work in biological and social reproduction served employers, while, as paid workers they could be paid a lower wage than men and function as a 'reserve army' in times of labour shortage.

Radical feminists view patriarchy as autonomous from, and existing prior to, capitalism and argue that a socialist revolution would not necessarily liberate women. Women are oppressed in that they do not control their own reproductive lives and are educated to serve men rather than for personal autonomy. While some radical feminists advocate a separatist lifestyle, others believe in working towards an androgynous society.

Socialist feminists are critical of all three perspectives. Liberal feminism is seen as an extension of capitalism, seeking only equal privileges for bourgeois women with bourgeois men. Classical Marxism is accused of viewing women's oppression as secondary to that of the (male) working class and ignoring the specificity of women's oppression. Radical Feminism is seen as a-historical in its focus on the psychology of femininity in the present. Socialist feminists aim both to describe and to explain the oppression of women under capitalist patriarchy.

LIBERAL FEMINISM

Liberalism is a social theory which developed with the breakdown of the feudal system, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the onset of commodity production. As a perspective, it centres on the concept of individual human rights and the belief that the freedom of the individual should be fettered only in situations where its exercise imposes restrictions on the freedom of others (Mill, 1869, 1948 edition). It has been the legitimating ideology of capitalist free enterprise, emphasising the individual's right to own property and to accumulate wealth. Material success is seen as a result of both hard work and talent; positions of economic and political power are attained on the basis of merit, not inherited privilege. Early advocates of liberalism saw education as the means of achieving an egalitarian society in that equality of access to schooling would ensure equality of opportunity.

Liberal feminists demand the extension of the opportunities guaranteed by liberal ideology to women. In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft (1978 edition) published her treatise, A Vindication of the Rights of

Women: influenced strongly by the spirit of the French Revolution and the philosophy of the Enlightenment, she "...urged the liberals of her day...to extend the rights of men - citizenship - to women" (Brody, 1983, 40). Wollstonecraft stated that women shared with men the supreme human virtue, the capacity to reason. Women, then, must have access to education, for education cultivated the power to reason and reason could control the baser human passions, such as sexuality. Both men and women must learn to control their passions and devote their energies to family and civic duty. Wollstonecraft's call to reason was largely unheeded, and without a large feminist movement to support her perspective, women remained in a state of legal and psychological subordination.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the liberal philosopher and politician John Stuart Mill took up the argument for women's rights. In his essay The Subjection of Women (Mill, 1983 edition) he argued that the 'enslavement' of women was irrational, based as it was purely on tradition. Women had been educated for submissiveness, to yield their wills to the control of their male masters:

"All the moralities tell them", he wrote, "that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others; to make complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections" (Mill, 1869, 1983 edition, p.27).

Since the contemporary way of life rested on the belief in individual achievement on the basis of merit and in the free and rational exercise of personal liberty, the retention for women of the feudal belief that their station in life was determined at birth was an anomaly, rationally indefensible. Mill, together with his wife, Harriet Taylor (Eisenstein, 1981; Soper, 1983), demanded equality for women before the law and in education. However, this was to be an equality in principle only, since Mill believed that most women would, of their own free will, choose to marry and devote their energies to child-bearing and household management. His theory, then, did not challenge the capitalist and meritocratic ideas and values of his day, but merely would have allowed the occasional elite bourgeois woman the

right to pursue a profession instead of her traditional wifely role if she so chose.

With the attainment of women's suffrage in most countries of the western world, (New Zealand being the first country to grant all adult women the right to vote) (Bunkle, 1980; Grimshaw, 1977), liberal feminist demands abated, although the feminist movement remained alive and well in some socialist circles (Foreman, 1977) and in working for specific issues such as access to contraception and the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States (Banks, 1981). However, it was not until the mid-1960s that liberal feminism once more attained the status and popularity of a mass social movement.

In 1963, Friedan published The Feminine Mystique. Like most of the American, educated, married middle-class women of her generation, Friedan had returned to the home after the Second World War to care for husband, house and children. Many of Friedan's contemporaries, although educationally successful, married to prosperous husbands with all the material comforts of the post-war consumer society, had, nevertheless, been visiting doctors' surgeries complaining of 'tiredness' or 'feeling unwell'. Doctors referred to this as the 'housewife's syndrome' or 'suburban neurosis': Friedan called it 'the problem that has no name.' While doctors and social scientists described the 'problem' as one of 'poor adjustment to the female role', Friedan questioned the role itself. According to Friedan, the 'problem' had lain "buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women" (1963, 13). She described post-war American middle-class women's growing awareness of 'the problem':

"It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night, she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question: 'Is this all?'" (Friedan, 1963; 13).

Friedan's analysis of women's magazines, her critique of the dominant functionalist ideology in the social sciences, her studies of sexist advertising, and interviews with college girls, exposed the sexist ideology (or feminine mystique) which was conditioning women and girls to become consumer housewives and to forgo any long term plans for careers and economic self-sufficiency. Friedan founded the National Organisation for Women (N.O.W.), an organisation devoted to the attainment of equal legal rights, in particular the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.), and argued that a woman should value her own career equally with that of her husband (Eisenstein, 1981).

Although the early liberal feminists did not challenge the capitalist social formation, but merely demanded legal, or formal, equality of opportunity within it, some of the contemporary liberal feminists of the 'second wave' have taken a slightly more 'radical' perspective (Eisenstein, 1981), arguing that mere formal, or legal, equality is insufficient and that without actual, or 'substantive' (O'Neill, 1977) equality, people cannot claim to have true equality of opportunity. Advocates of the more 'radical' versions of liberal feminism (Eisenstein, 1981) support measures of affirmative action to achieve equality. Women and girls are seen as disadvantaged by their socialisation in that they are conditioned for passivity and subservience (e.g. Broverman et al. 1972; Hoffman, 1972; Horner 1972). For the liberal feminist, true equality of opportunity can be brought about through the elimination of 'sex-role stereotypes'; this can be achieved largely through education which changes the attitudes of pupils, teachers, parents and employers. The ideology of 'femininity' (Friedan's 'feminine mystique') is seen being changeable through both education and legal reforms. The liberal feminist perspective questions neither the historical/material basis of sex 'stereotypes' nor the hierarchies of capitalist meritocracy. All it seeks, as Bunkle (1979, Part One, 27) put it, is "a slice of the capitalist action without changing its structure." Liberal (equal rights) feminists aim to change only the distribution of the sexes in current hierarchical institutions.

RADICAL PERSPECTIVES

The radical perspectives on women have in common the belief that women are an oppressed (as distinct from the liberal 'disadvantaged') group, and that this oppression is structural, i.e. for women's liberation a social revolution is seen as necessary. There are, however, major debates within the radical strands of feminist thought between classical Marxists, radical feminists and socialist feminists. It is important for the purposes of the present study to come to terms with the major arguments and feminist critiques of these positions.

i. Classical Marxism

According to the materialist conception of history, "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx and Engels 1846, 1978 edition, 47). The dominant ideas of an age are a product of the material conditions which govern human existence, the ownership and social organisation of the means of production:

"As individuals express their life, so they are, what they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce it. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production" (Marx and Engels, 1976 edition, 42).

Marx argued that the oppression of women was a product of the capitalist system. The original division of labour within the family was 'natural' (Marx, 1867, 1976 edition, 171); sex-roles, then, had a biological base. Within the family, women served the capitalist through the reproduction of labour power. This 'reproduction' was of two types. Firstly, biological - women gave birth to the next generation of workers; secondly, women served the process of social and cultural reproduction - women fed, clothed and nurtured their husbands and children:

"The labour - power withdrawn from the market by wear and tear, and by death, must be continually replaced by, at the very least, an equal amount of fresh labour power. Hence the sum of means of subsistence necessary for the worker's replacements, i.e. his children, in order that this race of peculiar commodity owners may perpetuate its presence on the market" (Marx, 1976 edition, 275).

With the development of large-scale manufacturing, women and children provided the capitalist with a cheap and easily exploitable pool of labour, the appalling working conditions for whom were described vividly in Volume One of Capital. Marx regarded the exploitation of women's and children's labour as an evil, since "Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of independent labour at home, within customary limits, for the family itself" (1976 edition, 517). This resulted in high infant mortality:

"... the high death-rates are, apart from local causes, principally due to the employment of the mothers away from their homes, and to the neglect and maltreatment arising from their absence, which consists in such things as insufficient nourishment, unsuitable food and dosing with opiates; besides this, there arises an unnatural estrangement between mother and child, and as a consequence intentional starving and poisoning of the children" (1976 edition, 521).

Marx's theory of the fluctuations of the capitalist economic cycle led him to observe that women constituted a 'reserve army' of labour, to be employed in times of economic expansion and forced out of the paid workforce in times of recession. His theory of social reproduction has been enthusiastically taken up by contemporary sociologists of education (e.g. Bowles and Gintis, 1976), who have viewed the school as a key agent in this process. Schools are seen by such writers as reproducing the social relations of class and gender.

ii. The Marxist - Feminist Debate

The split between Marxists and radical feminists derives primarily from differing interpretations of the origins of patriarchy (male-dominance) (Eisenstein, 1981; Guettel, 1974; Jagger and Struhl, 1978; Sayers, 1982). As already noted, Marx regarded the original division of labour between men and women in the family as 'natural'. The question of the origins of the sexual division of labour was more thoroughly explored by Engels in his treatise The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, published in 1891 (Engels, 1940 edition). According to Engels, patriarchy had come about when men, the keepers of the herds, began to accumulate surplus wealth.

Wishing to ensure that this wealth was passed on to their own (male) children, men instituted monogamous marriage to protect claims of paternity. Women were divided into two classes-monogamous, bourgeois wives, and 'hetaeras' (whores), for while wives must remain faithful (the only guarantee of paternity), men could live by the 'double standard' and patronize prostitutes. Society moved from a matrilineal to a patrilineal form of inheritance. The accumulation of wealth in 'men's sphere' had, according to Engels (1940 edition, pp. 36-37):

"...created an impulse to exploit this strengthened position in order to overthrow in favour of his children the traditional order of inheritance...the overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became an instrument of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of his children".

The nineteenth century anthropology upon which Engels' thesis rested has been severely criticised (Reed, 1972), as have his reliance on an unexplained psychological 'impulse' in men to dominate (Foreman, 1977; Sayers, 1982) and the uncritical assumption of a 'natural' division of labour-why were men in charge of the herds? (Foreman, 1977; Sayers, 1982).

Engels' radical break with his liberal (and liberal feminist) contemporaries (such as J. S. Mill and Harriet Taylor) was his attack on the assumption that women had always been dominated by men. The basis of women's oppression, he argued, lay in the institution of private property. While his liberal contemporaries were arguing for the extension to women of the right to own property, and to protection in law of that right, Engels argued that human (including women's) liberation could only come about when the institution of private property itself was abolished. Since the monogamous patriarchal family was at the root of women's oppression, Engels argued for its abolition. The functions of childrearing and housework could be performed largely by agencies of the state. The liberation of women would be brought about with their entry into the paid work-force, where, in solidarity with working-class men, they would help bring

about the socialist revolution. The capitalist system was seen as the cause of women's oppression, and patriarchy as a product of the institution of private property.

Both radical and socialist feminists have criticised Engels and the Classical Marxists, seeing them as having failed to focus on the differences between men's and women's experiences under capitalism. Marx and Engels have been accused of not focusing on feminist issues, such as how and why women were oppressed as women. In this they are accused of failure to recognise that fathers and husbands had a vested interest in women's continued subordination (Hartmann, 1981). Engels, for example, did not anticipate that when women entered the paid workforce they would end up doing two jobs, working a 'double day' as paid worker and unpaid houseworker/mother/wife. For contemporary socialist feminists, the classical Marxist position is insufficient. For example, Hartmann (1981, 5) observed that under advanced capitalism,

"men benefitted from not having to do housework, from having their wives and daughters serve them, and from having the better places in the labour market. Patriarchal relations, far from being atavistic leftovers, being rapidly outmoded by capitalism, as the early Marxists suggested, have survived and thrived alongside it. And since capital and private property do not cause the oppression of women as women, their end alone will not result in the end of women's oppression".

The issue of domestic labour has therefore become a central question in contemporary Marxist debate (e.g. Barrett, 1980; Guettel, 1974; Novitz, 1982). Rather than regarding women's oppression merely as a by-product of capitalism and the institution of private property, radical feminists see male power, or patriarchy, as its very basis.

Radical feminist analysis seeks to explain the origins of patriarchy, to describe the experience of being female in a patriarchal society, and to devise political strategies to bring about patriarchy's demise. A radical feminist definition of patriarchy has been written by Millet (1971, 25):

"our society is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political offices, finances-in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands."

Within radical feminist perspectives, capitalism is seen as one specific form of patriarchy. In seeking to explain the origins of patriarchy, radical feminism has an as yet underdeveloped materialist tradition, as exemplified by the biological materialism of Firestone (1979). The major emphasis of radical feminism is on describing manifestations of male power. In the process of describing the experience of 'femininity' and the processes of its social construction, radical feminists have developed the practice of 'consciousness-raising', which gives a methodological foundation to much feminist research¹ (MacKinnon, 1982) and to feminist pedagogy in women's studies (Bowles and Klein, 1983).² Much theorizing in the radical feminist tradition is primarily descriptive, focussing on the nature of the experience of oppression. Radical feminists take as their central concern the issue of male power under patriarchy and how this effects women's lives.

In 1971 in her now classic work, The Dialectics of Sex, Firestone (1979, edition, 20) rewrote Engels' definition of historical materialism to read:

"Historical materialism is that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historical events in the dialectic of sex: the division of society into two distinct biological classes for productive reproduction, and the struggle of these classes with one another; in the changes in the modes of marriage, reproduction and child care created by the struggles; in the connected development of other physically-differentiated classes (castes); and in the first division of labour based on sex which developed into the (economic and cultural) class system."

1. This points will be developed in Chapter Seven.

2. See Chapter Thirteen.

As Delmar (1979, 8) pointed out, it is this which distinguishes radical feminism from Marxism in that "Revolutions in the sphere of reproduction rather than those in the sphere of production are given primacy." Delmar noted that radical feminist explanations of systems of domination and submission were based on men's "personal and psychological attributes such as physical strength and the wish for power" (1979, 8). Firestone saw the 'material base' of patriarchy as the work women did in biological reproduction. Women were oppressed because of their childbearing function: their liberation would entail the use of a technology which would reproduce the species 'ex utero'. In this Firestone has not been followed by other radical feminists. Instead, many, such as Rich, (1977) have argued that woman's biology gives her superiority over men, and that mothering gives her power.

Firestone saw contemporary industrialised societies as polarised into two cultures: the 'technological mode' and the 'aesthetic mode.' Defining culture as "the attempt by man to realise the conceivable in the possible" (Firestone, 1979, 162), she saw the aesthetic mode (the search for the ideal) as that of the visionary, the technological as the unmasking of the laws of nature in order to control and shape it in accordance with one's vision. She observed that "those few women directly creating culture have gravitated to disciplines within the Aesthetic Mode" (Firestone, 1979, 165-166). She commented that the 'aesthetic response' corresponded with 'female' cultural modes in western societies and the 'technological' with the male:

"The same terminology can be applied to either: subjective, intuitive, introverted, wishful, dreamy or fantastic, concerned with the subconscious (the id), emotional, even temperamental (hysterical). Correspondingly, the technological response is the masculine response: objective, logical, extraverted, realistic, concerned with the conscious mind (the ego), rational, mechanical, pragmatic and down-to-earth, stable. Thus the aesthetic is the cultural creation of that half of the psychological spectrum that has been assigned to the female, whereas the technological response is the cultural magnification of the male half" (Firestone, 165-166).

This aspect of Firestone's theory has been criticised by Marxists and socialist feminists for its a-historical nature. For example, Hartmann (1981) has observed that the idea that the 'aesthetic' is 'female' would come as quite a shock to people from certain other cultures and epochs, such as the ancient Greeks. According to Hartmann, the major error of radical feminist analysis was that it was 'a-historical' in that it "projects male and female characteristics as they appear in the present back into all of history" (Hartmann, 1981, 14). She noted that although radical feminist analysis has had powerful insights into the present, it was weakened by its focus on the 'psychological' which "blinds it to history."

iii. Radical feminism and the Experience of Oppression

De Beauvoir's (1949, 1972 edition) analysis of 'feminine' psychology has been influential on contemporary radical feminists. In The Second Sex, she applied to the situation of women an existentialist perspective on human relations. Human relationships were seen as essentially exploitative in that human beings sought to confirm their own existence through its recognition by others. However, in seeking self-confirmation through others, people reduced them to 'objects', negating their subjectivity. Insofar as 'existence' depended on the responses of the 'Other', human relationships became destructive: "l'enfer, c'est les autres" (Sartre, 1964). Writers such as de Beauvoir (1972 edition) regarded 'having children' as merely an attempt to live through others, the child as an extension of each parent's self. Parenting, then, was viewed as destructive. Relationships between men and women were also seen in this light in that Man viewed himself as Subject and Woman as the Other - her life confirmed his existence. Women's relationships with men were seen as essentially parasitic.

Writing in France during the 1950s, De Beauvoir (1972 edition, 16) argued that:

"humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being... she is simply what man decrees; thus she is called 'the sex', by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him she is sex -absolute sex, no less. She is defined

and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. he is the Subject, he is the Absolute - she is the Other."

De Beauvoir has been criticised for this perspective. For example, Evans (1983) accused her of both uncritically accepting male definitions of female sexuality, and an a-historical assumption that human beings had innate physical differences and innate psychological characteristics. Foreman (1977, 85) pointed out an unaddressed paradox in de Beauvoir's thought in that she equated female sexuality with passivity and thus "condemns women from the very beginning and for always to 'alterity'." In this, de Beauvoir "denied that the first premise of existentialism - that men are free in that they choose and define themselves by their own actions - was valid in relation to women" (Foreman, 1977, 85).

Drawing to some extent on de Beauvoir, Firestone provided a similar radical feminist description of the psychology of 'femininity' under patriarchy. Her analysis, however, was of the ideology of 'femininity' in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Firestone described the psychology of woman's 'clinging' behaviour and 'possessiveness' as a logical consequence of her objective social situation. In response to men's avoidance of commitment in sexual relationships, women over the centuries had developed "subtle methods of manipulation," 'feminine wiles' designed to force commitment out of men. She argued that for most women, falling in love, 'catching' a husband and 'holding on to that catch' was a full-time occupation. Firestone (1979, 121) argued that this parasitic construction of heterosexual 'love' was "the pivot of modern women's oppression":

..."Men were thinking, writing and creating, because women were pouring their energy into those men; women are not creating culture because they are preoccupied with love."

She argued that the 'sexual revolution' of the 1960s and 1970s was yet another trap for women in that it brought no improvements for

women but instead proved to have great value for men. Advocates of the 'sexual revolution' aimed to convince women that "the usual female games and demands were despicable, unfair, prudish, old-fashioned, puritanical and self-destructive" (Firestone, 1979, 121). These attitudes and pressures created for men a wider market of sexually available females, while women were "disarmed of even the little protection they had so painfully acquired" (Firestone, 1979, 135). According to Firestone (1979, 135-136):

"Women today dare not make the old demands for fear of having a whole new vocabulary hurled at them: 'Fucked up', 'ballbreaker', 'cockteaser', 'a real drag', 'a bad trip' - to be a 'groovy chick' was the ideal."

When it was first published in the United States in 1971, Firestone's book was seen as marking a radical break with both Marxist and liberal feminist traditions. Delmar (1979) has commented that

"a radical European tradition, rather than the dominant liberal American one, was being summoned and a different line was being adopted in that Firestone did not evoke Friedan's 'problem that has no name' but de Beauvoir's 'slavery of half humanity'."

In this a different kind of political analysis was being put forward. The goal of liberal feminism - equality under the law - was seen as insufficient. Firestone and her contemporaries sought more than equality and emancipation - this trapped women into the imitation of men. Regarding women as an oppressed (rather than a disadvantaged) group, radical feminists sought women's liberation. The strategies adopted by radical feminists have varied. For example, Firestone argued for an androgynous society in which "genital differences between human beings would no longer matter culturally" (Firestone, 1979, 131); for her, the radical feminist vision

"cracks through to the emotional strata underlying 'serious' politics, thus reintegrating the personal with the public, the subjective with the objective, the emotional with the rational-the female principle with the male" (Firestone, 1979, 196).

Firestone saw heterosexuality as an important weapon in women's struggle for liberation, which must also entail the liberation and transformation of men:

"That women live with men, while on some levels our worst disadvantage - the isolation of women from each other ... in another sense is an advantage; a revolutionary in the bedroom cannot but shake up the status quo" (Firestone, 1979, 44).

Other radical feminists (e.g. Rich, 1977; Johnson, 1973) have argued that, since women are oppressed by men, their liberation must entail rejection of all heterosexual relationships and the adoption of a lesbian separatist lifestyle. In both heterosexual and lesbian radical feminist perspectives, sexual relationships are seen as essentially political: the feminist slogan 'the personal is political' is frequently heard in discussions of 'sexual politics'.

iv: Socialist Feminist Perspectives on the Post-war Woman

Socialist feminists have been critical of radical feminism for its lack of an adequate historical and materialist perspective. For example, Foreman (1977, 86) has criticised de Beauvoir on the grounds that the "conditions for women's 'alterity'" were developed with the onset of capitalist organisation, when family and working lives were 'split'. As Hartmann (1982) has commented, the characteristics of men, as radical feminists have described them, "competitive, rationalistic, dominating", resembled descriptions of the dominant values of capitalist society. The central concern of socialist feminism is the analysis of the dual roles of women in capitalist production and (biological and social) reproduction (Barrett, 1980; MacKinnon, 1982; O'Brien, 1983; Eisenstein, 1982; Hartmann, 1981). Both male-dominance (in the family, work-place and public life) and the class relations of capitalist societies are taken into account and the relationships between them explored. There have been numerous attempts by socialist feminists to construct such an analysis (e.g. Barrett, 1980; Comer, 1974; Eisenstein, 1981, 1982; Foreman, 1977; Guettel, 1974; Hartmann, 1981; Kuhn and Wolpe (eds) 1978; Mitchell, 1973, 1974; Rowbotham, 1973).

Socialist feminists have studied several issues which have particular relevance to this study of the experiences of New Zealand post-war women who became both educators and feminists. Three of these will be discussed in this section. The first is the contradictory expectations experienced by women in a context of changing demands for married women's waged labour in the post-war years (Bland et al, 1979a, 1979b; Eisenstein, 1982). The second is the changes in the 'material base' of female sexual morality through the availability of the contraceptive pill (O'Brien, 1982, 1983). The third theme is the social class backgrounds of women who have become teachers and feminists.

The return to the home of many married women ³ after the war had been expected by planners and civilians alike (Friedan, 1963; Reekie, 1983). At the same time as planners were emphasising the need for a rapidly increasing population in the immediate post-war years (Bland et al, 1979a, 1979b), and the popular press extolling the importance of a domestic role for married women (Cook, 1984; Friedan, 1963), the labour shortage of the 1950s and 1960s was creating a renewed demand for the 'reserve army' of married women's labour. As a number of socialist writers have pointed out (e.g. Bland et al, 1979a, 1979b; Eisenstein, 1982), married women in the post-war years were exposed to conflicting views about their roles in production and biological and social reproduction. According to Bland et al (1979b, 52), the post-war decades

"saw the development of a contradiction between the need to expand the labour force, and the need to raise the birth-rate, and tangling with this were the new anxieties about the emotional well-being of children.⁴ Women have been the battle-ground of this conflict ever since, for what has been attempted is to retain the

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3. Reekie (1983) has argued that working-class women who had always had to work for financial reasons remained in the paid work-force, while middle-class women left - for them staying at home was the norm.
 4. John Bowlby's theories and other research on the 'maternal deprivation' experienced by war orphans in institutions was used in the 1950s against 'working mothers' (Friedan, 1963; Ehrenreich and English, 1976), who were seen as causing delinquency in children.

mother as, in practice, the individual in charge of the day-to-day care of children and yet at the same time to draw married women, the last remaining pool of reserve labour, into the workforce. These demands are not fully compatible."

Girls who attended school in the 1950s and 1960s made career and sexual decisions in a time of ambivalence towards married women who worked outside the home. The precise nature of the contradictory expectations experienced by academically inclined school-girls who were to train as teachers in post-war New Zealand will be explored in the next chapter.

According to Eisenstein (1982) the experience of women, particularly married women, in the workforce during the post-war years exposed contradictory ideas about social equality and justice. She pointed out that the liberal values of personal autonomy and equality of opportunity limited only on the grounds of merit were contradicted by the experience of women in the work-place, who were subject to both personal and institutional discrimination:

"advanced capitalism, because of structural changes and inflation, has required married women to enter the labour force. Although the structure of the capitalist market is patriarchal, its ideology is definitely liberal... Therein lies the crisis for liberalism: an ideology of (liberal) equality and a contradictory reality of patriarchal inequality is being uncovered by the married wage-earning woman" (Eisenstein, 1982, 90-91).

Although the liberal ideology promised women equality in gaining employment and equal opportunities to win top jobs, the reality of the work-place was one of inequality. This situation may be seen as potentially radicalising (Bartky, 1977; Bland et al, 1979a, 1979b; Eisenstein, 1981, 1982; Mitchell, 1973). If working women came to see their inequality of opportunity as an outcome of a society which was both capitalist and patriarchal, rather than a sign of 'women's inferiority', and if they could do something about changing this, such a situation could be generative of feminist consciousness.

Socialist, as well as radical, feminists have analysed contradictions in post-war 'educated' women's sexual lives. For example, it has been suggested that the availability of the contraceptive pill changed the 'material base' of human biological reproduction. According to O'Brien (1982, 110) this

"constitutes ...a world-historical event...in that men and women are both in the position of having to mediate the separation of copulation and reproduction. The material and conceptual base of the 'double standard' no longer exists, and women are currently exploring the ramifications of sexual freedom and control."

The contraceptive pill offered women the choice of voluntary infertility. Unlike the barrier methods of contraception (the diaphragm for women, condoms for men), 'the pill' offered women the chance of having more spontaneous sexual relationships without the fear of pregnancy. Feminists have argued that, instead of liberating women from the repression of the 'double standard', the 'pill' compounded their oppression in that the men of the 1960s regarded them as 'playmates', 'birds', or 'chicks' (Firestone, 1979; Mitchell, 1973). Reproductive technology became a further means of female exploitation because of men's power over women and its control by commercial (capitalist) interests. As Hartmann commented (1982, 36):

"when children are seen as superfluous, women's sexuality for other than reproductive purposes is encouraged, but men will attempt to direct it toward satisfying male needs".

Socialist feminists have seen the 'sexual revolution' as a product of a society which is both capitalist and patriarchal, for example, Mitchell (1973, 142) has commented that

"illusorily offered the free and glorious expression of ourselves, it turned out to be only for a further alienation: turning ourselves into products which are then confiscated for use in a consumer society."

The 'pill' has been seen as making it difficult for many women to refuse to enter sexual relationships, since the fear of pregnancy had been almost removed. The permissive anarchy of the 'sexual revolution' was socially constructed largely through the male-dominated commercial mass media, which presented images of women as 'playmates' for men. According to socialist feminists such as Foreman (1977) and Rowbotham (1973), this image alienated many women from their own sexuality. The attitudes of the 'sexual revolution' and the image of the 'swinging chick' contradicted the dominant ideology of 'virginity until marriage followed by domesticity' which was reproduced in schools at the time.

Socialist feminists have given little attention to the analysis of the personal experiences of women who became feminists in the post-war years. However, Mitchell (1973) has pointed out that the 1960s feminists came from largely middle-class origins and suggested that education was a major stimulus to their radicalisation. It is important, then, to consider her analysis. Adopting a structuralist (Althusser, 1971a) approach, Mitchell (1973, 101) argued that:

"Past socialist theory has failed to differentiate women's condition into its separate structures, which together form a complex - not a simple - unity ... In a complex totality each independent sector has its own autonomous reality though each is ultimately, but only ultimately, determined by the economic factor. This complex totality means that no contradiction in society is ever simple".

For Mitchell, the liberation of women could only be achieved if "all four structures in which they are integrated are transformed." She identified these four structures as: production, biological reproduction, sexual servicing of men, and socialisation of children. Mitchell argued that while contraceptive technology had led to a decrease in the amount of work individual women did in biological reproduction, greater emphasis on the ideology of the home-based full time mother had ensured that this was compensated for by an increase in the time expended by women as socialisers of (their smaller numbers of) children. For women's liberation to occur:

"there must be a transformation of all the structures into which they are integrated, and all the contradictions must coalesce, to explode - a unite de rupture. A revolutionary movement must base its analysis on the uneven development of each structure, and attack the weakest link in the combination" (Mitchell, 1973, 122).

Mitchell observed that the rapid economic and social changes in the post-war era had exposed contradictions in the situation of the middle-class, as well as the working-class, woman. and it was from the educated middle-class that the 'second wave' of feminism drew its initial impetus. Speaking of these 'educated' women, Mitchell (1973, 28) argued that:

"the belief in the rightness and possibility of equality that women share has enabled them to feel 'cheated' and hence has acted as a precondition of their initial protest. In fact, what we are witnessing in this general denigration of women is an inevitable consequence of the socio-economic system of capitalism in which it operates. The inferiorisation of women is essential to its functioning. Yet offered a mystifying emancipation and participating in an ideology of equality, the sense of something wrong is more acute than where women share in the openly dominative structures of feudal, semi-feudal or early capitalist societies."

Mitchell asserted that education and its implications could explain the middle-class nature of feminist revolutionaries. The radicalisation of middle-class women signified for Mitchell the potentiality within a "greatly increased intellectual sector of the middle class for revolutionary impetus on its own behalf" (Mitchell, 1973, 28). The new feminist revolutionaries would not act merely as an enclave within the working-class struggle, but would themselves participate as an "organic part of the revolutionary struggle" (Mitchell, 1973, 28) - 'organic intellectuals' in Gramsci's sense (Gramsci, 1975 edition).

Mitchell's approach has been criticised by some other Marxists and socialists in that she did not analyse social class as a 'structure'

(Guettel, 1974). She has also been criticised for a 'dualistic' approach (Willis, 1977) which treated capitalism and patriarchy as separate and patriarchy as an 'ideological' phenomenon (Willis, 1977, p. 155, #5). However, her recognition of the contradictions experienced by educated women during the 1960s and 1970s and her comments on the importance of higher education in stimulating feminist awareness in middle-class women provide some useful guidelines for the analysis of the experiences of individual feminists in the post-war era.

Socialist feminists have given little attention to the social class origins of women teachers. A British analysis which has been found useful in socialist feminist analysis in the sociology of education (e.g. MacDonald, 1979/80, 1980a, 1980b) has been given by Bernstein (1975b). Bernstein analysed the class origins and position of professional people, including teachers. His theory is useful to an understanding of the position of women in education. Bernstein argued that a ruling class in a capitalist society had a 'direct' relationship to the means and forms of production (ownership of capital) and an 'indirect' relationship to the means and forms of cultural reproduction. According to Bernstein, the middle-class had a more 'direct' relation to the means and forms of cultural reproduction, while their relationship to those of production was 'indirect'. The 'new' middle-class were those whose working role was as disseminators of 'ideologies of social control'. For example, teachers, according to Bernstein, functioned as "agents of symbolic control." While a capitalist class may pass on to its children inherited wealth, the 'new' middle-class depended largely on the formal education system for its cultural reproduction - children may acquire 'symbolic capital' in the form of school credentials. According to Bernstein (1975b, 127),

"The new middle-class is both a product and a sponsor of the related expansion of education and fields of symbolic control. It is ambiguously located in the class structure."

Nash (1982, 61-62), has given a useful summary of Bernstein's argument:

"The professional sector of the middle-class, who either lack substantial capital, or who are engaged in work for which the possession of knowledge is more important than the ownership of capital, are almost entirely dependant on the educational system for the reproduction of their class position."

In the case of feminist teachers a contradiction emerges. In Bernstein's sense, insofar as these women have become school teachers their socialisation has been successful - in entering a profession with a long tradition of female participation, the process of cultural reproduction is uninterrupted. However, as feminists, these women are questioning their socialisation as 'feminine' women in the family, the school, and the wider society. As feminists, their aim is to interrupt the process of socialising girls and boys into sex-stereotyped attitudes and roles and to attack politically those structures which reproduce 'femininity'.

A socialist feminist analysis of the contradictions experienced by feminist educators in their everyday lives must analyse both the experiences of individuals and the social context in which they developed strategies to deal with social contradictions. The next chapter analyses the government's blueprint for the post-war woman in New Zealand and its 'official ideology' for her education. This ideology was inherently contradictory.

CHAPTER THREE

THE OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY OF GIRLS' EDUCATION

IN POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND.

Educational policy documents issued at the time of post-war reconstruction provide useful information on the type of society envisaged by policy-makers and the place of men and women within it. This chapter will analyse the attitudes towards women as workers and towards female sexuality as expressed in some key educational and other government documents of the immediate post-war years. It will argue that attitudes towards girls in secondary schools, particularly those in academic streams, were contradictory. Although education for post-war reconstruction was premised on the liberal-democratic values of equality of educational and vocational opportunity for all limited only on grounds of 'ability' (Codd, 1984), it also rested on the assumption that the stability and moral cohesion of society depended on women's unpaid labour as homemakers.

In order to understand the contradictions in the school experiences of girls in academic streams who became school-teachers, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the changing demands for the 'reserve army' of married women's labour, including that of married women teachers, in the post-war years. It is also important to understand female sexuality as a political question, reflecting the common concerns of the time with the expected decline in the population and with issues such as 'juvenile delinquency.' As an aid to the analysis of the attitudes of policy-makers towards female sexuality, Foucault's (1980a) perspective will be brought to bear.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION: FOUCAULT AND SEXUALITY

The central theme of Foucault's work may be described as the analysis of the 'polymorphous techniques of power'. Foucault did not see power as merely repressive, but as productive of things, of knowledge, of pleasure and of forms of discourse. It was partly through the various discourses of sexuality (e.g. demography and medicine) that state power penetrated the lives of individuals, shaping and controlling their most private pleasures. For Foucault power incited rather than merely repressed, a phenomenon he saw as dating from the seventeenth century, when state power became 'juridicial' and specific institutions of social control (the asylum, the prison, the school) developed:

"Rather than a massive censorship, beginning with the verbal proprieties imposed by the Age of Reason, what was involved was a regulated and polymorphous incitement to discourse" (Foucault, 1980a, 34).

From this time, governments became aware that they were dealing with 'populations' rather than 'subjects'; the science of demography provided the analysis, and contraceptive technology the tools, of 'population control':

"One of the great innovations in the techniques of power in the eighteenth century was the emergence of 'population' as an economic and political problem: population as wealth, population as manpower or labour capacity, population balanced between its own growth and the resources it commanded. Governments perceived that they were not dealing simply with subjects, or even with a 'people', but with a 'population', with its specific phenomena and its peculiar variables: birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation. All these variables were situated at the point where the characteristic movements of life and the specific effects of institutions intersected... At the heart of this economic and political problem of population was sex: it was necessary to analyse the birthrate, the age of marriage, the legitimate and illegitimate births, the precocity and frequency of sexual relations, the ways of making them fertile or sterile, the effects of unmarried life or of the prohibitions, the impact of contraceptive practices..." (Foucault 1980a, 25-26).

Foucault's view that human sexuality is politically important to governments in terms of the 'control of populations' (Campioni and Gross, 1983; Giddens, 1982; Sheridan, 1980) provides a useful basis for a reading of war-time and post-war government documents: fertility control and 'manpower planning' were important considerations in the period of post-war reconstruction and had far-reaching implications for women's lives.

Another important insight relevant to an analysis of post-war women's education is Foucault's recognition that, despite its overt repression, children's sexuality was in fact continually monitored and controlled in secondary schools and other 'state apparatuses'

(Althusser 1971a). Speaking of eighteenth century French secondary schools, he commented:

"On the whole, one can have the impression that sex was hardly spoken of at all in these institutions. But one only has to glance over the architectural layout, the rules of discipline, and their whole internal organisation: the question of sex was a constant preoccupation... What one might call the internal discourse of the institution - the one it employed to address itself, and which circulated among those who made it function - was largely based on this assumption that this sexuality existed, that it was precocious, active, and ever present" (Foucault, 1980 28).

Despite the overt repression of children's sexuality in schools throughout history (Olssen, 1981; Tennant, 1977), many cultural practices inside schools and other social institutions may be seen as centred around it:

"What is peculiar to modern societies, in fact, is not that they consigned sex to a shallow existence, but that they dedicated themselves to speaking of it ad infinitum, while exploiting it as the secret" (Foucault, 1980a, 35).

While many other civilisations had well-developed traditions of 'ars erotica', European civilisation had a 'scientia sexualis' the regulation of sexuality having given rise to a plethora of new 'professionals'. The medieval 'confessional' had been replaced by psychiatrists, social workers, doctors and counsellors:

"Ours is, after all, the only civilisation in which officials are paid to listen to all and sundry impart the secrets of their sex: as if the urge to talk about it, and the interest one hopes to arouse by doing so, have far surpassed the possibilities of being heard, so that some individuals have offered their ears for hire" (Foucault, 1980, 7).

Foucault argued that human sexuality was shaped and controlled largely by medical discourse.

The 'medicalisation of sex' as outlined by Foucault is a useful concept to pursue in reading documents of the post-war era. Doctors advised on issues of sexual morality (Department of Health, 1955; Ehrenreich and English, 1979; Fenwick, 1980; Hulbert, 1943) as well as questions of 'public health'. Such sex education as there was in the secondary schools of the immediate post-war years usually took place under the rubric of 'general science' (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition). In the remainder of this chapter Foucault's framework will be brought to bear in an analysis of women in the war, the ideology of the post-war woman, and her schooling.

NEW ZEALAND WOMEN, THE WAR AND VIEWS OF THE POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

i. Women's Work

In order to understand government policies on women in the post-war era it is necessary to have some knowledge of the work New Zealand women had done during the war and the changes in their lives brought about during the years of post-war reconstruction.

As noted previously, during the war women had served in non-combat duties in the armed forces and, here in New Zealand, had filled jobs normally done by men in 'essential industries'. According to Sutch (1966, 284)

"Thousands of women were in the armed forces, some 75,000 women were in the Women's War Service Auxiliary for co-ordinating and directing all women's war work; women were working in many occupations usually those of men; under the compulsory labour laws, 147,000 women were registered for direction to take jobs, and direction orders were given to some 37,000. That is, both men and women were conscripted for essential civilian work".

Little has been written in New Zealand about the experiences of women during the war (Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Sutch, 1966). A recent paper by Cook (1984) has presented a useful analysis of articles by or about women in the New Zealand Women's Weekly and The New Zealand Listener from the war years until 1950. Cook (1984, 2) argued that, although the war had offered women new opportunities, it had

"...still served to accentuate the separation of male and female worlds. The male world was centred around military service, to be rewarded with a hero's welcome and rehabilitation schemes, while the female world was to 'keep the home fires burning' in the work-place and the home until 'the boys came home'."

The contribution of women was regarded as essential to the war effort. A New Zealand Army education pamphlet entitled Women and the War gives an insight into some of the questions which were being debated during the war with regard to women's 'place':

"...today nations at war pit the whole of their peoples against their enemies. Total war demands the strength and ability of women to oppose the strength of enemy women. We are now, after four years of total war, beginning to understand the gravity and significance of this fact. The novelty of women in unexpected jobs has begun to wear off. The elements of drama and surprise are yielding to those of endurance and steady work. Every month has made it more apparent that this is a war in which women are necessary in the factories and in the Forces and that it cannot be won without their help" (N.Z. Army, 1943b, 3).

The readers of the pamphlet were asked to consider the implications of these changes:

"New Zealand men are going to war, New Zealand women are going to work, and a lot of previous plans and theories are going overboard-whether temporarily or for ever it is not possible to foretell. What can be done, though, is to look at some of the more important problems not from the women's point of view, nor from the men's but from the point of view of thinking citizens in a democratic country" (N.Z. Army, 1943b, 10).

The 'danger' that women would not want to give up their jobs after the war was considered, but it was thought to be "unlikely that New Zealand women would lose their affection for homes or children even after years in uniform" (N.Z. Army, 1943b, 11). However, it was recognised that questions such as equal pay for equal work and the right of married women to remain in paid employment would be raised after the war.

Although there has been little analysis of the post-war work experiences of New Zealand women, Reekie (1983) employed oral history techniques in studying the experiences of West Australian women as war workers and in the immediate post-war period. Like Cook, Reekie argued that the war did not change the dominant ideology of 'women's place'. She observed that after the war, many West Australian middle-class women willingly left their jobs to return to domestic life (a phenomenon also described in the American context by Friedan, 1963):

"Although official attitudes were characterised by a quiet and often unstated expectation that married women would leave the workforce, they do not amount to an ideological campaign to push them out. It seems likely that propaganda reinforcement was simply unnecessary to ensure the removal of most married women from their positions. Ideas that a woman's place was in the home were not changed by the three years of Australian involvement in the war" (Reekie, 1983, 59).

Although more research on this is needed in New Zealand, there is some evidence (Cook, 1984; Olssen and Levesque, 1978) that women here were willing, after long years of separation, to devote themselves to domestic life. However, as Reekie (1983) noted in the case of Western Australia, working-class women, who had always 'had to work' for financial reasons, continued to do so.

The decision of women to leave the paid work-force was reinforced by the psychological theories of the time. British research into 'maternal deprivation' experienced by war-time evacuees or war orphans in institutions was frequently used as ammunition against the 'working mother' (Bland et al, 1979; Ehrenreich and English, 1979; Freidan, 1965; McDonald, 1978). A New Zealand Army pamphlet (1943b, 15) posed the question:

"Many women with families are now working. Are children bound to suffer if they are deprived of maternal care? Or is the problem solved by the care that free kindergartens and schools provide? After the war, should married women be allowed to work if their husbands are working and if there is a demand for women's labour?" (p 15)

The issue of the 'working mother' was also raised in connection with the 'population problem'. For example, an army education pamphlet asked the military to consider this question:

"If women leave their homes to work, will the birth-rate suffer? Is it possible for women to work and for the birth-rate to increase too? How could this be ensured?" (N.Z. Army, 1943b, 1)

ii. The 'Population Problem'

Here in New Zealand, as elsewhere in the western world (Bland et al, 1979a, 1979b), there was a firm belief that the prosperity of the post-war world would depend on a rapidly increasing population (Cook, 1984; Fenwick, 1980; Sutch, 1966). An education pamphlet issued for discussion in the New Zealand Armed Forces in 1943 argued that

"for every New Zealander who thinks seriously about the future of his country, the population problem is of basic importance... If, as is possible, the total population begins to decline within the next fifty years, then obviously the future of New Zealand as a nation is in jeopardy" (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 3).

The birth-rate had declined during the depression of the 1930s (Sutch, 1966), consequently there was concern over the aging of the population. During the 1930s and 1940s there had been heated debates in New Zealand over the issue of 'birth control' (Fenwick, 1980). While Catholics and others had lobbied against it on moral grounds, planners became concerned at its likely effect on population growth. An army pamphlet, written by leading demographers of the time, ¹ asked whether the decline was due solely to the availability of contraceptive technology. Increased equality between the sexes and a more 'permissive' moral climate were also blamed for the decline:

"That decline in the birth-rate commenced in most countries about the time when birth control propaganda became intensive. Birth control explains the means and speed of the decline, not the primary cause, which is much more difficult to determine" (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 8-9).

"There may always have been among women a latent desire to be delivered from the burden of large families, but the presence of moral sentiments prevented this. The loosening of religious and moral sanctions has undoubtedly paved the way for birth control, and the crusade for equality of the sexes has accelerated its progress" (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 10-11).

In 1946, a Parliamentary Select Committee on Dominion Population was set up. The Labour government introduced social welfare policies designed to support the one-income family, e.g. increased 'family benefits' (Cook, 1984; Koopman-Boyden, 1983; Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Sutch, 1966). The 'population problem' was widely debated in the popular media of the 1940s (Cook, 1984).

It is interesting to note that, at least in the army education materials, the rhetoric of behavioural engineering was brought to bear on this question. Women's reluctance to have large families was, at least in this context, posed as a medical problem:

"The medical and psychological reasons include fears of all kinds-fear of actual childbirth, of maternal mortality, the presence of morbid or pathological conditions, and many other considerations..." (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 10).

"If our medical research were concentrated on these matters, and if measures were taken to make the results of research available to all, the cogency of these considerations could no doubt be greatly lessened within a decade. They have so far been neglected compared with other medical problems" (N.Z. Army, 1943a, 10).

iii. Sexual Morality

Although the standard for pakeha women's sexual morality in New Zealand had been one of virginity until marriage (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition; Department of Health, 1955; Olssen and Levesque, 1978;), actual conduct did not always match up to the ideal. For example, Olssen and Levesque (1978, 11) noted that in 1913 "over one-third of brides under thirty were pregnant by their wedding date". A psychologist, well-known during the 1940s for his 'liberal views', commented in 1942 that questions of sexual morality

"come into sharper focus in wartime because of the hysteria, the excitement and the lack of emotional balance that often accompany wartime conditions. This wartime emotional excitement is often phrased in terms of a lowering of the moral standards. As to this way of stating the matter I would add this point: moral standards have been changing in our society continuously for the past several generations. These changes have followed closely on wider social changes brought about by the impact of invention and technology on our social life. Whether these moral changes represent retrogression or whether they represent rather the somewhat blind struggles of individual human beings trying to work out some better and more enlightened form of adjustment between the sexes is difficult to decide objectively. Most often the matter is decided on the basis of emotion and prejudice and becomes a question of the older generations versus the younger. Therefore I will not prejudge the issue. But in terms of my own prejudices I will take as the major assumption the idea that wartime conditions are speeding up this business of moral change" (Beaglehole, 1942/3, pp. 8-9).

During the war, many New Zealand women experienced long separations from their boyfriends, fiancés or husbands; by the end of 1942 "every available man of military age had been called up for military service and over 100,000 others were in the Home Guard" (Sutch, 1966, 284). Sutch (1966, 288) commented that "Apart from the Soviet Union, New Zealand had a higher proportion of its citizens in the armed forces than any of its other allies". While New Zealand servicemen were overseas, this country accommodated "42,000 U.S. Marines round Auckland and Wellington" (Sutch, 1966, 243).

The American servicemen were entertained by young New Zealand women in 'hospitality' or 'Service' clubs, which were run by a coalition of groups such as the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) The women who danced with the Americans in these clubs were given clear instructions by club organisers on questions of etiquette, morality, patriotism and the dangers of V.D. The lectures which were used to instruct these women (Y.W.C.A, 1942/3) provide a useful insight into the social construction of female sexuality during the war years and expectations for post-war domestic life. While entertaining the Americans to make them 'feel at home' was described as a patriotic duty, young women with lovers overseas were required to be faithful. Fidelity was their form of 'national service'.

For example, Lynn (1942/3) addressed the issue of women as morale-boosters for the troops, echoing a view which had also been characteristic of the years leading up to the First World War (Olssen, 1980; Tennant, 1977). She described women's sexuality as having a political function:

"women all down the ages have been the conservers of the race and cherished the idea that at the core life has something precious and real that is good and worth fighting for, worth any man keeping his hands and heart clean for" (Lynn, 1942/3, 3).

Hostesses were told that attention to their physical appearance was a necessary part of the war effort:

"of course we should make ourselves as attractive to the eye as possible. Clothes, nails, teeth, face and hair all count... If we are ourselves aware that our clothes and looks are right we can be delivered from self-consciousness. That is very necessary, for as good hostesses we must be more interested in our guests than in ourselves" (pp 4-5).

New Zealand girls were warned not to be 'swept off their feet' by the urbane sophistication of 'our American guests':

"With my own eyes I have seen a Marine walking up the street with a New Zealand girl decked with a most charming spray, who gazed most adoringly at him while he looked straight ahead all unconcerned. That spray was of no more consequence to him than if he had just paid her tram fare. We are so inexperienced and unsophisticated that we swallow the bait whole, instead of nibbling gracefully, too wary to be caught" (p 6).

New Zealand women were warned not to be seduced by the Americans' gifts of furs or chocolates, for their first responsibility was to keep high the morale of the New Zealand troops overseas:

"The New Zealanders are our fellow countrymen. Perhaps they could take a few lessons in manners and chivalry, take more pride in themselves and their clothes while to pursue their education would improve them too, but they

are the men we shall marry after the war. It is not being a good hostess, let alone a diplomatic New Zealander, to let them get their noses out of joint by not seeming to look after them now... Our New Zealanders are the post-war men of New Zealand, as we are the post-war women..." (Lynn, 1942/3, p 7).

American men, it was said, were used to much more egalitarian relationships with their women peers than was the custom in New Zealand:

"Most American schools are co-educational. Boys and girls grow up together, competing in classrooms and on the debating platform all their lives. Boys are accustomed to making dates with girls from a very early age. It is the proper thing to have a girl to take about, and since a larger proportion of girls go to University than here, the boys are more used to sharing the interests of their study and college life with girls. More women take up careers and participate in business, and moreover expect to continue whether they marry or not. That means that economically women are freer, and all these causes contribute to the fact that in North America men are inclined to treat women as their equals." (Lynn, 1942/3, p 5).

Despite the likely advantages of the American male from the woman's point of view, the promise of a more 'egalitarian' relationship, she was asked to forgo this - as part of the war effort, her form of 'national service', she must be 'faithful.'

iv. Preparation For the 'Boys' Return

Plans for, and discussions of, post-war reconstruction were based on the assumption that women's place was in the home (Cook, 1984; Nash, 1943; Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Reekie, 1983). Perhaps the trials of long separations had led to an accentuation of the ideology of romantic love. For example, Beaglehole (1942/3, 9) expressed his concern at the unrealness of the fantasies of romantic domestic bliss embodied in the popular music of the time ('Tea For Two', 'Just Molly and Me'):

"Our society believes that the only justification for sex is to be found within the framework of marriage..."

we still use romantic love as the justification for falling in love. We think of the man as the dominant figure in the partnership, of the woman as shy, passive, even coy. Once love comes, it comes to stay and along with love comes a romantic idealisation of the virtues, beauty and ideal qualities of the partner together with an expectation of pain and discomfort should one become separated, and attitudes of jealousy if there is a threat of losing ones partner to a rival. If these words seem but words, study carefully the sentiments of our popular songs. They ooze romantic love and they analyse its impact and its effect on young people from every conceivable angle and point of view."

The popular printed media of the time contained numerous articles advising women how to prepare for the men's homecoming (Cook, 1984; Reekie, 1983). Women's efforts were to be devoted to helping their men to adjust to civilian life. Male-dominance in the home was commonly assumed. For example, in a lecture to Service Club Hostesses Mr and Mrs A.B. Cochrane advised young women in the following manner:

He. ... "the more a woman knows about her husband's background the better-the strategy and geography of the war, the significance of events, the mentality of the soldier. A knowledge of such things will enable her to take a more intelligent interest in her husband's past activities and inevitable prejudices. At all times self-education for homemaking is important but it is doubly so in the case we are considering.

She. Why so?

He. Because in this case the woman will need all the time and energy she can muster to devote to her husband's needs, and if she is so inefficient in the home that she ends the day worn out and frazzled, well what sort of attention will he get?

She. Obviously very little. Did you notice that the Family Relations Clinic of America estimated that half the divorces are due to faulty household management? Inability to budget within her husband's income came first, bad cooking second... This present period of enforced waiting can be very profitably used in learning homecraft-cooking, the principles of good feeding, child psychology, dressmaking, how to budget, care of the baby, the arts of decorating, entertaining, etc. What I should like to see started is a regular School for Marriage" (Cochrane and Cochrane, 1942/3).

Young women were also encouraged to prepare for marriage through learning the 'facts' of human reproduction. One doctor of the time commented in the course of a lecture to Service Club Hostesses on the dangers of V.D. ('Your Responsibility to Public Health') that most young women of the time were ignorant of the nature and functions of their reproductive organs:

"in all groups of women one finds a surprisingly large number who possess very little, or else a very inaccurate, knowledge of their own bodies - or their organs and the function each performs. A false sense of modesty has usually prevented reference to her organs of reproduction and consequently she may reach maturity knowing little of these parts within her which are going to have such a tremendous effect, emotionally and physically, on her well being" (Smith, 1942, p.13).

Doctors and the clergy were considered as suitable sources of sex education in preparation for marriage. For example:

"A woman should know the best methods of contraception and something of the technique of sexual intercourse. If she knows of a good doctor with modern ideas, she might well consult him. Failing that she should at least read some of the many good books on the subject" (Cochrane and Cochrane, 1942/3 p 24).

The list of recommended books given to Service Club Hostesses were written either by clergy ('Christian marriage') or doctors.

v. Summary

Foucault's concept of the 'polymorphous techniques of power' is illustrated in the expectations of women at the conclusion of World War Two. The discussions on 'population' and the 'medicalisation of sex' directly involved women's sexuality. The 'social problems' of the fall in the birth-rate and concern with the vocational and personal rehabilitation of military men were to be solved by women's resumption of a domestic role after the war: women would increase the birth-rate and would nurture men and children. The control of sexuality was viewed as an issue of political concern and sex education was to be in the hands of 'scientific' medical experts. The

next section will review attitudes towards female sexuality and professionalism as laid down in government educational documents.

THE 'OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY' OF THE POST-WAR WOMAN'S EDUCATION

i. The Concept of Ideology

This section presents a feminist reading of key government documents which embody what sociologists of education (e.g. Wolpe, 1974) have termed the 'official ideology' of women's education. The term 'ideology' has had a chequered history in sociological thought and is used in different senses by Marxists, structuralists, functionalists and sociologists of knowledge (Apple, 1979; Flude and Ahier, 1974; Giroux, 1982; Meighan, 1981; Sharp, 1980; Williams, 1973). Contemporary sociologists of education (e.g. Meighan, 1981; Sharp, 1980) have described two common senses in which the term is used.

The first meaning, as expressed in The German Ideology (Marx and Engels, 1846; 1978 edition) is in the sense of the ruling ideas of an epoch which serve to legitimate existing class relations. According to this view, in capitalist societies, the bourgeoisie control not only the means of material production, but also the means of intellectual production and dissemination:

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it" (Marx and Engels, 1946, 1978 edition, 64).

This analysis has considerable appeal to students of contemporary state education systems who wish to analyse policy statements in Marxist terms. According to the perspective in The German Ideology, educational policy-makers would be seen as ideologists of the ruling class and educational policies as a legitimization of existing class relations:

"The division of labour...manifests itself...in the ruling class as the division of mental and material labour, so that inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class its chief source of livelihood)" (Marx and Engels, 1846, 1978 edition, 65).

This strand of Marxist thought has been severely criticised by some contemporary educational theorists. For example, Sharp (1980, 91) argued that it conveys a mechanistic model of human beings - a

"conceptualisation of subordinate classes as passively manipulated victims of propaganda disseminated by a cynical and self-interested, but all-knowing ruling class; it thus reinforces a naive conspiracy theory of society, and tends to reduce the concept of ideology to nothing but lies".

A second sense in which Marxists and contemporary sociologists of education have used the term, 'ideology' has been described by Williams (1973) and others as less deterministic, as "...competing belief systems...alternative patterns of ideas that coexist and compete for acceptance" (Meighan, 1981, 155). Williams (1973) has argued that ideology in this sense refers to the system of ideas appropriate to a class; one can then speak of 'bourgeois ideology' or 'proletarian ideology', even 'feminist ideology'. Rather than being passive victims, existing in a state of false consciousness, oppressed groups are seen as generating their own ideologies which may challenge those of dominant groups.

The term 'official ideology' of education refers to the statements and assumptions in educational policy documents. These tend to be products of lengthy debates and submissions, of contestation. A useful illustration of this has been given by Sutch (1966, 266-267) in his discussion of the debates which took place during the 1930s-1940s and culminated in the writing of the 'Thomas Report' (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition). Sutch pointed out that, although many of the Department of Education's senior staff and academic educationists from the universities had been strongly influenced by 'progressivism', their views were diluted and overshadowed by those of commercial groups and business organisations who regarded schools as

"places to provide them with shorthand typists, clerical workers, shop assistants, and factory hands with disciplined ways and a knowledge of 'practical' subjects. They were opposed to giving a longer education to children who were to be the mass of their workers. The political weight of these organizations, the customary thinking of most of the community, and the presence of the vested interest groups in the community produced a report which spoke with two voices. In achieving unanimity, the committee expounded the philosophy of a good education for boys and girls while, in effect, it met the interests of the businessmen and the traditionalists, including those who thought that secondary education for girls who were not bright or not taking a commercial course meant occupying their time with cooking and sewing" (Sutch, 1966, 267).

In the next section, I shall analyse the Thomas Report as an example of the 'official ideology of girls' education' (Wolpe, 1974) in post-war New Zealand. It will be argued that this ideology was contradictory: academic girls were to share the promise of equality of opportunity promised by the expansion of the availability of secondary education in the post-war years. However, they were also to be educated for their role as housewives, a role in which they were expected to be financially dependent.

ii. The Thomas Report and its Aftermath

The 'common core curriculum' for New Zealand secondary schools was laid down during the War in the Department of Education's 1942 report, The Post-Primary School Curriculum (commonly referred to as the 'Thomas Report'). This report stated the official ideology for education in post-war New Zealand. Its aims were overtly political in sketching a blueprint of a liberal democracy whose citizens would receive an education differentiated on grounds of both 'merit' and gender. The post-war woman would receive a general education, but would also be trained specifically for the roles of housewife and mother.

The overarching aims of post-war secondary education were that

"all post-primary pupils, irrespective of their varying abilities and their varying occupational ambitions, receive a generous and well-balanced education. Such an

education would aim, firstly, at the full development of the adolescent as a person; and, secondly, at preparing him for an active place in our New Zealand society as worker, neighbour homemaker and citizen" (Department of Education, 1959 edition, 5).

Policy, then, was aimed at producing a particular form of society. The Thomas Committee was aware that fascism was an ever-present threat and argued that education was a means of protecting 'democratic values':

"Reform depends in the last analysis on the existence of a public which will think of education less as a means of individual advancement, and more as a means of creating an educated community. We think, however, that the time has come for a vigorous attempt to give adolescents a richer and better balanced education than they have had in the past. This conviction is strengthened by recent events. If they have a lesson for us it is that the human values we sum up in the word 'democracy' have too much been taken for granted. They are still threatened from without, and only active effort and unceasing vigilance can make them more secure within. The schools thus have the overriding duty of helping pupils to understand them and live in accordance with them, in other words of assisting to build up a democratic society capable of both defending its essential values and of widening and deepening their influence" (Department of Education, 1942, 1959 edition p 5).

The subjects of the 'common core' were intended to provide a general liberal education in the first three years of secondary school "as an aid to growth and as a general preparation for life in a modern democratic community" (p 6). All pupils were to take social studies, mathematics, English, general science, physical education, music, art and craft. However, girls were to receive in addition specific training for domesticity:

"An intelligent parent would wish a daughter to have, in addition, the knowledge, skill and taste required to manage a home well and make it a pleasant place to live in" (p 17).

Sex differentiation was an explicit assumption of the report; in its aims of education as preparation for life as "worker, neighbour, homemaker and citizen", the Thomas Committee intended the 'homemaker' part to apply only to girls. Furthermore the category 'worker' was gender - coded (MacDonald, 1980a). Although throughout most of the report the schools' clients were spoken of in gender-neutral terms as 'pupils' (the male pronoun being used throughout in the common usage of the time to mean 'he or she'), in some contexts pupils were spoken of specifically as 'boys' or 'girls'- agriculture, engineering shopwork and woodwork, as School Certificate options, were specifically spoken of as boys' subjects. All girls, however, were to receive instruction in home crafts as a component of the compulsory core:

"We think that the course of every girl attending a post-primary school should contain studies and activities directly related to the home. We have provided for such studies in part through the optional subjects Homecraft and Clothing. In order to ensure that the needs are met of those girls who do not include these options in their courses we recommend that Home Crafts be included in the core" (p 46).

It was suggested that

"there is a wide field from which suitable topics can be selected, e.g. mothercraft, housewifery, house planning, dress design and pattern making, clothing, laundry work, cookery, and meal planning" (p 46).

In addition to this compulsory element, the report contained specific recommendations for the 'domestic training' of girls in other subjects of the core and in School Certificate options. For example, in Elementary Mathematics it was suggested that

"Differentiation between courses for boys and for girls is permissible, and often, indeed, desirable. ...There should be extensive interrelation of Mathematics with other subjects, as, for example, in the use of numerical and graphical methods to solve problems in Science, Social Studies, Homecraft, and workshop activities" (p 39).

Under the heading 'Arts and Crafts' it was recommended that

"in addition to music, every pupil should have a course in a substantial craft as a core subject... In many boys' schools woodwork and metalwork will be the crafts most readily available and in many girls' schools the homecrafts and embroidery will probably take first place" (p 43).

As a School Certificate option, Embroidery was described as "an excellent activity for girls, giving scope for the acquirement of skill in a craft that women have practised throughout recorded history" (p 59). Homecraft was seen as a viable option for fifth form girls to other science options:

"On the assumption that all girls will have core General Science and that some will take one of the science options, we recommend the substitution of the one option Homecraft. We have in mind a course that is very closely related to the life of the home and its members, and that conceives of home-making as an art that calls not only for practical efficiency but also for taste and an understanding of non-material needs" (p 70).

The Thomas Report was in part an enlightened statement of the aims of a liberal/progressive education, however, a feminist reading shows it to be based on firm assumptions of differentiated sex-roles. Although education for home life may in some senses be regarded as a worthy aim of schooling, the report made it clear that it was only girls who were to receive this domestic training. The ideology of domestic femininity generated during the war years was clearly embodied in the thinking of educational policy-makers.

Interestingly, both sexes were to receive some form of sex education. Concern was expressed that "many boys and girls (though by no means all) grow up without an adequate knowledge of sex, or without a sufficiently stable sex ethic, or without either of these things" (p 55). It was argued that "every adolescent should know the facts of reproduction" (p 53) - parents should answer questions on this honestly from "the first years of childhood" (p 53), and "At the post-

primary stage this knowledge should be extended in lessons in biology and in the anatomy and physiology of the human reproductive system" (p 54) - this was to be taught under the rubric of General Science. However, although 'sound knowledge' was 'essential', "in itself, knowledge is plainly not enough to ensure right conduct" (p 54). The 'sex ethic' was seen as "an aspect of general ethics" and as such, taught largely indirectly through the "general atmosphere of the school and the quality of the discipline which results from its day-to-day life" (p 54). Whether such a sex ethic was directly taught or 'caught', the message intended by the report was clear-sex belonged only within marriage for the procreation of children. Echoing a Freudian psychology and the assumptions of the 'Protestant Work Ethic' the report stated that:

"Adolescent boys and girls can understand that self-control is necessary to a balanced life, that some redirection of primitive energies is a condition of achievement not only in sport, but also in other activities, and that fitness for marriage and parenthood at a high level must of necessity involve a period of waiting. So, too, with respect for others. A conscience even ordinarily sensitive can appreciate the danger of doing harm to another, and the adolescent can be brought to see that a healthy community is one in which normal family life can flourish and to understand the bearing of this truth on his personal attitude to sex" (p 54).

The impact of the Thomas Report on the New Zealand secondary schools has been assessed by a number of historians (McLaren, 1974; Sutch, 1966; Whitehead, 1974). The report was adopted by government and made official in the 'Education (Post-Primary Instruction) Regulations of 1945.' However its implementation was made difficult because of the sudden vast increase in the pupil population and the drastic shortage of teachers.

The Free Place Scheme, introduced by the Liberal government at the turn of the century, had led to an increase in the proportion of secondary school aged pupils remaining at school. With the coming to power of the first Labour Government in 1935, an egalitarian philosophy of education was put into practice. The report of Peter

Fraser, first Labour Minister of Education, has now, in the words of Whitehead, (1974, 53), "...been accorded a status comparable with a biblical text":

... "The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers" (quoted in Whitehead, 1974, 53).

In order to accomodate an influx of pupils who would, up to this time, not have attended a secondary school, the pattern of 'multilateral comprehensives' was adopted. Reasons for this have been suggested by Whitehead (1974, 54):

"Theoretically, provision could have been made for separate schools for the majority of children unsuited to traditional academic courses...but this idea was impractical for two reasons: the population was too scattered, and it was inimical to the strong sense of egalitarianism that has traditionally characterised the country's social attitudes".

Whitehead reported that in 1945, 57% of children aged between fifteen and sixteen years of age were at secondary schools, whereas by 1970, this figure had risen to 85%. Suddenly, schools which had been oriented to teaching the majority of their pupils an academic course aiming towards higher education, had to address a different group of adolescents, for which their teachers' backgrounds and training had not prepared them. The practice of 'setting' (streaming according to subjects taken) became the dominant pattern of school organisation (Department of Education, 1962; Sutch, 1966):

"Almost without exception, schools organised their third and fourth-form classes into professional, general, technical and commercial courses and the level of performance of pupils by teachers varied accordingly" (Whitehead, 1974, 58).

A further reason for the sudden increase in school enrollments was that the post-war women's retreat into domesticity had led to the population explosion commonly known as the 'post-war baby boom.' McLaren (1974, 97-98) reported that

"Primary school enrollments, which had remained static at about 280,000 from 1930-43 had, by 1951, reached 351,000, and by 1955 453,000. The annual average increase of 10,000 pupils each year from 1943-50 rose to 20,000 between 1950 and 1955, and in 1959 it remained as high as 18,000. Birth-rate statistics for the period throw light on the troubles of the schools; in 1933 there were 27,000 births, in 1945, 39,000, in 1946, 50,000 and in 1955, 56,000."

McLaren (1974, 99) commented that at this time the planners in the Department of Education were "scarcely numerate"; their estimate of the secondary school enrollment for 1959 was 66,000 - there were in fact 90,000 pupils.

As the children of the post-war baby boom hit the secondary schools, the system "struggled through one of the worst staffing emergencies imaginable" (Whitehead, 1874, 60). According to McLaren (1974, 122), day-to-day survival was probably highest on most teachers' minds, and teachers found it difficult to adjust to the new 'types' of students. He (1974, 122) noted that

"Children in the lower-ability groups were all too often foisted upon the least experienced teachers who seldom knew how to initiate them into what, to many, seemed an alien and hostile world".

During the post-war years, the proportion of secondary school teachers who were university graduates declined, and it was accepted that

"Many non-graduate secondary teachers are, however, excellent for general subjects and those with experience in primary schools are often more able than many graduate teachers to understand the needs and interests of the nonacademic third of the secondary school population" (MacLaren, 1971, 126).

McLaren noted that schools which were unable to fill vacancies were forced to enrol classes with the Department of Education's Correspondence School in Wellington.

These demographic changes had specific effects on girl pupils and on women as teachers and prospective teachers. McLaren (1971, 126) noted that because of the teacher shortage "many girls were disadvantaged because of the shortage of well qualified science and mathematics teachers in girls' schools." Many women secondary teachers who had married and were living near schools with staff shortages were encouraged to return to teaching on a part-time basis:

"The increasing dependence of secondary schools during the 'crisis years' upon anyone who was available threw an added burden upon full-time teachers. Married women,...make up a growing proportion of the part-time teaching force" (McLaren, 1974, 126).

From the point of view of the Department of Education, the recruitment of women into teaching, including the re-employment of married women, became a necessity. The concept of 'part-time work' was a response to this. The 'reserve army' of married women's labour (Marx, 1976 edition) was once again 'called up' into national service, despite the ideology of feminine domesticity of the immediate post-war years.

iii. Juvenile Delinquency and Sex Education

During the 1950s, there was widespread public concern with the issue of what came to be referred to in the media as 'juvenile delinquency'. In 1954 a Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents produced the infamous 'Mazengarb Report', a copy of which was sent to every household (McLaren, 1974; D. MacDonald, 1978; Olssen and Levesque, 1978). Secondary schools were seen by radical critics of the time (Ausubel, 1960) as unnecessarily repressive, reproducing a sort of 'paramilitary' subculture - uniforms, regimentation (lining up, marching), corporal punishment, the English public school 'prefect system' etc. Others saw the

schools as centres of undisciplined permissiveness and 'Beebyism'² and 'playway' were seen as responsible for the lax moral standards of delinquent youth (discussed by Department of Education, 1962; McLaren, 1974). An outcome of this was the re-opening of the 'single-sex vs co-educational debate'. However, after considering the issue, the Currie Commission decided, in the early 1960s "to make no recommendation on the matter" (Department of Education, 1962, 222). The issue of female sexual promiscuity became a question once more in the arena of public debate. This was described largely as a 'social disease', thus invoking the rhetoric of medical science, according to which sex education should ideally be carried out by the medical expert.

The 1959 reprint of the Thomas Report contained a footnote (p 54) recommending parents to consult the Health Department pamphlets issued in 1955 on Sex and the Adolescent Girl and Sex and the Adolescent Boy. The girls' pamphlet contained an explanation of the working of the female reproductive system. It also included the specific moral stricture that

"It is generally accepted by the society in which we live that sexual intercourse and the physical part of lovemaking that leads to it are part of the relationship between men and women within the sanctity of marriage. The reason for this is that its purpose is for the creation of new life. It is the physical expression of the deep love that exists between two people who have vowed to spend their lives together. Outside marriage where there is no lasting affection and no true respect for each other, the physical expression of love can only bring disappointment and make for unhappiness" (Department of Health, 1955, 7).

The Health Department pamphlet was reiterating the classical concepts of marriage, sex and fidelity. That premarital sex had become common during the early parts of the 20th century and in the 1920s (Beaglehole, 1943; Olssen and Levesque, 1978) is not mentioned-

2. Dr. C.E. Beeby was Director General of Education in the immediate post-war years. The 'progressive' inference he brought to bear was known popularly as 'playway'.

sex belonged only in marriage. The onus for controlling sexual desire was placed firmly on the girl:

"Sexual desire is the natural desire in us for sexual intercourse or for the love-making which leads on to intercourse. In most of us it is the desire to attract boys and be touched by them in various intimate ways. This is often referred to as flirting. Petting is a term used to describe caressing and other forms of love-making which sometimes take place between boys and girls. The inevitable result of this is a desire for sexual intercourse. This is not always aroused so strongly in girls, but we should remember that sexual desire is much more easily aroused in boys... The responsibility of controlling our desires lies with us and we find that boys respect girls who have a natural dignity and control" (pp 6-7).

The 'double standard' was explicit: men have 'uncontrollable' urges, which virtuous women (who do not have such urges) must curb for them!

In 1962, the Commission on Education ('Currie Commission') published its report. This commission had been called together by the National Government to investigate among other things, 'juvenile delinquency' and the teacher shortage. The concern that 'delinquency' might be produced, or at least encouraged, by 'modern teaching methods' was dismissed by the Currie Report (Department of Education, 1962, 660):

"Some allegations were made before the Commission that modern permissive methods in the classroom are themselves causes of delinquency, others that authoritarian severity by school teachers is also to blame. No evidence was presented that supported either contention..."

For the Currie Commission, schools were blameless:

"...the school environment, with its emphasis on orderly behaviour and good moral conduct, is normally a strong positive influence against delinquency. Delinquent tendencies already present in some children may be and probably are sometimes accentuated by poor teaching, be

it too permissive on the one hand or too rigidly repressive on the other" (p 660).

Concern was expressed in the report over the high rate of Maori court appearances (p 657). The recommendations on the teaching of Maori were linked to this concern. The rapidly accelerating drift of Maoris to the cities after the war was seen as giving rise to 'problems' in inner city schools. New state housing areas were also seen as giving rise to neighbourhood 'social problems' (p 662) and departmental initiative in providing discretionary staffing and access to cheap state housing for teachers prepared to work in these 'difficult areas' was recommended (p 662). Plans were made for the upgrading of support services for the schools:

"If by various welfare and remedial agencies help can be given to at least some children who would otherwise become a drag on and a danger to society, so that they lead ultimately a good and useful life, then the effort is not only worth while on humanitarian grounds but also worth while on the grounds of economy" (p 663).

In the report, then, the school was seen as ideally a part of the wider network of state apparatuses. For example, the Currie Commission quoted from the 1960 Report of the Child Welfare Division upon its 'preventive work':

"Increasing requests for the assistance of Child Welfare Officers are made from a wide range of sources, including parents, teachers, police, neighbours, lawyers, nurses, doctors, and other social service agencies both voluntary and public" (p 664).

Such an approach has been criticised by radical critics such as Szasz (1970), Cicourel and Kitsuse (1962), Nash (1980) in that

"...the expansion of the schools, and especially of the public schools into the mental health field is thus but a symptom of the general expansion of the activities of the modern bureaucratic state" (Szasz, 1970, 142).

iv. The Teacher Shortage and its Implications For Girls' Education

During the 1960s the young woman in a top academic stream would have felt strong pressures on her to take up teaching as a career. In its deliberations on the 'problem of the teacher shortage', the Currie Commission noted that

"...the recruitment needs of teaching are not the same for men and women. The Post-primary Studentship and Bursary schemes recruit men and women in roughly equal numbers; there are about three women to every man in the Division A [primary] course of training; and recruitment to the courses for homecraft, maths and science, and commercial subjects is limited almost exclusively to women. A more accurate estimate of the future recruitment needs of the teaching profession, considering boys and girls separately, would therefore be as follows: in the years immediately ahead two boys in every 13 sixth form leavers and one girl in every two must be recruited to a scheme of teacher training. By the early seventies these rates may be expected to fall back to one boy in every eight sixth form leavers and two girls in every five. In view of the differing vocational aspirations of sixth form boys and girls, concerning which the Commission has made its own enquiries, it considers these theoretical rates to be exacting but attainable. They nevertheless represent a formidable challenge to recruitment" (Department of Education, 1962, 585).

Another recommendation was that the Department recruit teachers from overseas:

"whenever there is any possibility of reasonable numbers of teachers of good quality being secured, it recommends that an officer be sent overseas for whatever period seems desirable to stimulate and organise the flow of recruits. Nevertheless, even though the Commission hopes for good results from such efforts, it remains true that the great majority of the teachers needed must be recruited from New Zealand sources" (p 585).

Increases in teachers' salaries were also recommended as a means of attracting school-leavers into teaching. Financial incentives were strong - a school leaver on a studentship could support her/himself financially, as the studentship paid enough to pay full board for an academic year in a university hall of residence, private board, or

a flat, with some spending money left over. Students having to live away from their families (such as rural students) could support themselves with no further financial support from their parents. To pay for items such as books and clothes, a student could take a casual job during the summer vacation; the men factory work - freezing works, car assembly plant - farm or other kinds of labouring, (building sites, roads, etc). Girls found work in hotels, offices, factories, fruit picking, cleaning and cooking, nurse aiding in general and psychiatric hospitals. Students worked alongside adults from many different backgrounds.

The various teachers' studentships offered a chance to rural students to move permanently to the city, or to have three or four years training in the city, then to return to life in a rural area. Young women, offered the choice of teaching or nursing, saw these as opportunities for emotional and financial independence. Their choice of profession was supported by their families, their teachers, the Department of Education, and the government. The loss of young teachers during this time of 'labour shortage' was cause for concern, one researcher noting, in 1966 that "Each year an appreciable number leave teaching to take up broadcasting, air-hostessing, data-processing, mission work, and so on" (Watson, 1966, 150).

Conditions in the schools of the time can be ascertained by studying school records. Wanganui Girls' College is a state secondary school in a provincial town with a boarding hostel attached. During the 1960s teacher shortage, the principal, Miss A. J. Page, commented in detail in her annual reports on the difficulties this situation was causing in the day-to-day running of the school. In 1961, she wrote:

"At this time last year I was facing a happier prospect than I had previously known and may never know again. I knew that when the school opened in February it would be fully staffed. At the moment I do not think any principal in New Zealand is so happily placed. Our share of difficulty is our share of national trouble, and as many of you realise it is trouble which could develop into a national disaster. People sometimes compare school today with schools twenty years ago ... In that far distant time, principals not only advertised for the staff they wanted, but selected the most promising and the most suitable applicant. Timetables

were not remade several times each year to cope with the kind of situation that arises when the only available replacement for a teacher of mathematics and science is a teacher of geography and social studies" (Page, 1961, 7).

The activities of the government's recruitment drives was evident: one staff member had earned a principal's job in a private school, and

"During the past year four members of the staff have been married and there will be another staff wedding soon after the close of school... One teacher from England has completed her contract and is returning. Two have applied successfully for posts in other schools. We have recently welcomed one new mistress from England, but in the last few days have farewelled seven staff members. It is some consolation that I have written several letters of welcome" (Page, 1961, p.8).

The effectiveness of the recruiting campaign in getting a half of all sixth form girls into the teaching profession (Department of Education, 1962, 585) was evident at Wanganui Girl's College. Speaking of the school-leavers of the previous year, the Principal noted

"Recently we have had the pleasure of seeing a number of the girls who left school at the end of last year and went to the university..." [Wanganui, as a small provincial city, has no university-students had to go to one of the larger centers] "...They have all passed the first section of their degree. Eight of them hold post-primary studentships, i.e. they are training for post-primary teaching. This year seven girls have been accepted for this studentship, twenty-six for Training College, and four for the Homecraft Course. Obviously we are ploughing some of the profits back into the business" (Page, 1961, 8-9).

Teaching was presented as a worthy occupation, in the traditions of 'service' for women:

"When I advise various senior girls to take up teaching I act honestly, but I am equally honest when I say that the plight of secondary schools throughout the country is a grave matter that requires the attention of every responsible citizen" (Page, 1961, 10).

The rhetoric of paid work as 'national service' for women struck familiar chords in the ears of the women and men of the World War Two generation. In this context, the discourse of demography was brought to bear not on women's role in increasing the birth rate - this they had done rather too successfully - but on their potential as paid workers in a time of national emergency.

The expressed needs of the state in this time of labour shortage stimulated research by government supported agencies such as the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER). A study by Watson, then one of the staff of NZCER, provides a useful insight into the way women teachers were seen by some of the planners of the time. Watson's study of the "marrying behaviour of women teachers" (Watson, 1966) appeared in a symposium on 'manpower planning' in the first issue of NZCER's journal, the New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies (NZJES).

Watson accepted the need for the government to recruit and retain more married women teachers, noting that

"in 1965 over 13% of the women recruited to the primary service and over 11% of those recruited to secondary teaching in New Zealand were women returning to the classroom after a break of at least five years" (Watson, 1966, 149).

Intending his research to be used in the planning of teacher recruitment campaigns, Watson argued the need for

"systematic assessments of the potential supply, as well as an informed appreciation of the geographical and sociological circumstances of teachers who have married" (Watson, 1966, 151).

Watson's analysis shows how easily an unwary sociologist can be hoist with the petard of his own theoretical base. His research problem was that of an educational planner, trying to provide data which could be used for 'manpower planning' purposes by the Department of Education. Perceiving the Department's 'needs' as retention of

newly trained teachers and re-recruitment of married women teachers who had left the service, Watson (1966, 149) argued in behaviourist terms:

"While administrators may lament, or take comfort from visions of the numbers that may be lured back, surprisingly little effort has been made to study the marrying behaviour of women recruited to different professions".

Framed in this mechanistic mode, Watson's analysis was primarily statistical. He provided figures to show that, although most young women teachers at the time delayed marriage until they had completed their training, by the time they were between 21 and 24 years old, the majority had married. Watson (1966, 155) viewed this as cause for concern:

"...it is frequently assumed that prolonged schooling and professional training or obligations bring about a tendency to defer marriage plans. Unfortunately the evidence used to support this assumption seems often to be little more than anecdotal, and a study of the ages at which this sample of teacher-brides have married provides little support for it."

However, Watson's study of marriage statistics also showed that while 31% of the general population of brides had married by the age of 20, this was true of only 6% of the teacher trainees. Since women who married during their training automatically lost their studentship, this was hardly surprising. Marriage and a career (sexuality and intellectuality) were thus defined as antithetical by the state-upon marriage, a women was expected to assume a domestic role. No such penalty applied to men who married during training.

Watson's study rested largely on quantitative data, an analysis of marriage statistics. In interpreting the figures he made no attempt to understand women's experiences; their reasons for remaining in or giving up teaching, their feelings about social expectations for them as wives and mothers or the rigid sexual moral code which was imposed upon them. Instead, Watson fell back on a naive and unacknowledged

functionalism, the dominant sociological paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Wilson, 1970) of his time. Like much research of its era, his analysis is skewed by the functionalist assumptions on which it seems to rest. Without any supporting evidence, but echoing Talcott Parsons (see Eichler, 1980; Friedan, 1963; Lengermann et al, 1978; Oakley, 1974; Stanley and Wise, 1983), Watson stated that

"men engage in an occupation for economic reasons, even if they do not need to, and sooner or later most of them have families to support. While there is a minority of both single and married women who have strong commitments to their jobs most women, on the other hand, enter the occupational world only as a short adventure between school and marriage, or else they work as a means of supplementing the family income. Thus, for a man, an occupation or a profession is his dominant 'social role', but for a woman it is her marriage that is pivotal" (Watson, 1966, 159-160).

Similarly, Watson noted that other studies overseas had

"repeatedly reported a strong and consistent tendency for the career plans of men teachers to be related primarily to factors intrinsic to their work (pay, social status working conditions, etc) while those of women are related primarily to factors extrinsic to their work (marriage, family plans, needs of relatives, etc)... This confirmation of what administrators have known all along implies that the improvement of teachers' salaries and conditions of work may be expected to have a beneficial effect mainly on the retention of young men teachers, and much less effect, relatively, on the the retention of newly-trained women teachers" (Watson, 1966, 160).

Watson's data contains some useful material on the social mobility of women teachers. However, his interpretation of this was written from the androcentric bias which characterised social stratification studies of the 1960s,³ in that a woman's status was measured only in relation to that of a man - her father, or her husband:

3. Discussed in Chapter Five.

"For the purposes of the present analysis the occupations of the fathers of teacher-brides have been classified into five categories, and compared with the classification of their husbands' occupations: (a) professional-administrative-technical, (b) clerical, (c) highly skilled or skilled (d) semi-skilled, and (e) farmers. It could be argued that this is an unsatisfactory form of comparison since husbands at the time of their marriage are likely to occupy a more lowly position than that which they might reasonably expect to attain during the subsequent ten years or so. Again, it could also be argued that because of the age factor, occupation at time of marriage is not a very satisfactory index of status vis a vis that of the father in law" (Watson, 1966, 156).

However, Watson provided some interesting evidence that school-teaching did, during the 1960s, provide a route to upward social mobility for women from working-class backgrounds in the sense that they married 'executive or professional' men. Watson also suggested that many of these marriages may have been between couples from working-class backgrounds in that both partners had taken advantage of post-war educational and employment opportunities:

"more than half of the professional men or executives who have married secondary women teachers have accepted wives from a working class background, and within the same group three-fifths of the women from the homes of semi-skilled or unskilled workers have married professional and executive men. It may be, of course, that these marriages were between couples who have taken equal advantage of their educational opportunities as a means of rising above their working class origins. They are the new arrivals, perhaps, in the mobility contest" (Watson, 1966, 157).

If further analysis of demographic statistics of the 1960s proved Watson right in this, it would be an interesting illustration of sex-stereotyping in occupational choice: social mobility for working-class men meant a choice of professional or business occupations, while for women it meant a narrow choice of teaching, nursing or secretarial work (Department of Labour, 1980).

SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined some of the structural constraints on, and ideologies pertaining to, the post-war woman and her schooling in New Zealand. Drawing on a framework for analysis constructed by Foucault, it has been argued that sexuality has acquired a

"...specific political significance in modern times because it concerns characteristics and activities that are at the intersection between the discipline of the body and the control of the population" (Giddens, 1982, 219-220).

This framework has proved a useful one in reading key documents of the period. The themes identified by Foucault as the 'medicalisation of sex' and the demographic rhetoric of 'manpower planning' have been shown to have characterised the social construction of female sexuality during the war and in the years of post-war reconstruction. These assumptions also shaped the thinking of the policy-makers and researchers who created the plans for women's education in post-war New Zealand.

The blueprint laid down for women's education in the Thomas Report was for a broad general education plus specific, and compulsory, training for domesticity. Sex was to be dealt with in schools as a topic in General Science, and questions of sexual morality were not to be raised-sex, according to the dominant ideology, belonged only within marriage. Overt sexuality of young people outside marriage was seen as 'delinquent' - as a manifestation of a 'social disease' which could be prevented and cured by agencies of the state by means of social engineering. Careers for girl school-leavers were to be seen only, in Watson's words (1966, 159), as a "short adventure between school and marriage" or as a means of providing 'pin money'. Once married, a woman was to devote her energies to home and family, her husband's career assuming primacy.

However, the drastic labour shortage in the post-war years necessitated the recruitment of married women back into the work-

force. The need was especially great in teaching, as the large birth cohorts of the baby-boom hit the schools. This meant that girl secondary school pupils of the 1960s were exposed to a strong recruitment drive by the Department of Education and were pressured to take up teaching as a career, powerful financial incentives being offered as an added attraction. At the same time, there was a determined effort on the part of the Department of Education to recruit married women who had left teaching back into the profession.

During the war, women had been exposed to the ideology that marriage for women necessitated a domestic role. The re-recruitment drives implied something of an ideological shift; formerly pressured to give up their jobs to returned servicemen, women were once again being 'called up' into national service. The rhetoric of 'national emergency' and 'national service' was reactivated in peace-time, the 'reserve army' (Marx, 1867, 1976 edition) of women's labour being once more required.

As discussed in Chapter Two, socialist feminists have argued that the situation of the wage-earning married woman has exposed contradictions in the ideologies of femininity and of liberalism. In the life-history chapters of this thesis, these contradictions will be explored further as individual women describe and interpret their manifestations in their daily lives.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERSPECTIVES IN THE SOCIOLOGY

OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

This chapter provides a critical overview of what McDonald (1980b, 13) has called the 'sociology of women's education'. Selecting my material on the basis of its relevance to the present study, I have included feminist critiques of major perspectives in the sociology of education as well as research on the education of women and girls from a feminist (i.e. liberal, radical and socialist) perspective. My purpose is to identify in the international literature those theoretical and conceptual tools which are useful to a study of women's school experiences in post-war New Zealand.

As McDonald has observed, there is a growing literature, containing a "diversity of material and forms of analysis now available for the study of women's education" (McDonald, 1980b, 13). However, the literature of the sociology of women's education is scattered throughout journals, books and unpublished conference papers addressed to three different audiences: women's studies, sociology, and educational studies. Issues of importance to the feminist academic community, such as questions of feminist epistemology, pedagogy and methodology tend to be published in the feminist press (e.g. Bowles and Klein, 1982; Keohane, 1982, Spender, 1983), while the works of feminist educationists working within one of the dominant sociological paradigms, such as functionalism or Marxism, may be more 'visible' within 'Education' books and journals (e.g. Arnot, 1981, 1984; McRobbie, 1978a).

This chapter offers a critique of liberal, radical feminist and socialist feminist perspectives in the sociology of women's education. These approaches provide a useful starting point for my analysis of the schooling and educational experiences of individual feminist women in the post-war era in New Zealand. Apart from a few local illustrative examples, the content of this chapter is drawn primarily from British, North American and Australian sources. The next chapter will overview the relevant New Zealand material.

LIBERAL FEMINISM AND THE NORMATIVE PARADIGM

Liberal feminist research in the sociology of education falls within what has been termed the 'normative paradigm' (Wilson, 1970;

Lawton, 1975). Research in this tradition shares at least some of the following three characteristics. First, it adopts as suitable for the social sciences a positivist (usually quantitative) methodology modelled on the natural sciences. Second, it rests on functionalist assumptions about human nature and society. Although the androcentric assumptions of functionalism's 'founding fathers' have been rigorously criticised by feminist sociologists (e.g. Eichler, 1980; Friedan, 1963; Lengermann et al, 1978; Oakley, 1974; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1971),¹ liberal feminist research leaves aspects of the basic functionalist framework intact in its acceptance of current social structures and its implicitly behaviourist (Wilson, 1970) theory of socialisation - women and girls are seen as victims of their stereotyped conditioning for social inferiority. The third characteristic of liberal feminist research in the sociology of education is its theme of inequality of school achievement between different groups. This was the dominant theme of educational sociology in the 1960s (Young and Whitty, 1977), when researchers had focussed on the 'failure' rates of working class children and children from ethnic minorities. Early liberal feminist sociologists of education adopted this framework applying its rhetoric of 'cultural deprivation,' 'disadvantage,' and 'compensatory education' to women and girls.

The central concerns of this early sociology of women's education have been summarised by Wolpe, who observed that

"The literature has primarily chronicled the inequalities within the school itself, and has then set out to account for the divergences in the level of educational attainment of girls as compared to boys and, thereby, to explain their inescapable failure to achieve equality with boys in the higher reaches of the educational system" (Wolpe, 1978, 291).

In what was probably the most comprehensive contemporary statement of a liberal feminist perspective on women and education, Byrne (1978,

1. See the critique of Watson's research in the previous chapter for an illustration of some of the 'androcentric assumptions' of functionalists.

34) viewed this situation of inequality as being a result of "the stereotyping of expected roles for men and women and the translation of these into curricula."

Liberal feminist sociologists have investigated the nature of discriminatory career structures (Dept. of Education, 1982) and practices within schools (Abigail, 1983). The political aims of liberal feminism are the removal of discriminatory practices and policies and the active encouragement of women into management positions and fields of employment non-traditional to their sex ('Girls can do anything').² 'Liberal feminist' educational research is frequently carried out within government departments in order to provide evidence of inequalities to decisionmaking authorities and to press for programmes of affirmative action (O'Neil, 1977). These measures may, of course, be desirable for feminists of all persuasions: no doubt many socialist and radical feminists also wish to see more women in senior and non-traditional occupations (see Eisenstein, 1981). Liberal feminists, however, see a more equitable distribution of the sexes in the current social formation as an end in itself.

The liberal feminist perspective has come under criticism from many sources. For example, from a radical feminist standpoint, Fenwick noted that the Teacher Career and Promotion Study (Department of Education, 1982), a major study of career inequalities of men and women teachers, presented its findings within a male framework in that

"The taken-for-granted is the existing hierarchical promotion structure and the data are oriented towards testing how well women and men match up to the 'model career' and investigating the reasons for any deviations...the hierarchical nature of the promotion system is not challenged by the research" (Fenwick, 1983, 14-15).

2. 'Girls Can Do Anything' was the slogan used in an advertising campaign in 1984 by the Women's Advisory Committee of the N.Z. Vocational Training Council.

From a Marxist position, Wolpe suggested that educational sociologists abandon the liberal/functionalist framework, since it merely described

"an unequal system of material and status rewards which is said to attach to occupations, but it does not in any way tell us how that system of inequality is itself produced... That is to say, since it does not deal with the conditions of existence of the inequality, it can only concern itself with a redistribution of actors while retaining an unequal system" (Wolpe, 1978, 307).

For Wolpe and other Marxist and socialist feminists, such descriptions must be accounted for by a coherent materialist theory of capitalist patriarchy.

Eichler (1980) argued that the 'stereotypes' were, in fact, the constructions of the scientists who measured them. She suggested that the use of positivist devices such as sex-role stereotyping scales (see Broverman et al, 1972) may be counter productive in leading, ironically, to the "reification of sex role stereotypes. The stereotype takes on a life of its own, becomes normative, and empirical reality has been stood on its head" (Eichler, 1980, 64). She commented that

"the widespread publicising through the mass media of positivist sex-role-stereotyping research may be counterproductive in that the studies are then given an aura of scientific credibility... The stereotypes have been reinforced by science."

The ethnocentrism of sex-role stereotyping research has been explored in New Zealand by Pere (1983), who has shown that at least for the Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu tribes (of which she is a member), the passive 'feminine' stereotype of ideal womanhood portrayed in sex-role research did not exist before the coming of the pakeha (European) - she sees it as an import of the missionaries.

A liberal feminist framework offers little to the analysis of the lives of feminist teachers in post-war New Zealand apart from a

description of their under-representation in high status positions in educational hierarchies.

RADICAL PERSPECTIVES

Both radical feminism and socialist feminism have made major contributions to the sociology of education, radical feminism having much in common historically and theoretically with the phenomenological perspectives of sociology's 'interpretive paradigm'.

i. Radical Feminism and the Interpretive Paradigm

The questions raised within the radical feminist framework mirror the central concerns of the sociology of education within the 'interpretive paradigm' in that the focus of both is on exposing the cultural biases of school knowledge and on describing the world from 'within' a particular cultural perspective. The 'interpretive paradigm' in the sociology of education (Wilson, 1970; Lawton, 1975; Giroux, 1982) is based on a phenomenological view of knowledge as socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1971) and is concerned with describing the processes of its construction. Rejecting the uncritical acceptance by previous functionalist researchers of the schools' definitions of 'success' and 'failure', researchers in the 'new' sociology of education (Bates, 1978) made problematic what the functionalists had taken for granted; in the words of Young (1971b, 2), "what counts as educational knowledge, and how it is made available, become objects of enquiry". Within the new perspective, sociologists of education focussed on both overt and covert dimensions of school curricula. While sociologists of the curriculum studied the selection and organisation of 'school' knowledge (e.g. Young, 1971; Keddie, 1971; Esland, 1971), classroom interaction researchers focussed on the social construction of pupil identities in the process of school and classroom interaction (e.g. Nash, 1973; Hargreaves, 1972). The 'knowledge' studied came to include the everyday, or commonsense, as well as the 'academic' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971). The culture of the school and its knowledge codes came to be seen as a reflection of that of the white middle-class; the rhetoric of 'cultural deprivation' was replaced by that of 'cultural relativism' (Keddie, 1973; Kleinfield, 1975). The school, not the child, was seen as primarily responsible for children's 'failure'.

Research in this paradigm has been criticised from a feminist perspective by Acker (1981), who noted that in Britain, few of the 'new' sociologists of education had addressed the issue of the male bias of school knowledge, and in this they showed themselves blind to the relativism of their own perspectives:

"Male researchers clearly have greater access to boys' schools than do women, thus our sociology of schools is about boys' schools and our sociology of youth cultures about boys' youth cultures. Consciousness is just as important. First, one's membership in or identification with a social group shapes one's conception of the problematic. Many of us study aspects of our autobiographies partially disguised as a 'detached' choice of an interesting problem" (Acker, 1981, 96).

Commenting on the work of phenomenologists, the existentialist educational philosopher Maxine Greene observed that

"it is interesting that Berger and Luckman talk of a 'reality interpreted by men', because the constructs normally used for mapping and interpreting the common-sense world are largely those defined by males. It seems evident that, whenever they were developed, the dominant modes of ordering and categorizing experiences of private as well as public life have been functions of largely male perspectives - because in Western culture, males have been the dominant group, the ones in power" (Greene, 1978, 214).

Within this framework, radical feminist educational researchers have studied the school as a site for the reproduction of patriarchy: sexist language as control of the 'power of naming' (Spender, 1980), the patriarchal biases of academic subjects (Spender, ed. 1981), the social construction of femininity in the process of classroom interaction (Clarricoates, 1980; 1978), the nature of patriarchal power in the academic professions (Bernard, 1973; Spender, 1981b). Feminist historians have begun to rewrite the history of education (Marks, 1976; Stock, 1978; Tennant, 1977) from the perspective of women's experiences.

The radical feminist method of generating theory through 'consciousness-raising', of seeking to describe and understand the experiences of women under patriarchy, is compatible with the methodologies of the 'interpretive paradigm'. While some radical feminists seek to develop a totally separatist scholarship untainted by 'male' theoretical constructs (Rich, 1976), many feminist sociologists have indicated the compatibility of the 'interpretive' perspectives with a feminist approach to social science, e.g. phenomenology (Greene, 1978; Lengermann et al, 1979; Oakley, 1974); ethnomethodology (Stanley and Wise, 1983); and symbolic interactionism (Lengermann et al, 1979).

The sociological critiques which have been made of radical feminist perspectives in the sociology of education are similar to those made of the interpretive paradigm in general, in that both have been seen as failing to account adequately for the social realities they describe. Commenting on the phenomenological framework in the sociology of education, Sharp and Green (1975,24) noted that it

"does not enable us to pose the question of why it is that certain institutionalised meanings emerge from practice rather than others or the extent to which the channelling of interpreted meanings is socially structured and related to other significant aspects of social structure."

Seeking to develop a theory which will account for, as well as describe the effects of patriarchy, feminist sociologists of education have increasingly incorporated Marxist analysis into their theorising; in the sociology of women's education, as in 'mainstream' sociology of education, the socialist frameworks have become the dominant paradigm.

ii. Socialist Feminist Perspectives on Education and Schooling

The major foci of socialist feminist educational research have been described by Arnot³ (1981, 109) as, first, "the analysis of the historical and contemporary nature of state ideology and provision of women's education," and, second, "the analysis of the relationship

between female education and the 'dual' location of women in the family and the waged labour process". Examples of studies on the first of these topics are Wolpe's (1974) study of the 'official ideology' of British schooling for girls and Cook's (1983) thesis on the provision of child care in New Zealand: examples of the second are works by Deem (1978), David (1978), MacDonald/Arnot (Arnot, 1984; MacDonald, 1979/80), and McRobbie (1978a; 1978b).

This section deals with studies which have analysed three aspects of schools as agents in the process of the reproduction of class and gender relations. The first, discussed mainly by structuralist researchers, is the 'correspondence' between the structuring of social relations in the school with the social relations of the wider capitalist class structure. This material is relevant to my own observations in later chapters on the streaming practices of New Zealand secondary schools in the 1960s. The second, related, theme is the social construction of the 'virgin/whore' dichotomy in the cultures of schools - the cultural reproduction of the 'double standard'. The third is the relation of the family to the school in the cultural reproduction of class and gender relations.

In Schooling in Capitalist America, Bowles and Gintis studied the form of the hidden curriculum of the school, which they saw as corresponding structurally to the social relations of capitalist production:

"Specifically, the relationships of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicates the hierarchical division of labour which dominates the workplace" (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, 12).

Although Bowles and Gintis recognised some reflection of the sexual division of labour in the social relations of the school, they saw this not as a product of the school itself, but as a product of the family; for them, "...the family's impact on the reproduction of the sexual division of labour... is distinctly greater than that of the education system" (Bowles and Gintis, 1977, 143). However, they

regarded the social patterns of the family as differing substantially from those of the workplace in that

"The close personal and emotional relationships of family life are remote from the impersonal bureaucracy of the wage-labour system. Indeed, the family is often esteemed as a refuge from the alienation and psychic poverty of work life" (Bowles and Gintis, 1977, 144).

David (1978, 167) has criticised Bowles and Gintis's analysis as contradictory and inconsistent in that

"their application of the 'correspondence principle' prevents them from understanding how girls get gender-specific jobs - they ignore the fact that girls and boys have different experiences of schooling."

According to David, the family cannot in itself reproduce a gender-divided work-force" because its ideology is counter to that experience: given that there is a sexual division of labour in the economy...this division has to be reproduced" (David, 1978, 167).

Because Bowles and Gintis ignored the overt school curriculum, and did not see the school as in the business of reproducing gender relations, their analysis was gender-blind, resting on the assumption that "within the differential forms of schooling catering for different sectors of the wage labour force, both sexes experience on the whole similar conditioning" (MacDonald, 1980b, 17). According to Wolpe "Their failure to account for the position of women is quite clear. In the final analysis all they do is to ascribe to women a particular position which is determined by their sex" (Wolpe, 1978, 301).

Since the mid-1970s, much British feminist research in the sociology of education has been influenced by Althusserian structuralism. Althusser's analysis of schooling (1971b) has been strongly criticised by feminists (e.g. Barrett, 1980; David, 1978; MacDonald, 1980b), although these and other feminist writers such as Deem (1978) have found his framework useful. Regarding the family and

the school as a unit in the process of social reproduction, Althusser argued that while in medieval times the dominant 'ideological state apparatus' (I.S.A.) was the 'family-church couple', since the introduction of state schools on a universal scale the dominant medium of cultural reproduction had become the 'family-education couple.' Althusser argued that the family and school together reproduced

"rules of respect for the sociotechnical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination... the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order" (Althusser, 1971b, 132).

Socialist feminists have both criticised and extended Althusser's analysis. While Deem (1978) has argued that it applied equally to the reproduction of class and gender relations, MacDonald has disagreed, commenting that

"Althusser concentrates upon class domination with no mention of the ways in which patriarchal ideology is transmitted in the school, mediating and contextualising the ruling ideology of class domination within the structures of sexual oppression" (MacDonald, 1980b, 19).

In other words, Althusser's analysis was gender-blind. David commented that in framing the 'family-education couple' as the dominant I.S.A., Althusser has provided a useful starting-point for the socialist feminist, who can develop it further. However, in failing to identify the sexual divisions within the family

"his framework does not pose adequately the nature and form of the link between the family and education. It asserts that parents trust the teachers to instil appropriate values into their children. Parents are not differentiated into mothers and fathers who also have different posts and positions within the socio-economic system, which, moreover, have to be sustained" (David, 1978, 165).

Rejecting the mechanistic determinism of structuralist accounts, many British feminist sociologists of education have turned to a Cultural Studies (Marxist ethnographic) approach. Within this framework culture is studied in terms of the power relations of capitalist class formations, culture being viewed, as Giroux (1982,29) described it, as

"a number of different instances in which power is used unequally to produce different meanings and practices which in the final analysis reproduces a particular kind of society that functions in the interests of a dominant class. Thus it is more appropriate to speak of cultures rather than culture."

Probably the most well-known study of the process of schooling within the cultural studies perspective is Willis's (1977) book, Learning to Labour. This study of an 'anti-school' working-class male subculture is of considerable interest to the socialist feminist, as Willis regarded patriarchy as a central organising principle of capitalism and provided evidence of the construction and reproduction of the 'double standard'. The 'lads' regarded women as inferior:

"Their most nuanced and complex attitudes are reserved for the opposite sex. There is a traditional conflict in their view of women: they are both sexual objects and domestic comforters. In essence, this means that while women must be sexually attractive, they cannot be sexually experienced" (Willis, 1977, 43).

The 'lads' identified two 'ideal types' of woman: the girlfriend (or 'missus', modelled on the mother) and the 'easy lay'. The 'lads' identity as manual workers was reinforced by their sense of masculine superiority; inverting the expressed values of the school, they regarded 'mental work' as 'sissy' or effeminate. At least with respect to this group of 'lads' Willis affirmed the centrality of patriarchy in the reproduction of capitalist social relations:

"If the currency of femininity were revalued then that of mental work would have to be too. A member of the counter school culture can only believe in the effeminacy of white collar and office work so long as

wives, girlfriends and mothers are regarded as restricted, inferior and incapable of certain things" (Willis, 1977, 149).

Willis argued the need "for a dialectical and connected notion of a determinate capitalist patriarchy which transforms and fixes the whole social totality" (Willis, 1977, 155 #5). In this, his quest was compatible with that of those socialist feminists who have attempted to analyse the material base of patriarchy (eg. Eisenstein, 1982; Hartmann, 1981). Like them, Willis was critical of the dualism of structuralist feminists such as Mitchell (1973; 1974), whom he has accused of regarding patriarchy as a purely 'ideological' phenomenon (Willis, 1977, 155 #5).

Feminist critics of cultural studies have commented on its male bias in that if girls were visible at all, "...it is through men's eyes as 'birds', 'scrubbers' or 'hangers on'" (Llewellyn, 1980, 42). McRobbie has suggested that feminist sociologists of education should "combine a clear commitment to the analysis of girls' culture with a direct engagement with youth culture as it is constructed in sociological and cultural studies" (McRobbie, 1980, 37).

Feminists have also criticised research in cultural studies on the same grounds as their critique of structuralist analyses, accusing it of having ignored or underemphasised, the role of the family in cultural reproduction. For example, McRobbie accused Willis of failing to

"integrate these observations on masculinity and patriarchal culture into the context of the working-class family. The family is the obverse face of hard, working-class culture, the softer sphere in which fathers, sons and boyfriends expect to be, and are, emotionally serviced. It is this link between the lads' hard outer image and their private experiences - relations with parents, siblings and girlfriends - that still needs to be explored" (McRobbie, 1980, 37).

In other words, socialist sociologists of education have been accused of focussing too exclusively on the school - workplace relationship.

In order to understand the process of cultural reproduction of class and gender relations, researchers should focus more on the relationship between the family and the school. Such a perspective has been adopted in an important Australian study by Connell, Ashendon, Kessler and Dowsett (1982), who argued (p 30) that

"to understand the education of a teenager thoroughly, it was necessary to get to know all the significant people in it: her family, her friends and her teachers as well as herself."

In the course of their comparison of the experience of the process of cultural reproduction in the family and schools of elite private school pupils with those attending working-class state comprehensives, these writers found gender to be a central organising principle, seeing it as

"an extensive and complex pattern, woven through all the institutions they live in-families, schools, workplaces - and shapes their lives at every level from public affairs to basic psychological makeup" (Connell et al, 1982, 33-34).

Although both the ruling-class and working-class girls in their study were receiving a 'feminine' enculturation, there were definite and specific differences between the two groups. Ruling-class daughters in academic streams received contradictory messages. As women they were expected both to train for the professions and to be attractive to men, i.e. to conform simultaneously to both 'liberal/meritocratic' and 'feminine' expectations:

"...the pressures from the market are diverse and sometimes contradictory (when, for example, girls' schools are expected to produce both marriageable femininity and high powered academic competitors)" (Connell et al, 1982, 137).

Academic girls were exposed to gender-specific vocational pressures in that (as discussed by Bernstein, 1975a) they were steered

towards those professions deemed appropriate for women: male resistance being seen as

"likely to exclude women from that sphere where capitalist authority fuses most completely with masculinity, management, and therefore deflect career oriented girls towards the professions" (Connell et al, 1982, 96).

The streaming practices of schools were seen by Connell et al as central to the construction and reproduction of class and/or gender identities - an insight which has characterised the work of sociologists interested in the social organisation of curriculum knowledge (e.g. Nash, 1973; Hargreaves, 1972; Keddie, 1971). Connell et al argued that streaming fragmented the pupil population according to how closely they could master the 'hegemonic curriculum', defined as "hierarchically-organised bodies of academic knowledge appropriated in individual competition" (Connell et al, 1982, 120). Streaming for these writers was "...not just a once-for-all labelling of the kids," but "... a continuing practice by which work and social life are organised" (p 117). Therefore, they argued, streaming

"...serves to compound the divisions introduced into the school by the academic curriculum: practical vs theoretical, abstract vs applied, 'bright' vs 'dumb'" (Connell et al, 1982, 121).

The question of the part played by streaming practices in the reproduction of class and gender identities has received little attention in the New Zealand context, and will be explored in the case studies presented in this thesis.

A useful framework for the analysis of how cultural reproduction takes place within the family and school is that of Bourdieu, who, as outlined in Chapter One, argued that "each family transmits to its children, indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos" (Bourdieu, 1976, 110). Bourdieu's model has recently become of considerable interest to feminist sociologists of education. They have, however, been critical of some of the

applications of his model in that gender-blind researchers have tended to under-value the cultural heritage of the mother. For example, MacDonald (1979/80) has noted that

"by defining cultural capital in terms of the father's occupation and education, they seem to accept that either a woman has no class culture or that her culture is not a significant feature of family pedagogy. The implication is that the sexual division of labour in domestic pedagogy ensures that only the man's culture is communicated: hence that cultural heredity operates only through the male lines" (MacDonald, 1979/80, 150).

MacDonald also pointed out that researchers in cultural reproduction using Bourdieu's model have not taken sufficiently into account "the operation of the sexual division of labour in the creation and the nature of cultural capital" (MacDonald, 1979/80, 151).

SUMMARY

Much research in the sociology of education (functionalist, interpretive and Marxist) has been criticised by feminists as being 'gender-blind'. However, the literature of the 'sociology of women's education' offers some useful theoretical and conceptual tools for the analysis of the school experiences of women in post-war New Zealand.

Three themes central to the sociology of women's education will be developed in the course of the life history analysis. The first is the importance of studying the dynamics of the family as an influence on girls' educational decisions, an issue which many contemporary sociologists of education, such as Willis (1977), have tended to underemphasise. Since New Zealand secondary schools in the 1960s streamed their classes on the basis of subject choice (academic, commercial, homecraft etc), (Department of Education, 1962; Harker, 1975; Sutch, 1966), children's academic and vocational futures were heavily influenced by the choice of course upon entering secondary school in the third form. As Bourdieu (1976, 113) has expressed it:

"if success at the highest level of a school career is still very closely connected to the very earliest stages of that career, it is also true that very early choices have a great effect on the chances of getting into a given branch of higher education and succeeding in it. In short, crucial decisions have been taken at a very early stage" (Bourdieu, 1976, 113).

Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital'⁴ I shall in the case studies explore the women's adult analyses of how their mothers, fathers, and other significant adults in their lives influenced their subject choice.

A second, related, theme is the centrality of social expectations of 'femininity' in girls' education (Clarricoates, 1978, 1980; Connell et al, 1980; McRobbie, 1978a, 1978b). The subject choices of girls have been seen by some sociologists (Connell et al, 1982; Tilly, 1979) as influenced not only by career aspirations, but also by family marital strategies: for example, a girl who became a Karitane nurse could perhaps meet and marry a farmer, a girl who attended university had a chance of attracting a professional or executive husband. The liberal ideology of professional autonomy and equality of opportunity was, in the case of many girls, tempered by parental ambitions for class endogamy (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1989; Hodges, 1979) or social mobility. Few sociologists of education have attempted a case study approach which explores the subtleties of girls' educational decisions in a social context of contradictory expectations between professional autonomy and 'femininity'.

A third theme in the sociology of education which is of importance to this thesis is that distinct, and differentially-valued typifications of female sexuality (the 'virgin' and the 'whore') are constructed and reproduced within adolescent youth cultures (McRobbie, 1978b; Willis, 1977). In later chapters the typifications of female intellectuality and sexuality constructed within school-girls' subcultures associated with academic and commercial streams will be discussed. It will be argued that the question of subject choice in

4. See Chapter One.

the third form not only limited future career choices, but, in schools where streaming by subject choice was practised, may have shaped a girl's school status and self-image as an intellectual and sexual being (Becker, 1976; Connell et al. 1982; Keddie, 1971).

Before proceeding to the life-histories it is necessary to review two further themes in the literature. Chapter Five offers a critique of previous research on social stratification and school success in New Zealand, discusses research and autobiographical writings by New Zealand women about their school experiences, and identifies some further key issues for further exploration in the life-history analyses. Chapter Six will overview the literature on feminism in New Zealand in the post-war era as a background to understanding the 'stock of knowledge at hand' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Schutz, 1970a edition) with respect to feminist ideas during the 1970s.

The two chapters which follow, then, provide a further theoretical orientation and background information which is necessary to an understanding of the New Zealand educational and feminist contexts within which the individuals to be discussed have planned and lived their lives.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND THE

EDUCATION OF THE POST-WAR WOMAN:

A NEW ZEALAND PERSPECTIVE

The dependence of New Zealand sociological thought on theories and concepts from the northern hemisphere has consequences for local research. For example, British analyses of 'social class' may have limited relevance to New Zealand. Aspects of the contemporary British sociology of education, which has strongly influenced many New Zealand university courses in curriculum theory and educational sociology also have questionable relevance here: is, for example, the subculture of Birmingham working-class 'lads' (Willis, 1977) similar to that of 'anti-school' New Zealand working-class boys? To what extent are sociological analyses of the patterns of school resistance of West Indian girls in a London comprehensive school (Fuller, 1980) translatable to the school lives of Polynesian girls in state schools in Otara, or Porirua East, or inner city Auckland? Are the processes of cultural reproduction described as typical of the state and private school systems of Australia (Connell et al, 1982) true also for New Zealand?

The New Zealand researcher in many aspects of the sociology of education and, specifically, in the sociology of women's education, is faced with a lack of previous New Zealand studies to build on. In a 'state of the art' paper at the 1979 inaugural conference of the New Zealand Association For Research in Education (N.Z.A.R.E.) Bates (1979; 155) concluded that

"The epistemological community of scholars involved in the sociology of education can be said...to consist of some two dozen people, roughly half of whom claim to be engaged in actual research, and a pitifully few graduate students swelling the body to slightly larger proportions."

Bates noted that the New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies had published only 9 or 10 sociological papers in 13 years (4-5% of the total), while Delta¹ in 12 years had published around 40, (25% of its total contributions) (Bates, 1979). Since Bates's review was published there has been an enthusiastic adoption by younger academics

1. Published by the Department of Education, Massey University, Palmerston North.

of some of the theoretical perspectives in the 'new' sociology of education and a number of major studies have either appeared or are about to do so, for example, the recent collections of readings edited by Ramsay (1984) and Codd, Harker and Nash (1985).

Research in the sociology of women's education in this country is also scant. In another 'state of the art' paper at the 1979 N.Z.A.R.E. Conference, Bunce (1980) reviewed existing published works on women and education in New Zealand. Through searching bibliographic sources (e.g. Department of Education, 1978; Pickens, 1975, 1976, 1979) she identified 52 theses relating to the education of women or girls written since 1930. However, there were few sociological studies amongst these, the majority being either behaviourist analyses of sex-differences in achievement and learning of specific 'skills', or historical studies of individual girls' schools. Bunce (1980, 25) found that "more attention has been given to young children and women teachers than to older children or women in higher education". New Zealand research on women and education has consisted largely of psychological studies of 'sex-role stereotyping' in early childhood (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1978; Smith, 1980); statistical studies of subject choice (Bunce, 1980); analyses of sex-role stereotyping in children's books (Taylor, 1980; Wainwright et al, 1975), and investigations into the extent of inequalities between the sexes in the teaching profession (Bunkle, 1975a, 1975b; Department of Education, 1982; Malcolm, 1979; Webster, 1975).

As yet there have been few feminist studies in New Zealand which have used the theoretical perspectives of the 'new' sociology of education, although a number of theses are in progress (Jones, 1984). Hancock (1978) has employed a Gramscian perspective to raise questions about sexism in the 'male hegemonic' (Rowbotham, 1973) curriculum. Jones worked with visiting scholar Helen Freeman on epistemological problems of separatism and women's studies (Freeman and Jones, 1980) and Abigail (1983), on behalf of the Women's Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, has recently completed an important report on the influences in thirteen Wellington secondary schools on the making of girls' vocational choice. McDonald (1980) reviewed

policies and practices in women's education in New Zealand and used Marx's concept of the 'reserve army' as an analytic tool in this. Cook (1983) brought to bear a structuralist perspective to analyse the politics of child-care; Aitken and Noonan (1980) have investigated the politics of resource allocation in women's education. Middleton has undertaken theoretical overviews and critiques (Middleton, 1979; 1980; 1982a; 1982c; 1984c; 1984d; 1984e), analyses of the overt and hidden curricula of women's studies courses and other educational programmes from the perspective of the sociology of the curriculum (Middleton, 1980; 1982b, 1982d, 1982e, 1983b), and aspects of life-history analysis (Middleton, 1984a, 1984b) as a methodology in the sociology of women's education. New Zealand historians have studied sexist educational ideologies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Tennant, 1977; Olssen, 1981). Openshaw (1984) studied the sexism of contemporary right-wing educational pressure groups.

This chapter reviews those studies of direct relevance to the life histories used in this thesis. There has been little published on the history of education in post-war New Zealand and life-history analysis as a research technique does not feature in the published literature of New Zealand educational research. The chapter has two sections. The first offers a critical review of the sociological literature on social stratification and schooling in New Zealand. Four aspects will be covered: studies which have correlated school 'success' with 'father's occupation', New Zealand studies which have attempted to devise a satisfactory measure of women's socio-economic status, studies of rural schooling and educational opportunity, and perspectives on Maori education. The second section discusses sociological and autobiographical accounts of women as pupils in New Zealand secondary schools.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SCHOOLING

i. Studies of 'Father's Occupation' and Pupils' School 'Success': A Critique

As in other countries, studies of social stratification and schooling in New Zealand have used 'father's occupation' as the measure of socio-economic status. This section will offer a critique

of researchers' 'androcentricity' (Oakley, 1974). In focussing on statistical correlations between father's occupation and pupils' school success, subject or vocational choice, researchers have disregarded the mother's influence, which, as the case studies in this thesis will illustrate, is particularly important in the case of girls.

A useful study of school streaming practices was carried out by Harker (1975) who studied the 1968 intake of pupils in "one large comprehensive school, typical of suburban, co-educational schools throughout New Zealand" (Harker, 1975, 332). Harker classified the pupils into four groups according to their fathers' occupations: professional, upper white collar, lower white collar, and manual. He then studied and compared these groups of children's performance in the tests which had been administered by the school to all its third form entrants to assist in its streaming practices. This battery of tests comprised achievement tests in reading and arithmetic and N.Z.C.E.R.'s standardised 'I.Q.' test, the O.T.I.S. Harker found a significant relationship between father's occupation and achievement on the tests. Citing an earlier study by Elley (1969), Harker (p. 333) concluded that

"Despite its egalitarian philosophy, New Zealand is not exempted from the universal tendency for ability to flourish more in the home of the professional man than in that of his non-professional neighbour. Intelligence in New Zealand is distributed throughout the social status hierarchy in the same way as it occurs in other westernized countries."

As in most urban New Zealand secondary schools of the 1960s, the children in Harker's case study were offered the choice of the following courses: academic/professional (Latin and French), or technical (commercial and home science for the girls, woodwork and metalwork for the boys). Harker found that in the school he studied, "the professional stratum has 60% of its members in the top three streams while the manual stream has only 13%" (Harker, 1975, 334). Harker did not elaborate on the extent to which the final allocation of the children to classes was done on the basis of the OTIS test or

on actual subject choice-school practices at the time varied on this. However, he noted that there was "a marked preference for the more academic subjects on the part of the higher socio-economic strata (79% for the professional stratum against 11% for the manual stratum), Latin and French combined" (Harker, 1975, 334). 64% of the girls doing the commercial - home science course came from homes in which the father was a manual worker.

In using 'father's occupation' as the measure of pupils' social status, Harker's study was typical of the approaches taken to this topic in New Zealand. The Elley and Irving scale (Elley and Irving, 1972; 1976) was an instrument for measuring the socio-economic status of school-pupils' fathers which has been widely used by New Zealand educational researchers. This scale gave equal weighting to income and 'level of educational qualifications' and ranked the employed New Zealand male population on a 6-point scale. Elley and Irving commented that

"Father's occupation is not only a convenient variable on which to collect information; it has been found to correlate very highly in many developed countries with other indices of socio-economic status much more difficult to acquire, such as educational level and income level of parents, material possessions, number of books in the home, location and type of home, etc" (Elley and Irving, 1976, 25-26).

However convenient Elley and Irving's scale may be, its disregard of the mother's 'cultural capital' may be misleading. Particularly is this so if professional men tend to marry highly educated women, who in turn become, as mothers, influential on their children's aspirations and school performance.

To illustrate this strange blindness on the part of social researchers, and to develop the analysis further, I shall describe an American study which has been highly influential on New Zealand liberal feminists (e.g. Kedgley, 1982). This study, by Hennig and Jardim (1979), is one of the few pieces of qualitative research on 'successful' women which has used a life-history method and provides a

particularly useful perspective from which to criticise New Zealand educational 'stratification' studies. Like many quantitative studies it emphasised the correlation of daughter's and father's status, but overlooked the mother's 'cultural capital.' This was revealed in Hennig and Jardim's case studies.

Hennig and Jardim studied women who had been highly successful in business management. They surveyed over 3,000 woman managers, and followed up 25 of these with in-depth life-history interviews. The 25 were all senior executives in finance and banking who had entered the work force during the 1930s depression. The authors noted that all twenty-five

"had had extremely close relationships with their fathers and had been involved in an unusually wide range of traditionally masculine activities in the company of their fathers, beginning when they were very young. They believed that they had been given unusually strong support by their families in following their own interests regardless of the sex-role attributes of those interests... they thought that they had developed a very early preference for the company of men rather than of women" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 76).

Hennig and Jardim found that all of these women were only or first-born children, born into upwardly aspiring middle-class families and that

"The fathers of twenty two of the twenty-five held management positions in business. The other three were college administrators. Twenty-four of the twenty-five mothers were housewives" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 77 - emphasis mine).

Hennig and Jardim described these women's childhoods and adolescences as a time of increasing identification with their fathers and rejection of the restrictions of their mothers' subordinate role as 'housewife':

"Fathers and daughters shared interests and activities traditionally regarded as appropriate only for fathers and sons: physical activity, the acquisition of outdoor

skills, an aggressive wish to achieve and finally a willingness to compete" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 80).

Mothers were

"remembered as rather quiet people who exerted their influence from time to time, but who usually gave in to the final wishes of their husbands...For each of the twenty-five their 'typical' mother provided a warm, caring and socially sanctioned feminine model, a model they shared with their peers, while their fathers supported them and confirmed them in believing that these were not binding models of behaviour but a matter of choice and option-and that the roles themselves could be readily modified...While their mothers confirmed them as little girls, their fathers confirmed their freedom to be more than the traditional little girl was allowed to be and this very early confirmation of their right to do and be more than the traditional role reserved for little girls remained with them throughout their careers" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 82).

Hennig and Jardim argued that as these women grew up, they resented increasingly the woman's housewifely role, although they did not reject their biological femaleness as such. During adolescence there were tensions in their relationships with their mothers. The authors noted

"a determined struggle not to be submerged by the restricted, confining woman's role and on this basis their hostility and resentment toward their mothers emerged. They came to see their mothers as having given up the struggle and as attempting now to make them do the same" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 98).

Orienting themselves towards a career on the male professional pattern, these women chose to

"establish much closer relationships with their male peers than with other women (men would confirm them, women would consider them odd); choose a career related to their father's and work almost exclusively in the company of men" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 107).

Bearing in mind the fact that these were women of the generation which entered the work-force during the 1930s, when few female 'role models' in their profession existed, it is not surprising that they identified male 'mentors' in their professional lives. However, these and other researchers into educational and professional 'success' have omitted to study the influence of the mother in a child's school success. Despite the fact that Hennig and Jardim's women could identify a strong relationship and identification with their fathers as formative of their aspirations, it was probably the mother (24 of the 25 were 'housewives') who spent more time with the child in her early years-as senior businessmen, the fathers would, presumably, have worked long hours. Hennig and Jardim noted that

"The educational level reached by twenty-three of the mothers was at least equal to that of the fathers and in thirteen cases the mother's education was in fact superior to that of the father's. The parents' education ranged from high school diplomas to the doctorate, which was held by two fathers" (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 77 underlining mine).

Presumably the mother's education must have been influential in their daughters' aspirations and school success - the authors did not explore this at all in their book. The mother's influence was seen as negative - these woman managers did not want the role of 'housewife'. However, the mothers must also, as child-rearers, and as highly educated, have passed on some positive traits to their daughters. The 'cultural capital' of the mother as an influence on the school success which is usually a pre-requisite, to careers in management is invisible in studies which employ 'fathers occupation' as the sole index of socio-economic 'status'.

A New Zealand study of woman business managers by Place (1981) also associated 'masculine' qualities with success in business. On the basis of a postal questionnaire and interviews with 130 woman managers, Place argued that

"two influential themes emerge: father achievement identification and the development of a sense of environmental control. Since the majority of

respondents did not have mothers employed outside the home, their most constant feminine model was considered to be home-orientated rather than career-orientated. The fathers who were seen by their daughters to be successful were largely self-employed, mainly on their own farms but some with their own business. It is noted that masculine scorers [on an 'androgyny' scale]² came from a farming background, where it was a common occurrence for farming fathers to take their 4-year-old children of either sex out on the farm with them, 'helping' with the farming chores. Thus masculine achievement was shared at an early age, before school days reduced such opportunities and before the girls could be channelled into helping mother in the house and identifying strongly with the feminine role" (Place, 1981, 57).

Like Hennig and Jardim, Place classified the mothers as 'housewives', arguing that it was the women managers' relationship with their fathers which had been significant in their success in a 'non-traditional' occupation. However, a recent survey of farmers' wives by Straight Furrow magazine (the magazine of N.Z. Federated Farmers) has suggested another possible line of investigation. The questionnaire elicited

"1436 responses from many different farming situations and most of the respondents (89.9%) shared the manual work of the farm. That is quite apart from the household tasks, the farmstead activities of keeping poultry, growing fruit and vegetables, preserving and cooking for casual and permanent employees" (Straight Furrow, March 4, 1982, p 37).

It could well be that the mothers of these women were a much stronger influence on their daughters than Place suggested. Furthermore, even if the mothers did not present a 'role-model' in terms of a specific career, they may well have provided 'cultural capital' in terms of the school achievement needed as a precondition to managerial success. Although there is evidence that children growing up on farms in New Zealand in the 1960s did see more of their fathers, and became more involved in his work than city children

(Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970), the influence of the mother in such women's 'success', e.g. her working on the farm, her level of formal education, her reading or interest in the arts, her involvement in voluntary work or evening classes, her own unfulfilled educational or career ambitions, has rarely been studied as a major factor in the backgrounds of 'successful' women.

ii. Women's Socio-economic Status

There have been several recent attempts in New Zealand sociology to develop a means of classifying the social status of women. In 1977 Irving and Elley published their 'Socio-economic index for the female labour force'. They defined 'full-time employment' according to the census criterion of twenty hours a week, and ranked female occupations on a six-point scale. Noting the importance of the mother's influence to children's school performance, Irving and Elley stated that:

"as 50% of women in the female work force are now married and over 26% of all married women are working, research workers will find mother's occupation as useful a variable for many purposes as that of father, which has tended to be one of the most utilized in research" (Irving and Elley, 1977, 155).

However, they were unable to include 'housewives' in their scale, which related only to women in paid employment:

"One problem that will continue to bedevil research workers investigating women's place in society is how to categorize the heterogeneous group 'housewife'. The authors are aware that the problem persists and that their index cannot contribute to its solution" (Irving and Elley, 1977, 158-159).

In their book The Smith women, Barrington and Gray (1981) attempted to solve this problem. This research

"involved interviewing 100 randomly selected New Zealand women between the ages of 20 and 50 in an attempt to find out how they saw themselves and other women, how much choice they felt they had over various aspects of

their lives and how much choice they had in fact exercised at various points" (Gray, 1981, 39).

The problem of designing a measure of housewives' socio-economic status for the Smith Women study has been discussed by Gray (1981). While the Irving and Elley scale was useful to Barrington and Gray only in classifying women in paid employment, ranking by husband's occupation was also seen as dubious since "Few women derive all their opportunities in the economic sphere from men and some derive none at all" (Gray, 1981, 40). It was decided to use the women's education as a guide in conjunction with an occupational classification - in some cases the woman's own, in others her husband's, or in the case of single women, her father's. Gray (1981, 40) noted that although their approach "can be criticised on the grounds of subjectivity and lack of replicability", they were able to employ some subjective knowledge of the women as individuals, since they had an unusually detailed knowledge of their circumstances because of the time spent in, and depth of, the interviews. According to Gray,

"the method chosen had the advantage of according women some class status in their own right, while at the same time recognising their interdependence with other members of their families" (Gray, 1981, 40).

The problem of the invisibility of 'housewives' in sociological accounts (Gavron, 1966; Oakley, 1974, 1976) illustrates the inadequacy of quantitative measures of socio-economic status as a means of explaining a child's school 'success'. All such measures can hope to achieve is broad statistical correlations in large samples.

iii. Rural Pupils

The school-teaching profession in New Zealand has drawn substantially on the rural population for recruits. In 1962, during the 'teacher shortage', the Currie Report (Department of Education, 1962) noted that rural girls made useful recruits to teaching because they were likely to want to teach in rural schools. In his doctoral study of the 'vocational commitment' of the 1973 intake to the Hamilton Teachers' College, Ramsay (1978, 52) found that

"Twenty percent of the student teachers...were farmers' children. In relation to the national student-teacher intakes this also probably represents a higher than usual proportion of students from such backgrounds when one considers that only 13% of the total New Zealand labour force are farmers".

Hamilton being the centre of a densely settled dairying area, it may be that Ramsay's sample had a higher proportion of farmers' children than other Teachers' Colleges. However, it may also be the case that all six Teachers' Colleges attract rural school-leavers,³ rural girls having few professional female 'role models' other than teachers, the district nurse, and the school dental nurse.

Ramsay also noted that 45% of the students came from the middle groupings of the Elley and Irving scale. It is interesting that on the original Elley and Irving scale (Elley and Irving, 1972) farmers were rated at level 2, but when these authors revised their scale (Elley and Irving, 1976), farmers had dropped to level 3 "doubtless because of their less favoured economic position in recent years" (Elley and Irving, 1976, 30). Elley and Irving took the average education and income levels of farmers (basing their initial analysis on that of the 1966 census)

"regardless of the size of their property or business because such figures are not recognised in the official figures. If these factors could be taken into account, many farmers and shopkeepers would be ranked Level 1, and others at Level 5 or 6" (Elley and Irving, 1976, 29).

This inadequacy in the Elley and Irving scale has been noted by Gray (1981, 41), who commented that many women in the Smith Women study "came from farming backgrounds ranging from rundown holdings in North Auckland to large sheep stations in Otago". In terms of educational and career aspirations and expectations there are likely to be vast differences between the daughter of a Canterbury sheep

3. This observation is substantiated by Watson's findings in NZCER's Teacher Study, Data Summary 6/65c.

station owner, a share-milker, or a farm labourer. As Gray (1981, 41) has expressed it, "whether or not workers are owners or employees does appear to have a profound effect on life chances, feelings of control and social perspectives."

During the 1950s - 1970s, the educational experiences of rural girls differed substantially according to whether they attended local district high schools, were enrolled with the Department of Education's Correspondence School, or left home to attend state or private boarding schools. Those who remained in rural areas and attended their local district high schools were less likely to have been able to take 'academic' subjects (such as Latin or contemporary foreign languages) at senior levels (Department of Education, 1962; Nash, 1981; Whitehead, 1974). Nash (1981) has offered a useful analysis of the educational aspirations of New Zealand rural petit-bourgeois parents for their children, viewing these as determined by their desire for "social and geographical mobility" (Nash, 1981, 150). Drawing on cultural reproduction theories (e.g. Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Bernstein, 1975a), Nash argued that the aspirations of parents from 'marginal' class backgrounds had led to a demand for a curriculum in rural schools which would lead to professional opportunities for their children:

"This insistence of the middle-class section (shopkeepers, traders and small farmers) of the rural community on a secondary education which offered their children the same qualifications, (and that meant the same curriculum, the same examinations, the same teaching methods and so on) as urban children can be clearly related to the demand of that class fraction to take part in the contemporary move of the entire middle-class to legitimate, through its possession of academic school knowledge, its claim to positions in the rapidly expanding tertiary sector of the economy ... Parents, acting in the interests of their family rather than their community, demanded academic courses, for although fewer than one percent would gain a university education, there was always the possibility that their child might be among the fortunate" (Nash, 1981).

The drain of academically-inclined rural children to the cities meant that some rural schools were unable to offer subjects such as

Latin or modern languages, which, in the 1960s were the most prestigious subjects.⁴ In 1973, McLaren noted that rural secondary schools, despite the introduction of 'country service' requirements for teachers, suffered severe under-staffing and had, in comparison with urban secondary schools, "the lowest proportion of properly-qualified staff" (McLaren, 1973, 68). Children who wished to take academic courses could win government boarding allowances, which paid a small proportion of the fees at a hostel attached to a state urban secondary school. Other parents of rural children paid high fees to send their children to private boarding schools. Some parents made boarding arrangements in families for their children so they could attend city schools. Nash observed that this caused difficulties in counting the numbers of rural pupils attending city schools:

"an unknown but substantial number of rural pupils are enrolled in urban schools. This fact makes it difficult to use official figures to establish the extent to which rural pupils do gain qualifications in the same proportion as their urban counterparts. The probability is that rural educated children remain slightly disadvantaged" (Nash, 1981, 158).

Rural children boarding at large city schools may have found it difficult to keep up with city children in top academic streams in the third form insofar as many city children had attended Intermediate Schools, some of which, unlike primary country schools, offered instruction in foreign languages and advanced mathematics in preparation for secondary school courses.

In 1960 16.8% of New Zealand secondary school pupils were attending private schools; 9.7% of these were at Roman Catholic schools, 3.5 at Church of England schools, 2.4% at Presbyterian schools. The majority of these pupils would have been day pupils (Department of Education, 1962, 700). In 1961-2 the state provided hostels at 22 towns at state secondary schools: 19 for boys, 13 for girls and two mixed. Altogether 2,701 boys and 1,526 girls were

4. In schools where Latin was taught, the Latin Form was the top academic form (Department of Education, 1962; McLaren, 1971; Whitehead, 1974).

accommodated in the single-sex state boarding hostels (Department of Education, 1962, 794). The large discrepancy between the numbers of girls and boys in such hostels is disturbing (there were 1175 more boys) and suggests that parents may have valued boys' more than girls' education. Nash (1981, 154) noted that "In 1974 more than 6,000 pupils held boarding places but less than half were in receipt of bursaries, the majority being entirely supported by their parents" (Nash, 1981, 154). It may have been that parents were more willing to spend money on educating their sons than their daughters by sending them to city schools.

iv. Maori Pupils

There have been a number of studies of changing policies and practices in Maori education (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Bray and Hill, 1973, 1974; Nash, 1984b, 1984c; McLaren, 1974). Ravaged by epidemics introduced by contact with the pakeha, demoralised spiritually and impoverished economically by land wars and confiscations, the Maori population had declined drastically in the later years of the nineteenth century. Early mission schools were replaced by the government's 'Native Schools' which aimed to assimilate the 'natives' into Pakeha culture. During the 1930s, educational policies in Maori schools aimed to produce a 'brown peasantry'. In the words of a Director of Education at the time, T.B.Strong, schools should teach "the Maori lad to be a good farmer, and the girl to be a good farmer's wife" (quoted in McLaren, 1974, 75).

McLaren has observed that this emphasis on technical and practical training for young Maoris continued during the 1940s. Noting that "up to 1945 only thirty-five Maoris had earned university degrees" McLaren (1974, 75) noted that at this time Pakeha educationists had considered Maoris to have "little aptitude for book learning". These prejudices were somewhat belied by the academic success of Maori pupils from the Maori denominational boarding schools (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974) which, although adopting many of the features of the English 'public school', also stressed the importance of Maori language and culture.

During the war and post-war years, Maoris flooded to the cities in search of employment. The Currie Commission expressed alarm at the 'delinquency' and race-relations problems in new housing areas with large Maori populations (Department of Education, 1962, p 657). In 1960, the Hunn Report (Hunn, 1960) portrayed the Maoris as a depressed and disadvantaged minority. Walker (1984, 2) has summarised the position during the 1960s:

"By 1958 the rural-urban shift meant that 71% of Maori children were being educated in public rather than Maori schools.⁵ Teachers in these schools were ill-equipped to deal with Maori children. In the past the education gap between Maori and pakeha which had been concealed by the capacity of the rural tribal hinterland to absorb the failures, could no longer be ignored in the urban milieu. In 1960 the Hunn Report identified a 'statistical blackout' of Maoris in higher education. Only .59% of Maori children reached the 7th form compared with 3.78% for pakehas. Maori numbers at university were only one eighth of what they should have been."

The thinking of many teachers and educational researchers on the issue of Maori 'achievement' underwent considerable change during the 1970s. While earlier studies had viewed Maori children as 'culturally deprived' or 'disadvantaged' in Pakeha terms (e.g. Ashton-Warner, 1973; Department of Education, 1971; Ritchie, 1978), many Pakeha researchers and teachers came to think of the 'problem' in terms of 'cultural relativism' (Kleinfield, 1975) or 'cultural difference' (Metge, 1976; Metge and Kinloch, 1978). Within this perspective, it was argued that Maoris should not be educated to become 'brown pakehas', but, in line with the 'interpretive sociologies', schools were regarded as producing 'failure' through valuing most highly the knowledge and cultural style of the white middle-class (Keddie, 1973). Schools, it was argued, should be structured so as to allow co-operative work and mixed-age groupings, structuring the 'hidden

5. Separate 'Maori Schools' run by the Department of Education were phased out from the late 1950s to 1969. They were transferred to control of the regional Education Boards, thus becoming ordinary state primary schools. Some scholars have argued that this was not a move which was supported by all Maori communities (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Ritchie, 1956).

curriculum' (Martin, 1976) so as to provide a learning environment which was more compatible with 'Maori values' than the competitive individualism of the pakeha school tradition (Harker, 1980; Gadd, 1976; Pere, 1983a; Tauroa, 1983; Schwimmer, 1974).

This shift in thinking has influenced the Department of Education to implement measures designed to bring about a more 'bicultural' orientation within schools (Department of Education, 1980). This perspective has been defined by Metge (1980, 65) as one which places

"...an unequivocally positive value on cultural diversity and actively working to create a society in which respect for other cultures is accepted as a basic premise and the majority of citizens are familiar enough with at least one culture other than their own to be able to interact comfortably with its members on the latter's terms."

The introduction to state primary schools of Itinerant Teachers of Maori (I.T.M.s) was an attempt to implement a bicultural perspective. Walker noted that in 1984 there were 40 I.T.Ms. These teachers were seconded from the classroom to train teachers and develop Maori language programmes in groups of primary and intermediate schools (Walker, 1984). One I.T.M. recently wrote of the resistance by some teachers in Waikato schools to this programme:

"when one has to 'sell' one own culture one begins to feel a little despondent at times, especially when one meets up with only a superficial or negative response in some classrooms. It is a degrading situation especially when one considers that Maori is the indigenous culture" (Moke, 1983, pp 22-23).

In order to introduce teachers to aspects of Maoritanga, the I.T.M.s in the Waikato region have started an organisation, Te Waka o Te Rangimarie, which holds 'hui' for pakeha and Maori teachers. One of the founders of this group has expressed the philosophy of biculturalism:

"It is only by making a real effort to share, that I see a brighter future for all New Zealanders. This does not mean that the pakeha should become totally Maori.

Rather we should pursue the positive features of both our lifestyles and establish them as a recognised identity for all New Zealanders" (Tai, 1983, 28).

However, Walker (1984) has pointed out that, although the I.T.M. scheme was reaching 250 schools and 50,000 pupils, it offered only an introduction to 'taha Maori' and could not, of itself, affect the Maori 'failure rate' - "clearly", he argued, "there was something more fundamental at work in the nature of New Zealand society that was producing this constant negative result" (Walker, 1984, p 3).

While 'biculturalism' as a concept has become fashionable in 'liberal' Pakeha educational circles, Maori educationists have pointed out that Maoris are a tribal people and are seeking to teach children their tribal origins. For example, according to Rangihau (1975, 233)

"...Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity."

Pere (1983a, 31) has drawn on the imagery of her Tuhoe tribal background in this critique of Pakeha monocultural school regimentation:

"Many of us see ourselves symbolising the awe inspiring beauty of the Urewera bush - a domain that is made up of different families of trees from the young to the ancient with their roots deeply entrenched in Papatuanuku.⁶ While there are many other New Zealanders, who appear to symbolise the Kaingaroa forest⁷ with its one family of pine trees standing row after row in their sameness, one is hopeful that the institutions that govern us will contribute to their growth by way of diversity" (Pere, 1983a, 31).

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6. Papatuanuku - the Earth, the female primeval ancestor in the Maori creation myth.
 7. A State-initiated plantation of exotic pines grown for paper pulp and timber milling.

The 1980s have seen a movement towards language preservation. Maori rural communities in a number of regions have had their local primary schools made official 'Bilingual Schools' (Benton, 1979). Schools such as Ruatoki are able to focus on tribal dialects and history.

In recent years there has been a visible resurgence of Maori radicalism and protest, many of the activists being women with university backgrounds (e.g. Awatere, 1982, 1982/3; Evans, 1982; Halkyard, 1982). Pakeha moves toward 'biculturalism' are regarded with suspicion; as Evans (1982a, 56) has explained:

"Both multiculturalism and biculturalism assume that racial groups within certain societies receive equal recognition."

Radicals such as Awatere, (1982/3) (as will be discussed in the next chapter), have advocated separatist strategies and the restructuring of New Zealand's (white hegemonic) social institutions in accordance with 'Maori values'. Maori separatism in education has received a groundswell of support in recent years. A major focus of this has been language preservation. The introduction of Maori language as a School Certificate subject in the 1950s and the development of Maori Departments in universities are seen as perpetuating Pakeha hegemony in that Maori becomes an 'examinable subject' taught within the dominant competitive 'knowledge code' (Awatere, 1982-3; Bernstein, 1971; Harker, 1980). In the 1980s, thousands of Maori preschool children have been enrolled in 'Kohanga Reo' (Dasler, 1982b), 'language nests' run by native Maori speakers outside the formal education system, but receiving some government funding as child care centres.

These Maori 'alternatives' have been described by Walker (1984,4) as having radical potential:

"ostensibly the Kohanga Reo exists to teach pre-schoolers the Maori language. The unforeseen side effects include many young mothers not only learning their own language but also becoming politically active

as they grapple with constraints imposed by Pakeha bureaucracy for a fair distribution of resources needed to attain their goals."

The strength of Maori radicalism in the field of education was expressed at a national hui (gathering) on the marae at Turangawaewae in 1984. At the final plenary session, this resolution was passed:

"This conference declares that the existing system of education is failing the Maori people and modification has not helped the situation, nor will they. Therefore we urge Maori withdrawal and the establishment of alternative schooling modelled on the principles underlying Kohanga Reo."

In 1984, the N.Z. Post Primary Teachers' Association organised a similar hui at Waahi to discuss the government's Review of the Core Curriculum (Department of Education, 1984) in which the recommendation was made that 'taha Maori' be made a compulsory component of the core curriculum in all state schools, but have no time allocation - in other words, 'Maori content' would be integrated into the other subjects. This 'tokenism' was rejected and the thousands of Maori and Pakeha educators present endorsed the earlier hui's call for separatism.

Similar anger has been being expressed by Maori scholars at the ethnocentrism of Pakeha researchers. For example, in a recent address to social researchers, Whittacker (1984) stated that:

"...the Maori community is totally disillusioned and very distrusting of research and researchers...Maori people are fed up with being objects for other people to poke, at, to probe, to peer in at like goldfish in a bowl, to make all sorts of judgments, or in research parlance, to scrutinize, categorize, monopolize and randomize. And that is a very, very strong feeling...the end result of the research tends to tell the Maori people what they know already i.e. they are at the bottom of the heap educationally, in employment, health-wise, money-wise, land-wise - the whole lot. It is that sort of research that people say, 'Oh, we knew that all the time.' ...and there have been researchers who have simply used the people for their own ends, and the ends are often academic honours."

v. Summary

This review of research on social stratification and schooling in New Zealand has shown that school success here, as elsewhere, has been shown to correlate highly with social class and ethnicity. Children in top academic streams have been shown to come disproportionately from professional Pakeha backgrounds.

However, analyses of social stratification and education in New Zealand have been skewed by the androcentrism and ethnocentrism of the researchers. Here in new Zealand, as in overseas countries, researchers have tended to be both white (Mitchell, 1982) and male (Bernard, 1973; Middleton, 1980, 1982d; Spender, 1981b).

NEW ZEALAND WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOLING

The educational experiences of New Zealand women have received little attention from sociologists. Barrington and Gray decided on the basis of their interviews with 100 randomly selected New Zealand pakeha women that school had made little impression on their lives:

"originally education was going to be an important chapter in this book, but when we spoke to the Smith women, we realised that its importance was in our minds only. Despite the fact that they spent 10 to 13 years there, school had remarkably little impact on most of those women's lives, and primary school surprisingly, had almost none" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 17).

Despite this disclaimer, Barrington and Gray's book contains some useful material for the feminist researcher seeking to understand the school experiences of New Zealand women. For example, the authors commented on the tensions for secondary school girls between their 'femininity' and the academic/bureaucratic structures of the school:

"Problems at primary school were often magnified at secondary school. Most of the girls were moving into adolescence just at the time they had to cope with new subjects and routines and even larger and more impersonal schools" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 19).

Many of the 'Smith Women' commented on their adolescent body-image. The girls were "sensitive about their appearance and what others thought of them" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 19). Sport was of central importance to the self-esteem of many of the women:

"While there is still more emphasis on sport for boys in New Zealand schools, sport loomed large as a source of self esteem, or otherwise, for the Smith women. Girls who were good at sport found it a pleasure, but for others, the pressure to be involved was a nightmare" (Barrington and Grey, 1981, 20).

Barrington and Gray's study contains some vivid anecdotes which illustrate how women experienced the process of social stratification in the school context. For example, they commented on the practice of 'setting':

"...it was misleading to say that either parents or daughters chose subjects, because most selected quite arbitrarily, having no real idea of what they wanted to do or even what there was to do. In schools where there were streams - home science, professional, general and so on - teachers often advised parents and daughters as to what was the most suitable course" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 22).

The Smith women had a clear analysis of the relative status of the various courses and the girls who took them. Quoting from one of their case studies, the authors noted:

"I was enrolled for the professional class, for academic. That's what I wanted to do and that's what my parents wanted me to do. But when I got to school - I guess it was because of my I.Q. tests - I got put into commercial and I was absolutely horrified and disappointed. I thought, 'if I take commercial, I'll end up in an office' - and that was my biggest dread" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 23).

There is also some evidence that New Zealand girls perceived middle-class children as being educationally advantaged. For

example, Barrington and Gray's study showed a marked social class difference amongst the Smith women, for

"not only were middle class parents able to get the best deal from schools...but they were also able to prolong the educational process, which in itself gave the girls more options" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 24).

Autobiographies of New Zealand women have also indicated that school girls perceived the streaming practices in their schools in terms of social stratification. Two useful autobiographies of schooling during the 1930s and 1940s have suggested that girls in academic streams looked down on 'commercial' girls. Findlay, for example, said of her schooling in the 1930s, that "Many girls in the fifth forms were leaving. They were the ones who had taken shorthand and typing, a course looked down on by the staff" (Findlay, 1974, 96). In her autobiography, Frame described the social stratification at her secondary school in war-time at Oamaru. Frame's experience of schooling in Oamaru is relevant to the experiences of rural and urban children in secondary schools in centres where there is an Intermediate school - in the 1930s, Oamaru was one of the few centres with an Intermediate ('junior high'):

"Senior high school, where there were three courses-professional or academic, commercial, or domestic, with no mixture of subjects as in the junior high school. My parents, now taking it for granted that I would become a teacher, decided to allow me to continue at school, although Dad warned me that if times were hard, I might have to leave school or change to 'commercial' and work in an office. Most of the girls in our neighbourhood planned to leave school in their third or fourth year to work in shops or offices, and most were to take a commercial course" (Frame, 1982, 141).

Remembering her status as an 'academic' girl, Frame commented on the status and image held by 'academic' girls of the time towards the 'commercial' girls:

"The word commercial aroused so much horror in me... If I walked beneath the windows of the classroom where the 'commercial girls' did their work, I could hear the

sound of their typewriters and imagine the doom waiting for them" (Frame, 1982, 170).

The 'doom' the young Janet Frame had envisaged was constructed from her knowledge of the "the lawyer's office where mother paid the rent" (p 141) and a poem about a youth who had dreamed of becoming a sailor, but was instead spending his life "totting up accounts, and going grey" (p 141). Frame's dreams were intellectual ones, of becoming a writer. Amongst the girls was a distinct status hierarchy of 'academic' over 'technical' or 'domestic': "everyone knew that commercial girls were a little beneath Professional girls..." (Frame, 1982, 171).

Autobiographies have also provided the sociologist with useful descriptions of the social class origins and youth cultures of academic stream girls. Both Frame (1982) and Findlay (1974) described the girls in the top stream as predominantly the daughters of professional or business men. Within the youth cultures of top stream girls' classes, both writers have described two distinct groups; the 'swots', who were aiming for careers, and those whose main aim was to get married and, if they had careers, regarded them as part of their, and their family's, 'marital strategies' (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Connell et al, 1982; Hodges, 1979; Tilly, 1979). For example, Findlay (1974, 97) described the composition of her sixth form class at an Auckland state girls' school during the 1930s depression:

"Of the remaining eleven sixth-formers, four were the daughters of professional people and they intended to graduate as their parents had done before them. Three others were going to university for the social life. Their fathers were successful businessmen who wished their daughters to gain status by meeting and marrying students studying for the professions."

Frame described the relative status of the 'swots' and those she termed 'the group':

"A selection of four or five girls, who were not, however, among the top scholars, maintained a concentration of power and privilege through sheer personality and so were less likely to suffer the taunts directed at the slower pupils. The group was the centre of the class with their activities at home and at school the centre of most of the class interest and news; the rest of us moved on the outside in more or less distant concentric circles, looking toward the group whose power, in effect, surpassed even the glory of the scholars who, after all, were known contemptuously as 'swots'" (Frame, 1982, 167-168).

She reported that by the sixth form year, members of the 'Group' were preoccupied with their 'glory boxes', leaving school to go karitane nursing, nursing or to get married.

Frame's class in Oamaru reflected the town's stratified social structure:

"...I had been infected with a snobbishness that caused me to wonder why M whose father was 'only a carpenter' became part of the Group. The occupation of one's father did matter, in the class and in the school, and it was possible to survive and flourish on an accumulation of the resulting prestige of having an illustrious father (mayor, councillor, doctor, dentist) or a relation who was such (as in the case of one of the girls) having a double helping - W's father was manager of the Woollen mills and her cousin was a teacher at Waitaki!" (Frame, 1982, 178-179).

To be seen as 'successful' in the school's terms was to be somewhat ridiculed by one's less-conforming peers. Findlay noted that those chosen as prefects "were all good conformists, a necessary qualification for this position of authority" (Findlay, 1974, 83). Satirist Rosemary McLeod saw the main aim of her private school education (in the 1960s) as that of producing "good all-rounders:"

"Good all-rounders became prefects, and wore their badges with pride. They enjoyed forming groups of third formers into battalions to sweep up the autumn leaves from the teachers' car park. They even wore school regulation underwear. Naturally, they all enjoyed school sports, and spent their Saturdays playing for the school while the rest of us experimented with nail polish and eye shadow" (McLeod, 1980, 283).

Frame's, Findlay's and McLeod's observations on the 'ideal typifications' of 'swots' or 'conformists' and the sexually or maritally-ambitious 'in-groups' suggested that academic-stream girls experienced a contradiction between their intellectuality and their sexuality, a theme which will be taken up in depth in the life-history analysis in this thesis.

The status of rural pupils in town schools has been commented on by Frame, who noted the low status of 'boarders and bus girls' at her state provincial girls' school. These girls did not make it into the top stream:

"The large 4B class, most of whom, unlike us, with our years at junior high, came directly from country schools or a crime in Miss Gibson's eyes - were 'bus' girls or boarders, became the target of Miss Gibson's or Gibby's sarcasm, while we, 4A, sat smugly nurturing our feelings of superiority" (Frame, 1982, 17).

Barrington and Gray's sample did not include any boarders at state hostels. There were, however, seven who had boarded at convents. The authors noted the elitism of such schooling, which they described as providing

"a special type of education, both socially and academically. Parents who choose this sort of education for their daughters probably have a different set of values from most other parents in the first place but the difference is probably compounded by the religious basis of the teaching and the time girls may spend away from their families" (Barrington and Grey, 1981, 20).

There are few published accounts by Maori women of their school experiences. Blank has written of her secondary schooling at a denominational boarding school in the 1950s and the high expectations placed upon the young people of her tribe for success in the Pakeha world:

"Most of us in the Ngati-Porou area were educated in church boarding schools for Maori girls. Part of the reason was that our parents had loyalties to these

schools because they were ex-pupils. Part of it was that district high schools were viewed with some distrust because they were still too new, and therefore unknown. Sir Apirana Ngata's comment that district high schools were just 'pseudo high schools' also tended to encourage the exodus to boarding schools. Because he was a famous politician, a brilliant student and scholar, and exboarding school pupil, his opinions on the ideal type of education were greatly favoured" (Blank, 1980, 42).

Blank described her extended family network as prescribing distinct sex-roles for girls and boys, although girls were expected to have careers as well as marry:

"Despite the rigorous routine of school-work and hostel chores, we developed a respect for Maoritanga and Pakehatanga, and had time to sort out our lives and what the future held. The future comprised a career and marriage. To us, marriage was more important than a career, but the latter had to be pursued because of our obligations to our parents" (Blank, 1980, 42).

She described the curriculum of her denominational school as well-balanced:

"Preparation for leadership good house-keeping, some academic success, the fulfillment of religious and spiritual needs, and the maintenance of Maoritanga pervaded the curriculum. Any academic success was due not only to a reasonable standard of teaching, but also to the fact that the girls were being nurtured in a constant environment" (Blank, 1980, 42).

A more radical stance has been described by Evans (1982b, 12), from the Ngapuhi tribe, with respect to her schooling and university experience:

"My parents got sucked into the white way to get education and I was chosen to be the one to go on to university. When I was with my grandmother I missed school all the time. I used to race around with my own gang of girls, playing hookey⁸, taking on the boys'

8. Playing hookey - truanting

gangs. At school I was always the one to stand up to the teachers. I got used to thinking things through for myself and then making decisions for all the others..."

Brought up by her grandmother in 'The Maori Way', Evans found the university environment alienating and joined radical Maori student groups:

"...When I got to Varsity I hated it. it was my first time surrounded by whites...Politically and emotionally I was in a desert. Every day I got a feeling in my gut that university was against us Maoris. I became increasingly cynical about the honesty of white academics and teachers, but I worked hard and got good marks and put up with being patronised... University was a time of darkness, a time filled with bitter memories of my own anguish, my struggle to break free of the myth of the 'education for our people' thing. Getting rid of all that shit was the liberating thing that finally pulled me out of the the white education influence, what helped was having a strong Maori identity and strong Ngapuhi roots."

The writings of radical Maori women activists (e.g. Awatere, 1982/3; Evans, 1982; Halkyard, 1982) offer descriptions of how the experience of 'marginality' in racist educational institutions can be a radicalising influence. This theme will be developed in the life-histories.

SUMMARY

The literature reviewed in this chapter has shown evidence that here in New Zealand, schools are agents in the processes of the reproduction of class, gender and racism and that the practice of 'setting' (streaming according to the subjects taken) is a key factor in this process. Two related themes which have been little explored by researchers in this country will be developed in the life-history section of this thesis.

The first is the relationship between mother's educational levels and ambitions and pupil's school 'success'. Research in this country has tended to focus on establishing statistical correlations between father's occupation and school subject choice and achievement.

However, it has been argued that it is essential also to study the influence of the mother and other significant adults in the process. In analysing feminists' educational histories, Bourdieu's model of 'cultural capital' will be brought to bear.

The second theme is that of the status of the various courses taken by girls at secondary school and the typifications associated with 'academic' and 'commercial' streams. Feminist research and women's autobiographies in this country have suggested that there was a distinct status hierarchy of knowledge in secondary schools: academic girls (and their teachers) considering themselves superior to commercial girls. Within academic streams, there were groups of 'swots' and groups who were more 'boys-oriented'. These insights are important to an understanding of women's experiences of schooling.

As feminists, the women in this study believed that education and schooling could be a means of working towards social change: schooling for them was not seen as merely reproducing social inequalities. In order to understand the theoretical perspectives these women espoused as adults, it is necessary to have some background knowledge of the New Zealand feminist movement, the 'stock of [feminist] knowledge at hand' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971) during the 1970s.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN POST-WAR

NEW ZEALAND AND ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

A comprehensive history of the 'Second Wave' of feminism in New Zealand has not been written. Such an undertaking lies outside the scope of this thesis. This would involve gathering information from primary sources, e.g. collecting oral histories and locating and reading the newsletters and leaflets produced by various feminist collectives, many of which are no longer in existence. The need for women's archives has been recognised in this country, for example, Seymour, one of the 'founding mothers' of Women's Studies in New Zealand has warned of the danger of "the dying of memories of women", for "as long as men are dominant they are likely to overlook or undervalue again, as they have in the past, women-oriented material" (Seymour, 1976, 224-225). This chapter relies mainly on published materials, such as the feminist magazine, Broadsheet. Its purpose is to sketch a background of theoretical tendencies and events in the feminist movement in New Zealand since the 1970s as a context for the feminist life histories in the following chapters.

In the only published history of the origins of the feminist movement in New Zealand, Bunkle (1979a, 24) stated that

"Feminist ideas have come to New Zealand from overseas; their dissemination has been uneven and their assimilation to the New Zealand context haphazard. Our feminist ideas arose in other countries..."

The major tendencies in feminist thought characteristic of the post-war women's movement in Britain (Banks, 1971) and the United States (Eisenstein, 1981; Freeman, 1973) are also evident in this country. New Zealand has had, since the early 1970s, a strong liberal feminist movement, radical and lesbian feminist groups and a somewhat fragmented, but strong, socialist feminist influence. It would, however, be inadequate to regard New Zealand feminism as merely a slavish copying of overseas ideas. Ideas from overseas take root only if they are seen as relevant to local conditions. Even then they are adapted and modified in the New Zealand context. For example, in studying nineteenth century feminism in New Zealand, historians (Bunkle, 1980; Dalziel, 1977; Grimshaw, 1972) have identified some major differences between the suffrage campaign in this country and

that in Britain. Rejecting earlier assumptions that women's suffrage in New Zealand was motivated by a liberal feminist drive for equality with men, Dalziel (1972) and Bunkle (1980a) saw it as stimulated by women's "elevation of a separate role and the expression of peculiarly female values" (Bunkle, 1980a, 52). According to Bunkle, the suffrage campaign was largely the work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.), which fought for both improvements in working conditions and the abolition of the 'double standard'. This was, unlike contemporary moves towards 'sexual liberation', informed by a puritan repression of sexuality. The female franchise would enable women to 'clean up' the country's morals, for "the evangelical and true purpose of government was the realisation of perfect moral order" (Bunkle, 1980a, 63). Fired by prohibitionist and puritanical fervour, New Zealand women were the first in the world to achieve the universal franchise - in 1893.

A theme of the contemporary New Zealand feminist movement is the influence of Maori radicals within it. The impact of 'Maori Sovereignty' (Awatere, 1982/3) on white feminists has been considerable during the 1980s, as activists have accused white feminists of being both bourgeois and racist. New Zealand feminists of all persuasions also have had a history of involvement in specific anti-racist issues such as anti-South African sports tour protests.

LIBERAL FEMINISM AND ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

Like its counterparts in Britain (Banks, 1981) and the United States (Eisenstein, 1981; Freeman, 1973; Friedan, 1963; Mitchell, 1973), liberal feminism in post-war New Zealand was primarily a middle-class movement which attracted 'educated' women. Educated for professional autonomy, but experiencing in the work-place and in their political activities a situation of inequality and discrimination, liberal feminists sought equality with men: the removal of discriminatory legislation and hiring practices (O'Neill, 1977; Thomson, 1973), and the abolition of the stereotypical passive and dependent image of 'femininity' (Broverman et al, 1972). In short, they sought to resolve the contradiction between liberalism and femininity by abolishing 'femininity' and modelling their working and

political lives on bourgeois male patterns. Kedgley, a 1970s liberal feminist activist, recently wrote in a retrospective article a description of the liberal feminist strategies of that time:

"...after centuries of exclusion from the male world, with its mystique of money and prestige and privilege, our energy was understandably focussed in the early days on breaking down the barriers of prejudice and discrimination that had for so long segregated us from men's terrain. It was an almost irresistible urge to try to break down their segregation and glimpse at what life was like behind the man-made curtain. To taste its forbidden fruits and scrutinise at first hand the mysterious workings of the male working world" (Kedgley, 1982, 64).

Women's 'underachievement' in political life, in business and the professions was blamed on 'sex-role stereotypes', which were seen as being oppressive to both sexes. If both men and women changed their attitudes, equality could be achieved: men should become more nurturant and women more assertive.

New Zealand liberal feminists sought change in both personal and public dimensions of life. A useful statement of this position was made by Kedgley and Cederman (1972) in their book Sexist Society, which was the first popular feminist book published in the 1970s in New Zealand. According to these writers, "A sexist society is one which is sexually discriminating and results in immense pain and suffering for both sexes" (Kedgley and Cederman, 1972, 6). They argued that

"Women's Liberation is not just removing the obvious discrimination against women. It is not just equal pay and opportunity and child care centres. It is not just changing the abortion laws. It is not just free contraception. All these things assist a woman in gaining control over her life. They help to open up opportunities for women that never existed before. But they are only partial measures. The real liberation takes place inside yourself. Real liberation involves changed attitudes towards yourself and others. It affects your whole life style. It is a way of life. It affects an individual every hour of his/her day. Obviously, therefore, it will equally affect the man she lives with. If one partner in a relationship changes a

lot, the other must also change or the relationship won't survive. In other words Women's Liberation will affect men equally as much as women. For this reason we have tried to include as many men as women in this book" (Kedgley and Cederman, 1972, 7).

The earliest 'second wave' feminist groups, such as Auckland Women's Liberation (with which Cederman and Kedgley were involved) therefore included men as members. A.W.L. was the group which founded Broadsheet, the Auckland-based feminist magazine which, at the time of writing, is still issued monthly. Coney, its editor, has explained this early policy of including men in A.W.L. and as workers for Broadsheet, claiming that at that time (consistent with the aims of 'liberal' feminism),

"Liberation was seen more in terms of freeing women from restricting social stereotypes based on sex, than from deliberate systematic oppression by the male sex" (Coney, 1982, 12)."

Women's socialisation was blamed for their non-achievement of positions of power. Women were encouraged to become more like men in their ambitions and political style. As Kedgley (1982) has argued, many New Zealand liberal (or 'equal rights') feminists of the early 1970s had been strongly influenced by the 'managerial woman' philosophy (Hennig and Jardim, 1976). Within this perspective it was argued that

"the reason why women hadn't made it through the ranks was principally because they hadn't learned how to play the male career game. This game, like any other game, had an intricate set of rules that had to be learned if one was to play it well" (Kedgley, 1982, 64).

Increasingly, many New Zealand feminists, like their counterparts overseas, became critical of the 'equal rights' philosophy. In a retrospective article, Kedgley observed that

"the fundamental flaw in the Managerial Woman philosophy isn't hard to see. Having adopted male behaviour

patterns, ostensibly as temporary tactics to succeed, its hard to shake them off. The temporary tactics become the permanent state...the Managerial Woman, if she makes it to the top, is almost inevitably transformed in the process into a counterfeit male, behaving like a man, dressing to look like a male, under constant pressure, judging herself by male standards of success and failure" (Kedgley, 1982, 65).

In the mid-1970s, equal rights feminism began to be seen as having an inadequately theorised politics:

"we were conscious that besides its power and prestige and financial advantage, the male world seemed a somewhat inhuman rat-race, but when confronted with the question what were we going to do to change and humanise this rat-race, our response was a bit fuzzy. We would only be in a position to know that once we were there. But we were pretty sure that if only women entered male institutions in sufficient numbers, these institutions would almost miraculously crumble and transform under the humanising influence of women. And, of course, once women assumed positions of power at the top of the working world, things would automatically change for the better" (Kedgley, 1982, 64).

Middle-class feminists such as Kedgley and Cederman received a great deal of publicity in the media during the early 1970s, and the ideas of liberal feminism became widely known throughout the country.

Liberal feminist groups were set up throughout the country during the early 1970s. Inspired by Friedan's example (Eisenstein, 1981; Friedan, 1963), groups called 'N.O.W.' were set up on an ad hoc basis in many towns. In 1975 the Women's Electoral Lobby (W.E.L.) was established to encourage and support women's involvement in the General Election. This organisation, which remains active in a number of centres, shared many characteristics of liberal feminist groups. According to Bunkle (1979b, 28) "W.E.L. adhered very closely to a women's rights ideology and had the potential to activate precisely those women who were involved in N.O.W. in the States" - in other words, middle-class, 'successful' women.

In and around 1975, United Nations International Women's year, there were several government initiatives aimed at investigating the 'inequality of the sexes' in New Zealand; for example, the Select Committee on Women's Rights and the Department of Education's conference on 'Education and the Equality of the Sexes.' Feminists became active in lobbying politicians and making submissions to select committees on specific issues, such as equal pay, human rights and affirmative action, and abortion law reform.

Liberal feminism has had a major impact on education in New Zealand. In the early to mid 1970s feminist writers produced a spate of articles on girls' schooling: in feminist magazines (e.g. Coney and Hall, 1974; Connelly, 1974), and in teachers' journals (e.g. Bell, 1975; Bunkle, 1975a, 1975b; Webster, 1975a, 1975b). These articles alerted feminists and teachers to the 'sex-stereotyping' practices in state educational institutions.

In 1975 the report from the Department of Education's conference on 'Education and the Equality of the Sexes' (Department of Education, 1975) was distributed to all schools. This report, reflecting the perspectives of conference participants from all levels of the education system (McDonald, 1980), provided information on the extent of inequality in the teaching profession and blamed women's 'underachievement' in many walks of life largely on the sex-stereotyped practices in schools and pre-schools.

An important outcome of the recommendations of this conference was the setting up of NACWE (The National Advisory Committee on Women and Education) and the establishment within the Department of Education of the position of 'Education Officer, Women'. This position has been described by the primary school teachers' union (N.Z.E.I) as "the only departmental post that was specifically concerned with this area of disadvantage and special need" (New Zealand Educational Institute, 1982). Here, the N.Z.E.I. articulated a liberal position, its language echoing the 'deprivation' rhetoric of the 'liberal feminist' viewpoint. The provision of a women's education officer gave women teachers and parents someone specific to contact over issues of concern in the area of sexism in schools as well as providing a focus on 'women's issues' within the department.

The department's attention was drawn to the issue of sex-stereotyping in curriculum resources. It undertook research into sexism in its own teaching materials: School Journals, mathematics and science textbooks (Department of Education, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c). The updating and revision of the department's graded infant readers included the removal of negative sexist and racist 'stereotypes.' A social studies 'starter kit' on the changing role of women was produced by the department's curriculum unit for use with fourth forms.

Other departmental measures were designed to investigate and remedy inequality between the sexes in the teaching profession. Courses for women teachers on management were organised on a national and regional basis (Garlick, 1981). These were justified according to the assumptions of the 'managerial woman' model: women were 'disadvantaged' in the promotion hierarchy, should learn the 'rules' of the career structure, and become more personally 'assertive'. A major piece of research, the Teacher Career and Promotion Study (TEACAPs), was undertaken by the department to investigate the career patterns of men and women primary and secondary school teachers (Department of Education, 1982). It was found that women teachers were disadvantaged by current methods of teacher assessment ('grading'), that, especially in secondary schools, there were sexist attitudes amongst male teachers (a critique of TEACAPs by Fenwick, 1983, has been outlined in Chapter Four, p.83). Papers written while the TEACAPs study was in progress aroused considerable interest at academic and feminist conferences (Whitcombe, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c).

Between 1975 and 1982 both major political parties espoused a 'liberal feminist' position on women's education. In 1979 the former Minister of Education under the National government, Mr Wellington, quoted his (also National) predecessor, Mr Gandar, in a speech he made at the inauguration of N.A.C.W.E:

"On the grounds of both social justice and social need it is essential that a high priority be given to action on the status of women and the limited opportunities available to them. The education system, both formally and informally, can be either a major obstacle to change or else a potent agent for it. There are, in fact, many

important areas where education is an essential precondition to such change" (Wellington, 1979).

The principle of 'social justice' referred to by the ministers stated the liberal concept of equality of opportunity and human rights: women and girls must not be denied a full range of choices (in career, family role, etc) on the grounds of their biology. The concept of 'social need' referred to the 'wastage of talent' when rigid 'sex-role stereotypes' channelled women and girls into a narrow range of occupations and inhibited them from achieving at senior levels of traditional women's activities, such as teaching.

However, in September-October 1982 there were cuts in educational spending by the National Government. The affirmative action measures for women in education were all wiped: N.A.C.W.E. and the position of Education Officer, Women, were disestablished, the printing of the revised social studies kitset was halted. The reason given for these cuts by the Minister were that it was a cost-cutting measure. However, since the Education Officer (Mary Garlick) was redeployed elsewhere in the department and the running of N.A.C.W.E. cost only \$6,000 a year ¹ it is difficult to see that their continuation would have plunged the nation deeper into the mires of debt. These cuts provoked an outcry from teachers' organisations, and in the feminist press (Else, 1982; Watson, 1982), who viewed them as the government's attempt to hide the true extent of the unemployment problems by removing women from the labour force.

Apart from its influence within the Department of Education, liberal feminism has brought about change within other aspects of the formal education system. For example, since the mid 1970s the various teachers' unions have formulated their own policies of anti-sexism (see N.Z.E.I. 21 July, 1982; N.Z.P.P.T.A. Journal, Term 3, 1982) and women teachers have gradually been assuming leadership positions in these organisations. Another important influence has been the Women's Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council

1. Information by courtesy of Rae Julian, Opposition Research Unit, Parliament Buildings, Wellington (1982)

(V.T.C.), which has produced leaflets for use by careers advisors in secondary schools and vocational guidance counsellors in the Department of Labour. Each leaflet presents a carefully-researched case study of a woman in a 'non-traditional' job (Novitz, 1982). This group also initiated a study of sexist attitudes amongst teachers and careers advisors in secondary schools (Abigail, 1983).

In July 1984, the National government was defeated by a Labour electoral victory. There are now ten women members of parliament (eight Labour and two National) and two women cabinet ministers - the highest proportion in New Zealand's history. At the time of writing, the new government is in the process of setting up a Ministry of Women's Affairs.

RADICAL PERSPECTIVES

i. Radical Feminist Perspectives

While liberal feminism may be seen as a set of strategies for resolving the contradiction for 'educated' women between the expectations of liberalism and the ideology of 'femininity', radical feminism may be seen as strategies for dealing with the contradictions between the dominant ideology of feminine virginity until marriage and the permissive anarchy of the 'sexual revolution.'

During the mid-to-late 1970s, the writings of radical feminist theorists such as de Beauvoir (1959), Firestone (1979), Greer (1971), Johnston (1973) and Rich (1980) were widely read and strongly influenced the thinking of many of the younger New Zealand feminists (Coney, 1982; Haines, 1982). While liberal feminism had influenced older, as well as younger, women, radical feminism appealed to the 'post-war babies' in that it articulated their conflicts over sexuality. As Freeman (1973, 34) had noted in America, the radical feminists tended to be

"on the other side of the generation gap. While few were students, all were 'under 30' and had received their political education as participants or concerned observers of the social action projects of the last decade".

Disillusioned by sexism within radical political groups as well as 'mainstream' social institutions (Mitchell, 1973), radical feminists shifted the focus of their feminism from a preoccupation with emulating men's careers, to one of analysing the experience of female oppression within a social context of male-dominance, or patriarchy. As Coney has argued, New Zealand feminists became more concerned with

"the power relationship which exists between women as a class, and men as a class, and the psychological, sexual and economic functions of that relationship" (Coney, 1982, 13).

In 1972, Germaine Greer was brought to New Zealand by The Sunday Herald. Advocating an anarchistic, individualised version of radical feminist politics, for which socialists such as Mitchell (1973, 68) have criticised her, Greer argued that "the first exercise of the free woman is to devise her own mode of revolt, a mode which will reflect her own independence and originality" (Greer, 1971, 20). She urged women not to marry, since the nuclear family was destructive to women and children alike. If women wanted children, they should devise living arrangements such as communal groups, which would preserve their individual freedom. Women, and men, should remain self-reliant:

"lovers who are free to go when they are restless always come back; lovers who are free to change remain interesting, the bitter animosity and obscenity of divorce is unknown where individuals have not become Siamese twins. A lover who comes to your bed of his own accord is more likely to sleep with his arms around you all night than a lover who has no where else to sleep" (Greer, 1971, 244-245.)

In this, Greer's message echoed the rhetoric of the 'sexual revolution'. Her visit was much publicised in the press ² and her campus speaking tour reached large numbers of men and women students. However, many feminists, in the course of discussing in consciousness-

2. During one of her public addresses, a member of the audience reported Greer to the police for using 'obscene language'. Greer was duly charged and tried. The offending word (believe it or not) was 'bullshit'!

raising sessions the formerly taboo subject of their personal sexual experiences, were becoming disillusioned with this model of sexual 'freedom'. A useful description of this realisation has been written by Haines (1984, 18):

"...for many heterosexual feminists, at least, the consciousness-raising experience was very valuable with regard to discussions of sexual relationships. Many of us had begun our earliest sexual relationships during the 'sexual revolution' of the sixties. In a feminist context, we realised how much this so-called revolution had been for the benefit of men, not women. Women were now expected to enjoy sex, and a consequence of this belief was that they were expected to be available to men much more freely than in our own parents' and grandparents' days. What a relief it was to hear other women talking about sex without men present; to find out that many women had difficulties in their sexual relationships; to realize that sexual liberation did not necessarily make us less oppressed as women; to see the 'swinging sixties' as the era of the faked orgasm."

In contrast to the early groups, such as A.W.L, the new radical feminist collectives excluded men, seeking through consciousness-raising to understand the nature of women's oppression and to devise, (personal and political), strategies to transcend it.

Radical feminist activities came to a head with the series of four United Women's Conventions (U.W.C.) held in Auckland 1973, Wellington 1975, Christchurch 1977, and Hamilton 1979. Although the organisers of these aimed to attract women of all political persuasions, the philosophy upon which these huge gatherings ³ were based was separatist and based on an explicitly radical feminist philosophy. The radical feminist principles as set down by U.W.C. organising collectives (based on American sources) are worth quoting in full, since they have been adopted as fundamental principles by numerous groups in New Zealand (e.g. see Hearn, 1981). In the report of the 1979 U.W.C, these principles were explicitly laid down (United Women's Convention, 1979, 10):

3. Auckland attracted 1,500; Wellington 2,200; Christchurch 2,600. (United Women's Convention, 1979).

"We, as the co-ordinating committee of U.W.C., believe that all women have the right to equal choice and equal opportunity. Thus, it follows that:

1. Patriarchy (male dominance) as a major omnipresent system must be ended;
2. We recognise that each woman must make her own choices over compromise and survival within the patriarchal system;
3. Believing that the personal is political we see feminists as having a responsibility to all women;
4. We believe that feminism is an active commitment and involvement towards feminist goals;
5. Certain basic principles are essential to a feminist conception.

These include:

- a. Control of your own body, i.e. abortion a women's right to choose.
- b. Freely available, quality, 24 hour child care as a right.
- c. Abolition of sex-role stereotyping in all areas of society.
- d. Fostering and developing non-hierarchical organisations and institutions.
- e. Recognising that all forms of sexual preference are valid and that heterosexuality is not superior to any other lifestyle.
- d. Fostering the right of women to work for equal pay and with equal opportunity, a basic tenet of feminism.

and the Convention will be run accordingly."

At the U.W.Cs., as in other radical feminist contexts, the issue of lesbianism as a political strategy became a major focus. Many lesbians had become involved alongside homosexual men in the early days of the Gay Rights Movement in the major cities. However, some of the women quickly became disillusioned with this mixed-sex movement, finding that the men wished to focus on law reform, while the women were concerned with issues specific to them as gay women. Sisters for Homophile Equality (S.H.E.) was set up in Christchurch and Wellington

and started the first lesbian feminist magazine, Circle. Lesbian feminists became active in setting up lesbian clubs, in running feminist presses (e.g the Herstory Press), they were active in the Broadsheet collective, and many radical feminist community activities.

Lesbian feminists argued that lesbianism was more than 'sexual preference'; it was a political position. Through choosing to love, live with and work with other women, lesbians did not have the benefits of 'heterosexual privilege' - the protection, financial and emotional support of men. Heterosexual feminists were accused of 'heterosexism'. For example, Hall (1982, 44) commented that at the 1977 United Women's Convention in Christchurch

"lesbians pointed out...that...while there were workshops for them, their political position was still being ignored, and their contributions devalued by not being given a major speaking slot on the programme's activities."

The 1979 convention in Hamilton, according to Hall, (1982,44)

"was the first one in which lesbians were not only encouraged to participate, but were actively involved in structuring. It stands as a turning point in the development of a lesbian community that scarred many lesbians, but brought a fuller recognition of each women's stand and her political commitment within herself."

Many radical feminist groups of the late 1970s and the 1980s have experienced 'splits' between lesbian and heterosexual members. The heterosexism of 'straight' women has been seen as largely responsible for this. Haines (1982, 18) has described this period:

"Indeed, heterosexual feminists were very concerned to deny the media image of feminists as aggressive, man-hating lesbians, and therefore wanted to downplay the contributions of lesbian feminists to the movement. These attitudes resulted in the splits between lesbian and heterosexual feminists in the mid-seventies."

Haines also commented that the tensions within the radical feminist movement have made it difficult for some heterosexual women to be open about their sexual relationships:

"Lesbian women are often at fault, too, for their attitudes towards heterosexual feminists can be contemptuous - 'sleeping with the enemy' and so on. This kind of attitude goes against the spirit of the early seventies, when one of the greatest appeals that feminism had to a woman was that it validated the way she felt about her life, when she often thought that she was odd, lonely or isolated for feeling that way" (Haines, 1982, 21).

During the 1970s, radical feminist groups focussed their energies on specific (usually sex-related) issues, such as running rape crisis centres or refuges for battered women, or fighting the campaign to legalise abortion. The passing of the (1977) Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act, making legal abortions available only if the mother's life or health was in danger, was seen by many feminists as a bitter defeat. As Coney (1982, 16) commented

"Despite polls which showed a majority of New Zealanders supported a woman's right to choose, despite the focussing of much feminist energy on this one issue, despite years of lobbying, protests and submissions, New Zealand women were now saddled with the heavy yoke of one of the most repressive abortion laws in the world."

Many radical feminists gave up trying to work 'the system', withdrawing into increasingly 'separatist' lifestyles, setting up work collectives and communes. Feminist artists and musicians have spread the feminist message to many women: for example, the women's art movement has produced some first-rate exhibitions (Batten, 1980). Women's health collectives have encouraged self-help and independence from the medical profession (Calvert, 1982). The separatism of some radical feminists has been greeted with scepticism by others, such as Coney (1979, 32), who said that

"radical feminism is in eclipse. The enormity of the task a radical feminist vision demands has daunted many of its followers. Some have slipped off to make the

best of the system for themselves personally while working for what reforms they can; others have disappeared into the quiet backwaters of cultural feminism and separatism where they impart about as much influence on mainstream society as ohus ⁴ have on capitalism."

Radical feminists have been active in education, both within and outside the formal 'system'. Through its consciousness-raising activities and dissemination of ideas through the feminist press, radical feminism is itself largely an 'educational' movement. Radical feminists have also influenced many teachers through involvement in feminist teachers' groups. Although these groups are also attractive to many liberal feminists, some have espoused a specifically radical feminist philosophy, the Auckland group basing its philosophical premises on those of the Hamilton U.W.C. (Hearn, 1981).

Feminist teachers' groups ⁵ have been set up in several centres. At the 1979 United Women's Convention, women at the workshops on education decided to keep in contact and to support one another after the convention. A group of teachers who had attended the U.W.C. started the Auckland Feminist Teachers' group, which has attracted a large membership and produced a newsletter (Feminist Teachers) which has attracted subscribers from all around the country. This group has organised a number of public seminars, lobbied on relevant issues, as holding well as regular social events. The Wellington group, W.I.S.E. (Women in Schools and Education) has also attracted a large membership. Initially there was debate within the group over the use of the name 'feminist' and, in order to attract women who were afraid of this label, it was decided not to use the name. The Hamilton group started off as a small group of feminist secondary school teachers. The lack of primary school teacher members concerned them and after the 1982 education cuts, it was decided to change the focus of the organisation. The new group, Waikato Women and Education, has around

4. Ohus - communes

5. The information in this section is drawn from issues of the Auckland Feminist Teachers newsletter, as well as my own personal involvement since 1979 with all three of these groups.

150 members, a fulltime executive officer, and a regular newsletter. This group has become active in lobbying Members of Parliament over issues such as the education cuts and the recent review of the core curriculum (Department of Education, 1984). It has held regular weekend seminars on topics related to women and education. All of the feminist teachers' groups are for women only, although, at least in the Hamilton group, men have been invited to participate in specific events.

The major thrust of radical feminist educational activity is involvement in (academic and 'grassroots') women's studies. This will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen.

ii. The Anti-racist Movement

The anti-racist strand of the feminist movement has its origins in the struggle by Maoris to retain and regain rights to land and in the opposition by pakeha and Maori to the Springbok rugby tours. Noting that she has long awaited "the time of Maori women" Awatere, has claimed that

"Today that time has come. We have the strongest indigenous women's movement in the world. Maori women have assumed the leadership of Maoridom. While this has not been publicly widely acknowledged within Maoridom as yet, it has gathered a momentum nothing short of mass slaughter can stop" (Awatere, 1982b, 23).

Originally published in Broadsheet, Awatere's analysis of Maori Sovereignty has had a great influence on a number of pakeha feminists, inspiring the setting up of discussion groups in Auckland and other centres to examine the issue of white racism.

Describing Aotearoa (New Zealand) as a 'white hegemonic' state, Awatere traced a long tradition of Maori protests, regarding the issue of land as central:

"Maori sovereignty has always been a thread of belief, commitment and desire, seen in the bloody defence of our land, in the Ringatu movement, Kotahitanga, Kingitanga. Set against our people has been the united strength of

white people. The Maori now seeks to break that unity in the interests of justice for the Maori people. This concept challenges white people to examine their role in supporting a system which to this day still treats us like dogs" (Awatere, 1982b, 24.)

Drawing on Gramsci (1979 edition), Awatere argued that Maoris constituted a class, oppressed in a 'white hegemonic' state:

"Gramsci's concept of hegemonic consciousness has relevance to Maori sovereignty. In hegemonic consciousness, a class puts its interest with other classes at a national level and establishes alliances with them" (Awatere, 1982b, 24).

Turning Gramsci's concept to her own ends, Awatere rejected socialism as another manifestation of pakeha oppression. White workers, she argued, would seek solidarity with white bosses rather than with the Maori oppressed:

"The Maori shares with left wing groups the aim of setting aside the capitalist classes' power. This, however, will still not ensure Maori sovereignty since the (white) people who will replace this power are still as much intruders as the bosses. The white 'proletariat' are as chauvinistically pro-British and anti-Maori as the white 'boss'" (Awatere, 1982b, 28).

White feminists were similarly accused:

"The first loyalty of white women is always to the white culture and the White Way. This is true as much for those who define themselves as feminists as for any other white woman. This loyalty is seen in their rejection of the sovereignty of the Maori people and in their acceptance of the imposition of British culture on the Maori. This is to be expected as the oppressor avoids confronting the role they play in oppressing others" (Awatere, 1982b, 26).

Since 1982, Broadsheet has published a number of articles by and about Maori women (e.g. Evans, 1982b 1984; Halkyard, 1982), covering

issues such as the Springbok tour protests, and the 'Hikoi' (land march) (Evans, (1984).

There have also been attempts by other feminist publishing collectives to implement anti-racist editorial policies. For example, an Auckland feminist newspaper, Bitches, Witches and Dykes stated in its inaugural issue that four pages of each issue would be devoted to a 'Black Women's Forum', which would not be subject to editing by the white women who comprised the majority of the collective. Pila Alba (1980, 5) explained this policy:

"...The politics of this are two-fold. We have summed it up as being a necessity because of the racism of the white women's movement, a racism that has excluded black women. This has contributed to a situation where black women have forged black women's liberation. ...The four pages will be autonomous and will not be edited by the collective."

The 1982 Springbok Tour protests motivated many white women to confront the issue of racism in Aotearoa.⁶ If pakeha New Zealanders could take such strong political stances against white South Africa and claimed to support the African Blacks against apartheid, surely they could confront the issues of racism in this country-Aotearoa. Some white women took up the challenge and White Women Against Racism groups have been formed to confront personal and institutional racism. A major focus of such groups is republicanism - shedding the British colonial heritage and identifying Aotearoa as a Pacific nation.

The Black Women's Movement has organised several Black Women's Hui (United Congress of Maori and Pacific Island Women, 1982). Maori women of this persuasion identify as Black in solidarity with the oppressed of other parts of the colonized world (Evans, 1982 a,b), although many Maori people would not accept this label. The aims of Maori Sovereignty include demands for the restructuring of major social institutions on Maori values (e.g. the education system) and in

6. The name 'New Zealand' is rejected as a colonial imposition. 'Aotearoa' is the Maori name: 'Land of the Long White Cloud.'

this respect their aims are consistent with those of more moderate groups (see Tauroa, 1984). The Black Women's Movement has confronted not only racism in the feminist movement, but also sexism amongst Maori men (Awatere, 1982, 30).

The Maori women's groups are largely separatist, however, pakeha women have become active in various Maori land protests-at Waitangi, at Bastion Point. Other, more moderate pressure groups, such as Te Waka o te Rangimarie (described in chapter Five) have been instigated by Maori women who, together with sympathetic pakehas, are working towards a 'bicultural' society.

iii. Marxism and Socialist Feminism

The contemporary feminist movement has frequently been accused of being oriented only to meeting the needs of bourgeois women. In a recent article in Broadsheet entitled 'The invisible working-class feminist', Bird (1983, 26) outlined her sense of alienation from the goals, concerns and cultural style of bourgeois feminism:

"I often find middle-class women irritatingly obsessive about delving into their psyches, or yours, or some other momentarily intriguing woman's. O.K. Tracing our grievances helps to reveal the social structures and attitudes that form our personalities and shape our lives. But sooner, or later if your situation is not so desperate, we have to challenge and attempt to change the structures that oppress us. Dissecting the minutiae of interpersonal conflict in a small group of women is just not that high on my list of priorities. For example, we might spend hours thrashing out one woman's difficulties in taking responsibility for collective decisions, but when asked for a feminist analysis of how government cuts will affect women in this country (to present to a large gathering of women), suddenly everyone's got a reason not to do it."

Overviews of socialist feminism in New Zealand have been written by Bunkle (1979 c) and Cook (1983). During the 1930s depression, many women were active within socialist and communist groups. Specifically feminist magazines, such as Working Woman, were established (Cook, 1983, 44). In her autobiography of student life at Auckland University during the war years, Locke (1981) has provided some

interesting observations on the status of women in the left-wing groups at that time. For example, she noted that during the 1930s there was still a feminist movement in New Zealand:

"In radical circles there was a sprinkling of militant women. The feminists had not come to a dead stop after the great wave of action that won the vote forty years earlier. Their activities and endeavours were simply more dispersed and spectacular occasions were rare" (Locke, 1981, 165).

However, Locke's feminist views were not in tune with the views of the New Zealand Communist Party when she became involved:

"I was criticised for my pacifist illusions, my feminist tendencies and other divergences from the straight and narrow path" (Locke, 1981, 176).

True to its 'Classical Marxist'⁷ beliefs, the New Zealand Communist Party in the 1980s has regarded feminism as bourgeois and counter-revolutionary. The summary of its philosophy outlined in its fortnightly newspaper People's Voice (May 14, 1984) made no mention of women. A statement issued by the Waikato Branch on International Working Women's Day⁸ contained the following analysis of feminism:

"Their catch-cry is 'End the patriarchal (male-dominated) system and women will be free'. How can this be true in our class society? Thousands of this country's working men are poor and exploited - and some of the wealthiest shareholders in New Zealand are women - living in luxury off their poorer sisters who are chained to the factory bench for a lifetime. When the crunch comes, women of wealth and privilege will almost always line up with men of the same class to defend their crushing exploitation of working men and women. Feminism and other sexist chauvinism is promoted by the capitalist class to pit woman against man, wife against husband and woman against woman."

7. As used in Chapter Two to distinguish it from socialist feminism.

8. Leaflet handed out in Hamilton Streets, March 8, 1984.

However, in a later paragraph, the leaflet stated that working women experienced specific problems at work, such as sexual harassment. It did not consider the possibility that working-class men might exploit working-class women in this way. Feminism has no place in this form of Marxist thought.⁹

The politics of a number of Maeminist groups during the early 1970s shared this analysis. Jesson (1982) has described her experiences in some of these groups. In 1970 the Auckland Women's Liberation Front was formed, largely by members of the youth front of the Communist Party, the Progressive Youth Movement (P.Y.M.). According to Jesson, this group

"did not understand the philosophy of Women's Liberation, and treated women as a sub-group of the working class. That is, half the working class were women, and women needed to become conscious of their role as workers to develop working class consciousness for the revolution" (Jesson, 1982, 46).

This group soon folded and was succeeded by a socialist feminist group, 'Women For Equality', set up in 1971. In contrast with W.L.F. this group "was primarily concerned with sexism and the sexual division and saw these as different from the class division, although their message was aimed at working class women" (Jesson, 1982, 46). The aims of 'Women For Equality' were to achieve equal pay and adequate childcare, and to "help break down the nuclear family as an economic necessity" (Jesson, 1982, 46). Splits and tensions arose in Auckland between this group and the equal rights-oriented A.W.L: while the socialists aimed at working with working-class women for a total revolution, A.W.L. consisted of highly-educated middle-class women with "less definite politics, and tended to be comparatively conventional" (Jesson, 1982, 46).

During the late 1960s and early 1970s radical activism in New Zealand was influenced by the ideas of the European and American 'new

9. This criticism of feminism is commonly made by male Marxists overseas, e.g. Sarup (1982, 90).

left', a major concern of which was exploring the relationship between racism and American Imperialism, in particular the Vietnam War (Bunkle, 1979c). Examples of this perspective can be found in the writings of left-wing humanist geographer, Buchanan. Influenced strongly by the Frankfurt School, (Buchanan, 1967) argued that western civilisations were becoming 'dehumanised' and this process

"invades every aspect of life in the society to which we belong. It shapes our attitude to the Other, to those who belong to cultural groups or to civilisations different from our own. It is this process of dehumanisation which makes it possible for us to accept, to connive in, the use of the most sophisticated barbarisms - the napalm and phosphorus bombs, the sprayed poisons, ultimately the nuclear bomb and the gas chamber-against those who are different-in race, in colour of skin or eyes, in political beliefs...It shapes our attitude in the most intimate and personal relations - the relation between man and woman" (Buchanan, 1975 reprint, 156).

Although Buchanan acknowledged the commercial exploitation of women's bodies, the concern of the 'new left' with issues of imperialism and peace usually excluded 'women's issues' as worthy of serious analysis. According to Bunkle (1979, 25) this preoccupation denied woman visibility in the student press, a major forum for radical ideas amongst New Zealand youth in the 1960s:

"The primary impact of the left upon the development of the New Zealand feminist movement has been a result of marxist control of the student press...The revolutionary left... has consistently directed it away from the 'decadent' issues of women's liberation towards what it perceives as the 'REAL' issues of international politics or state capitalism. The university is one of the few natural meeting grounds for young New Zealand women, but feminists have found it hard to find other means of reaching the student population" (Bunkle, 1979, 25).

Contemporary socialist feminists are active within the Labour Party (Roth and Wilson, 1984) and the trades union movement (Gillespie, 1980).

In a recent interview, Sonia Davies, Vice President of the Federation of Labour, commented on her work in getting the Working Women's Charter adopted as policy by that organisation:

"The aspirations of working women are the same whether you live in a communist country or whether you live in a capitalist country. You want your kids to be looked after while you go to work, you want equal pay, you want equal opportunity, you want to have a choice in your union, you want to be able to go as far as you want to, you want after-school and holiday care. All the things that are in the charter are common to working women all round the world" (Coney and Davies, 1982d, 48).

While some feminist unionists such as Davies (Coney and Davies 1982a, 1982b, 1982c) have supported the Labour Party, others have become allied with the more 'Classical Marxist' Socialist Unity Party (S.U.P). Another group, the Socialist Action League has regularly published a newspaper, Socialist Action, which has given some attention to 'women's issues'.

There has not been any substantial research into the influence of New Zealand Marxist and socialist feminists in education. However, the Workers' Educational Association has had, particularly in Auckland, a strong input from socialist feminists in its courses.

SUMMARY

The major tendencies in feminist thought characteristic of the British and North American movements are also evident in New Zealand. Liberal feminism attracted both older and younger 'educated' women who sought to resolve the contradictions they were experiencing between the promise of equality offered by the liberal/meritocratic ideology and the reality of experienced discrimination and inequality in both public and domestic life. In seeking professional and political equality with men, liberal feminists sought to abolish the 'feminine' image and to emulate male career patterns. Men, in turn, would become more nurturant and share domestic responsibilities. Liberal feminists have had considerable influence on government policies aimed at bringing about equality in education.

While liberal feminism may be seen as strategies for resolving the contradiction between liberalism and femininity, radical feminism may be seen as strategies for dealing with the contradiction between the dominant sexual ideology of the patriarchal nuclear family (virginity followed by monogamous marriage) and the permissive anarchy of the 'sexual revolution'. While some women devised patterns of heterosexual relationships, others rejected heterosexuality altogether, since this was the basis of women's oppression (Firestone, 1976; Johnson, 1973; Rich, 1980). One could fight patriarchy through withdrawing all, including sexual, support for men. Lesbian feminists argued that this was not merely a question of personal 'sexual preference', but a political strategy (Johnston, 1973; Rich, 1980) in the fight against patriarchy.

The anti-racist movement has influenced white feminists largely through the influence of university-educated Maori women activists, who have challenged bourgeois feminists through the pages of the feminist press. Although the movement for Maori Sovereignty has a long history in the Maori protest movements, its influence on Pakehas is recent. Pakeha involvement in the anti-apartheid protests has paved the way for their confrontation with racism in New Zealand. The emerging sense of national identity of many young New Zealanders has also been fired by republican sentiments. The peace movement is also influential in this, as New Zealanders struggle for a nuclear-free Pacific.

Socialist feminism is a less coherent perspective in New Zealand than liberal and radical feminism. Traditional Marxist and communist groups in New Zealand have regarded feminism as a product of 'bourgeois chauvinism.' Socialist feminists have been active within Marxist groups, such as the Socialist Action League, but there are tensions between their feminism and their allegiance to the Marxist collectives (Bunkle, 1979b). Within the unions, feminists have achieved considerable visibility through the Working Women's Charter and policies against sexual harassment. Within the Labour Party there are also women who describe themselves as 'socialist'.

There is little published material on how individual women became feminists. A life history approach allows the researcher to explore how individuals came across, became attracted to, and put into practice feminist ideas. What was it in some women's lives which led them to adopt a feminist analysis? What part did their education and schooling play in this process?

PART TWO

FEMINIST EDUCATORS:

A CASE STUDY APPROACH

CHAPTER SEVEN

METHOD: THE GATHERING AND INTERPRETATION

OF LIFE HISTORIES

Life history analysis is a particularly appropriate method for studying how individuals experience and interpret the events that occur during their life-time. The method also provides an understanding of the strategies people develop in dealing with contradictions they experience as a consequence of their involvement. Mills argued that this was the central task of sociology:

"The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. This is its task and its promise" (Mills, 1959, 12).

Plummer (1983, 70) identified life-history analysis as contributing to the understanding of the process of social change:

"...it is in life history research, as the very name implies, that a proper focus on historical change can be attained in a way that is lacking in most other methods. Such a focus is a dual one, moving between the changing biographical history of a person and the social history of his or her life span... A life history cannot be told without a constant reference to historical change and this central focus on change must be seen as one of life history's great values."

In particular, the method places the person as actor, "the subjectively creative being acting upon his/her world" (Plummer, 1983, 3), at the forefront of observation. Despite this, the method has been curiously neglected by sociologists (Plummer, 1983; Sedgwick, 1983) and is virtually unknown in the sociology of education.

The usefulness of studying the lives of individuals as a means of developing an understanding of society has recently received some recognition in New Zealand. In July 1984, the Stout Research Centre for the Study of New Zealand Society, History and Culture held its inaugural conference at Victoria University of Wellington, taking as its theme 'Biography in New Zealand'.¹⁰ Sponsoring the conference was

10. The papers presented at this conference (all given by invited speakers and commentators) are to be published in 1985 by Allen and Unwin.

the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography, which is producing a vast compendium of biographies of New Zealanders. The compilers of this dictionary have expressed concern that previous biographers had overwhelmingly chosen as 'subjects' famous pakeha males. They were therefore anxious to include in the the dictionary Maori biographies, women's life histories and the lives of working-class people. This recognition by some New Zealand historians that the lives of 'ordinary New Zealanders' were worthy of a biographer's attentions has been given further support by the setting up of a national oral history archive in which the tape-recorded memories of elderly people are being preserved for future study. ¹¹

In this enquiry the life-history method was used to study the lives of 'ordinary people' who have become radical. This has been the focus of a number of studies. For example, Myrdal (1967) interviewed peasants from a Chinese village, collecting their analyses of their experiences of oppression before the revolution, descriptions of their radicalisation by contact with Maoist thought, their experiences during the revolution and their analysis of the situation afterwards. Rowbotham (1977) has collected the stories of British working women, many of them with union backgrounds and socialist sympathies. These studies showed individuals as creative strategists, responding to the contradictions in their lives with a coherent political analysis and becoming involved in the political struggles of their time. They suggest that radicalisation occurs when people come to interpret personal experiences of oppression, marginality or victimisation as products of social conditions, have access to 'radical ideas', perceive change as being both desirable and possible and devise strategies of contestation and resistance.

This study of feminist educators' life histories focusses on three processes. The first is the process of becoming an educator, which requires analysis of how and why these women achieved educational 'success' and came to choose teaching as an occupation. The second is the process of becoming a feminist, of coming to interpret experiences of discrimination or victimisation as symptomatic not of 'personal

11. The Stout Centre is supporting this project.

inadequacies' but as outcomes of the position and status of women in society and the contradictions in their lives. The third is the study of the educational practices of feminist educators, how their feminism has influenced their teaching and their political struggles in educational settings.

This chapter will outline the methodology of the life-history section of the present study. First, the process of selecting the group of New Zealand post-war feminist educators will be described. Second, I will discuss the problem of interpreting and analysing life histories in general. Third, I shall outline the techniques of interpretation and analysis used in the present study and illustrate, by means of a case study, some of the theoretical, methodological and ethical problems engendered during the research process.

SELECTING A GROUP OF NEW ZEALAND POST-WAR FEMINIST EDUCATORS

The 'subjects' chosen for this study had to be women, to have been born in New Zealand during the late 1940s or early 1950s, to have had their formal education in New Zealand, to have worked as educators and to identify themselves as feminists. Since these women's feminist analyses of their lives and the process of schooling was central to the topic being researched, it was necessary to find women whose theoretical perspectives encompassed the spectrum of feminist perspectives in New Zealand: liberal feminism, radical feminism, lesbian separatism, anti-racism, Marxism and socialist feminism. The women chosen for study were to be selected according to the theoretical perspectives they espoused.

The only way that a woman's theoretical perspective could be ascertained was if she had espoused it in a public situation. Without threatening the anonymity of the women it is not possible to be too specific about how each one was chosen. Examples can, however, be given at a general level: women's perspectives were visible if they had written them down (e.g. in publications, conference or seminar presentations), if they had spoken about them at feminist gatherings, or if the women were known to me personally. I included women who described their thinking as influenced by socialism/Marxism, radical

feminism, lesbian separatism, Maori radicalism and liberalism. I also included women whose descriptions did not 'fit' my initial categories - 'anarchist' feminist, for example. However, the theoretical categories upon which I based my choice of women should be regarded as a typology, a set of 'ideal typifications' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971): real individuals draw their theories from many different sources and their perspectives are eclectic.

A second criterion for selection was to try and ensure that the group included women with a wide variety of educational experiences as pupils and as teachers. It was important to choose women who had attended a variety of secondary schools and I decided that I would not stop gathering 'subjects' until the major types of state school were represented. Amongst them, the twelve had attended seventeen secondary schools: seven girls' schools (six state and one convent) and ten co-educational schools. Two of the women had taken commercial courses, while ten had taken an 'academic' course-either top-stream, or second-stream, or a combination of both. (Two had been expelled from schools, another demoted to a lower stream for 'bad behaviour'). While seven of the women had spent some of their childhood in rural areas, four had been brought up in metropolitan or provincial cities. One had boarded in a state hostel at a girls' school in a city, another had boarded with a widow in order to attend a city school.

It was also important to include women with a variety of teaching experiences. I deliberately set out to include women who had taught at preschool, primary, secondary and university levels. In order to cover the separatist perspectives in the feminist movement, it was also necessary to include a woman whose teaching was outside the formal education system, working for a feminist community group. Most of the women had taught at more than one level of the education system. Three had taught in pre-schools, seven in primary schools, two in secondary schools, seven had either lectured and/or tutored at university level, two had done some part-time teaching in technical institutes, and three had worked for adult education services. Seven of the women had been recruited to primary and secondary teaching as school leavers during the recruitment drives of the 1960s, following a 'traditional' career path, while four had left school after the fifth

or sixth form, and had returned to higher education as adults after having had children and/or travelled.

Two other criteria for selection were ethnicity and sexual orientation. The two Maori women had different tribal backgrounds. There was also one part-Maori woman who was married to a Maori and living, and educating her children for, a 'bicultural' lifestyle. The sexual orientation of the women was also important in understanding their feminist perspectives. I chose two lesbian women and one who described herself as 'bisexual.' All but two of the women (one lesbian and one heterosexual) had, at some stage, been married. At the time of the interviews, three of the women were experiencing marital strife: one left her husband during the course of the study for another relationship, and two separated from their spouses on a temporary basis. Four women were living with their husbands. One was living in a de facto relationship with a man.

The criteria for selection of the women were a broad spectrum of feminist theoretical perspectives and strategies, a variety of educational backgrounds as students and as teachers, Maori and pakeha were to be represented, lesbians and heterosexuals.

THE GATHERING AND INTERPRETATION OF LIFE-HISTORY DATA

i. Some Guidelines From The Literature

Because few contemporary sociologists have employed life-history analysis as a research technique, there has been little written about the practical dilemmas faced by the researcher using this method. There are, however, a number of feminist and sociological studies which provide some guidelines and outline some of the theoretical and methodological issues raised in the course of the interviewing process and in the construction of a sociological analysis of interview material.

Some useful insights have been offered by social phenomenologists seeking to analyse the social origins of 'schizophrenia' (Collier, 1977; Esterson, 1972; Laing, 1965, 1972; Laing and Esterson, 1970). These social phenomenologists have interpreted 'schizophrenia' as an

intelligible response to irreconcilable contradictions within families. Although this topic lies outside the concerns of the present thesis, some of the observations of social phenomenologists on the interpretation of their case histories provide useful guidelines for the sociologist seeking to relate the biographies of individuals to their broader socio-historical context and to understand the contradictions they experience.

Defining the unit of analysis of social phenomenology as 'micro-history', Laing (1971, 45) bemoaned its neglect by social scientists:

"We have been led to study what one might call micro-history - transformations extending to several generations in small social networks, especially families. This terrain lies between individual biography and larger-scale history. It is an area curiously neglected by sociologists, anthropologists and historians."

Unlike the present study, social phenomenologists studied a person's experienced contradictory reality through interviewing not only him or her, but also other family members. This thesis relies on the individuals' descriptions and analyses of what happened to them in their families and schools. These adult memories and interpretations were accepted as 'valid', since it was the women's adult, feminist interpretations of their experiences which were the centre of interest in the study. It was, however, quite possible for a woman to have been wrong in the way she interpreted, say, her mother's expectations, feelings or motives, or a teacher's prejudices. The central concern in the thesis was not the events themselves, but the interpretations the women placed on them, 'right' or 'wrong'. As Laing expressed it (1971, 30):

"No one in the situation may know what the situation is. We can never assume that the people in the situation know what the situation is. A corollary to this is: the situation has to be discovered. The stories people tell ...do not tell us simply and unambiguously what the situation is. These stories are part of the situation. There is no a priori reason to 'believe' a story, because anyone tells us it, as there no a priori reason to disbelieve a story, because anyone tells it. One may

have good reason, after putting it to the test, to trust certain people's stories. The stories we are told and tell are always significant parts of the situation to be discovered, but their truth value is often negligible."

In this thesis I have assumed that the women were telling the 'truth' about their lives insofar as they understood and remembered the events. There was no reason for them to lie, although for various reasons, certain information may have been deliberately left out. The techniques of revising and reinterpreting interview data in subsequent interviews, as outlined below, ensured that the stories were consistent.

The process of constructing a sociological interpretation of personal material is a problem which has long concerned sociologists who have used, or advocated the use of, qualitative methodologies (Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Douglas, 1971; Oakley, 1981; Schutz, 1970a, 1970c; Sedgwick, 1974; Walsh, 1972). Phenomenologists, such as Schutz, have argued that the social sciences require different forms of explanation than the natural sciences because both sociologists and 'subjects' are members of society:

"...a theory which aims at explaining social reality has to develop particular devices foreign to the natural sciences in order to agree with the commonsense experience of the social world" (Schutz, 1970a, 11).

What distinguished the objects of the social sciences from those of the natural sciences for Schutz was the question of meanings:

"The world of nature, as explored by the natural scientists, does not 'mean' anything to molecules, atoms and electrons. But the observational field of the social scientists - social reality - has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the human beings living, acting and thinking within it" (Schutz, 1970a, 11).

The task of the phenomenological sociologist was to uncover and describe the rules and relevance structures by which people lived their everyday lives. Any sociological interpretation the researcher

imposed must take account of what Weber had termed the 'postulate of subjective interpretation', which Schutz described as the awareness that

"...all scientific explanations of the social world can, and for certain purposes must, refer to the subjective meaning of the actions of human beings from which social reality originates" (Schutz, 1971a, 15).

The sociologist's interpretation of the 'subjects'' interpretations of the social world were therefore 'second order constructs':

"The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the commonsense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world. Thus the constructs of the social sciences are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene, whose behaviour the social scientist has to observe and to explain in accordance with the procedural rules of his science" (Schutz, 1971a, 12).

This raises two major problems. The first has been discussed in earlier chapters: phenomenology has been accused of being a - historical and disregarding or underemphasising the constraints of particular times and places which restrict and shape the types of interpretations and actions possible to individuals. The second, methodological, question is the problem of the sociologist's personal and theoretical biases which will structure the kinds of interpretation s/he imposes on the 'subjective realities' of actors.

Schutz argued that the social scientist performed the 'phenomenological reduction'-suspending belief in the commonsense world, assuming a scientific detachment by 'bracketing out' his/her own habitual understanding of the everyday (Sarup, 1978, 36; Seeberger, 1975/6; Walsh, 1972). From her/his vantage point of 'scientific detachment', the sociologist constructed 'ideal types', patterns of

"Typical behaviour or course-of-action patterns from what he has observed. Thereupon he co-ordinates to these typical course-of-action patterns models of an ideal actor or actors, whom he imagines as being gifted with consciousness" (Schutz, 1971a, 16).

The 'systems of relevance' attributed to the 'ideal typifications' constructed by the sociologist were to be subject to the 'postulate of adequacy' in that they must be recognisable and intelligible to the people being studied, thus ensuring the validity of the sociologist's interpretation:

"...each term in a scientific model of human action must be constructed in such a way that a human act performed in the real world by an individual actor as indicated by the typical construct would be understandable to the actor himself as well as to his fellow-men in terms of commonsense interpretations of everyday life" (Schutz, 1971a, 17).

However, Schutz did not adequately address the question of the grounds of the sociologists' 'scientific' interpretation of the social world (McHugh, Raffel, Foss and Blum, 1974). As Walsh (1972, 30) has argued, sociologists interpret and explain the social world from the perspective of their own paradigms, such as Marxism, feminism or functionalism. Laing (1971, 31) has made a similar point with respect to psychiatrists' interpretations of patients' life histories. Asking, as illustration, his readers to "imagine a psychiatric history of Jesus", Laing noted that

"Few psychiatrists are experts in sorting out these stories. They are experts in construing situations in terms of a few standard psychiatric myths" (Laing, 1971, 31).

A further example of how sociologists' theoretical assumptions can distort the analysis of people's everyday lives is that of the functionalist model of differentiated sex-roles as necessary for social cohesion and stability, non-conformity with this pattern being regarded as 'deviance' (Eichler, 1980; Huber, 1976; Lengermann et

al, 1979; Lopata, 1976; Oakley, 1974; Scwendinger and Schwendinger, 1971). An example of this, Watson's (1966) study of the 'marrying behaviour of women teachers', was described in Chapter Three (pp.74-78).

Contemporary reflexive sociologists, (McHugh et al 1974; Phillipson, 1972; Silverman, 1972a, 1972b; Walsh, 1972) have treated the grounds of the sociologists' categories as problematic and as a central focus of sociological enquiry. This approach has also attracted feminist researchers (Oakley, 1981; Smith, 1974; Stanley and Wise, 1983), who have argued that the kinds of 'personal knowledge' derived from the experience of being oppressed as a woman gave feminist researchers common understandings with female research 'subjects'. The kinds of questions asked in a life-history interview would therefore be strongly influenced by this common experience. In an important paper on 'interviewing women', Oakley (1981) described her own experience of interviewing women before and after child-birth. For the interviewees, the interviews provided a chance to ask, as well as answer, questions. Interviewees' perspectives were changed as a result of the interviewing relationship. Rejecting 'textbook' approaches to the interviewing relationship as exploitative, Oakley viewed it as one of collaboration, for the situation of feminists interviewing women minimised the gap between researcher and researched:

"A feminist methodology of social science requires that this rationale of research be described and discussed not only in feminist research but in social science research in general. It requires, further, that the methodology of 'hygienic' research with its accompanying mystification of the researcher and the researched as objective instruments of data production be replaced by the recognition that personal involvement is more than dangerous bias - it is the condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives" (Oakley, 1981, 58).

Within this framework, sociological research is viewed as a collaboration between the researcher and the researched. Rather than being merely a means of testing preconceived hypotheses, interviews

are means of generating theories. Silverman (1971a, 189) has, drawing on Glaser and Strauss (19678), argued that sociological research was a means of building sociological theories and that this approach marked off the 'interpretive' and 'reflexive' approaches from positivism:

"Given the importance attached to comprehending the actors' views of reality, it follows that the attachment of many researchers to a priori definitions and hypotheses must also be brought into question. Such a procedure usually serves only to enable the observer to avoid coming to grips systematically with the constructs of the people he is studying. It arises because the dominant view of the research process stresses its role of testing theory and hence demands initially clearly-defined concepts. If, on the other hand, we use research to generate theory, then we are under no such restrictions. 'Grounded' theories can emerge which, instead of forcing data into a preconceived 'objective' reality, seek to mobilise as a research tool the categories which the participants themselves use to mobilise their experience" (emphases in the original).

The theory presented in this thesis should be read as a product of collaboration between the researcher and the researched. As a woman, a 'post-war baby', a New Zealander, an educationist and a feminist, I shared many political and theoretical assumptions, as well as common experiences in the women's movement, with the women whose life-histories were being studied. Furthermore, all of them had done some university study and all but one had graduated by the end of the research. Their degrees included, in all cases, some social science subjects: sociology, anthropology, education, psychology or politics. Seven of the women had done some post-graduate work in social science subjects. All had some knowledge of feminist theory; eleven of the twelve had some background as students and/or tutors of women's studies either within or outside the university. The women studied were, then, theoretically sophisticated. The method developed in this study was designed to avoid what Stanley and Wise (1983, 163) have termed 'conceptual imperialism':

"There is a continual contradiction between women's involvement in everyday experience and the 'language of theory'. The language of theory exerts a conceptual imperialism over experience. In effect, there is a power relationship between theory and experience, and

one consequence is that women are not only alienated from theory but also experience itself."

It was important to develop a methodology which would enable the women being interviewed to assist in the analysis of their own interview data and to avoid imposing alien constructions upon their experiences. However, I also recognised that I had done more reading on the nature of the contradictions experienced by 'educated' post-war New Zealand women than had most of the women in the study. I wished to avoid both 'conceptual imperialism' and a naive relativism. The way to achieve this was to be as open as possible with the 'subjects' about my own theoretical orientation and the model I was in the process of developing. In this, my research perspective resembled that described by Smith (1974) as a rationale for feminist sociology:

"If sociology cannot avoid being situated, then sociology should take that as its beginning and build it into its methodological and theoretical strategies. As it is now, these separate a sociologically constructed world from that which is known in direct experience and it is precisely that separation which must be undone" (Smith, 1974, 11).

ii. Structuring the Interviews: A Case Study of Collaborative Theory-Building

After a woman was chosen, she was approached and invited to participate in the study. No woman I approached refused to be interviewed. I introduced the study to them as a study in 'feminist educational theory' and told them that my interest in them as research 'subjects' was as feminist educators, feminist educational theorists. The directions of the initial interviews were centred on the themes of how and why they had become educators and feminists and how their feminism had influenced their educational practice.

Few sociologists have written on the practicalities of conducting life-history interviews. Plummer (1983, 95) has likened the life-history interview to a Rogerian counselling encounter:

"Often the subject is expected to take the lead rather than merely responding to a series of cues given by the questionnaire. Furthermore it is not like a simple conversation, an analogy that is sometimes made, for the researcher has to be too passive for that. The image which perhaps captures this interview method most clearly is that of the non directive, phenomenologically aware counsellor. All the rules of non-directive counselling ... come into play here. Central to this view is the uniqueness of the person and the situation, the importance of empathy and the embodiment of 'non-possessive warmth' in the interviewer".

Admittedly, my training as a 'Youthline' telephone counsellor in the early 1970s was of great value as preparation for these interviews. However, no interview, whether a counselling or a research encounter, is ever 'non-directive'. Advocates of 'non-directive' counselling merely attempt to hide their own presuppositions. Although my interviews were intended to elicit respondents' own analyses of their lives, they were also designed to test my own developing analysis of these. It was important to be quite explicit about my theoretical model.

The first interviews were limited to 90 minutes - the length of one cassette tape. After I had interviewed three women, I decided not to limit the length to one tape, and found that most of the women talked for three hours, two for four hours, at the initial interview. After the first 'pilot interview' I devised a check-list (see below) which I kept in front of me during subsequent interviews to ensure we covered as much ground as possible. When the tapes had been transcribed,¹² I underlined the transcripts in five different coloured iridescent felt-tipped pens. Altogether, there were over 500 pages of transcripts. The five colours represented the five categories on the check-list. One set of colour-coded copies was kept intact, another cut up and placed in a file - there was a file for each colour category. However, large portions of the transcripts were underlined in more than one colour. Another copy of the colour-coded transcript was then sent out to each woman for comment along with the following letter and key (the check-list used during the interviews):

12. After transcribing three myself, I decided my time could be better spent and paid people to do the transcribing for me.

"Dear

Enclosed is the transcript of the interview we did for my doctorate. Your contribution has been very much appreciated. I am now working on the analysis of these transcripts.

The copy I have sent you is yours to keep. The colour code is as follows:

pink	Family	parents siblings other 'significant' relatives social class religion ethnicity
orange	Sexuality	sex-role socialisation menstruation sexual relationships sexual morality marriage motherhood
green	Career	ambitions influences (e.g. role models) paid work achievements (paid or unpaid)
yellow	Formal education	primary school secondary school university/Teachers College other (e.g. W.E.A., Cont. Ed., Tech).
blue	Feminism	politicisation activities influences (e.g. reading, role models)

I am interested in your reactions to the categories I have used (influenced strongly by Juliet Mitchell's Women's Estate)¹³

-
13. Mitchell's theory was outlined in Chapter Two, pp.39-42. When I started my interviewing, I thought Mitchell's four 'structures' (production, biological reproduction, sexuality and the socialisation of children) could be a useful basis for the analysis of the life-histories. However, I became aware that a structuralist model was inappropriate. I was not dealing with four equally-important 'structures'. The check-list, however, was useful and I came to view the colour codes as indicating portions of the transcripts dealing with two sites (the family and the school) where contradictions between and within women's sexuality and intellectuality/career aspirations were reproduced. The 'blue' category was the most important one to the analysis.

I received any written responses the woman had made to their transcribed first interviews when I conducted the second interview. All but two were interviewed twice, some three, some four times.¹⁴ Comments such as "That was an orange, not a blue experience" validated my categories - this was a 'sexual' rather than a 'feminist/political' experience in her analysis of her own biography. I was thus able to correct my error of 'conceptual imperialism.' Others commented, "I cried when I read the bit about..." or, "I'd forgotten I'd said (or done) that", or "now I wouldn't put it that way, I'd see it this way" as perceptions changed between the interviews. There was no set length of time between the interviews, as I had to make use of funded trips to conferences to 'do the rounds' of my interviewees, who lived in three New Zealand university cities. Two moved cities, another five moved house during the course of the study.

The next stage in the research was to write a preliminary analysis for comment. Asked to write a paper on 'female sexuality and school culture' for a textbook on 'Political Issues in New Zealand Education' (Codd, Harker and Nash, 1985), I wrote the first draft of a paper, 'Family Strategies, of Cultural Reproduction: Case Studies in the Schooling of Girls (Middleton, 1985) using four of my case studies. This paper provided the framework for Chapter Eight of this thesis. In it I analysed the studies using Bourdieu's concepts of the 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' to study the selection of an academic or a commercial course and the typifications girls in academic and commercial streams constructed of these.

My choice of Bourdieu's model as a basis for the paper was substantially influenced by an interview I did with 'Geraldine', the woman whose case history is outlined later in this chapter. In the course of her second interview, we were discussing the colour-coded transcript of her first interview and Geraldine, who had been taking

14. Two of the women became ill and I was unwilling to pressure them to take part in further interviews. One of these appears only in the quantitative data on the case histories and in one short excerpt from her transcript. The other was a four hour interview and I have relied on other sources of information, such as articles recommended by her, in interpreting her material.

courses in the sociology of education, offered the following analysis of part of the transcript. We were discussing why it was that, without University Entrance, with two pre-school children and living in a situation of domestic violence, she should have found the strength, confidence and initiative to return to her schooling, to undertake teacher training and a university degree:

- G. "Why were we good at school work, when Mum hadn't helped us much with our school work? I've made a note here - it was cultural capital! That's definitely what it must have been, because she'd been a school teacher and that - it was just an implicit passing on of values and language... and attitudes and all that sort of thing. But this was done over a year ago and I didn't know about cultural capital then.
- S. Well, that's interesting that you should say that, because I'm using that, some of that Bourdieu stuff, because that was immediately what hit me about your interview. It's not just you, there's one or two others who left school, without having got their U.E. or in one or two cases without having got their School Certificate. And it was much the same, the cultural capital was there...
- G. I think the cultural capital was my Mother, I mean Dad had hardly any schooling. He had no academic, anything to do with the school.

Here Geraldine had applied a sociological theory (Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital) to her own life history. At the time of this second interview I had done little analysis of the transcripts apart from the colour coding. This conversation with Geraldine influenced me greatly and motivated me to read more of Bourdieu's work. The results may be seen in the chapters which follow. This serves as a useful illustration of the process of collaborative theory-building which the life history technique engenders.

In the paper I wrote on 'setting', the notion of family marital strategies was introduced as a means of understanding girls' subject and career choices. The 'sexuality-intellectuality' contradiction and the 'virgin-whore' dichotomy were seen as aspects of the ideal typifications of academic and commercial girls' school subcultures. It was argued that 'commercial girls' were typified by academic girls

as not only less intelligent, but also as more sexually active than academic girls, who typified themselves as virgins. At least during the school years, sexuality and intellectuality were perceived as mutually exclusive.

I sent this paper out to the four women involved, asking them to pass on to me (in writing or in person) comments on the major themes of the paper, and the way I had interpreted her own transcript. I then abstracted from the other eight case studies the relevant parts of the transcripts which related to subject choice and adolescent school cultures and sent these with a copy of the analytic article, to these women with the same request. The major themes of the paper received favourable comments from the ten I re-interviewed. Suggested alterations were of a personal nature, such as two requests for changes of fictitious names, correction of 'grammar' in the transcript and sharpening up of my interpretations of specific events. Most of the transcript material that has been used in this thesis has been discussed on at least one occasion with the woman concerned.

My study continued for a period of three years. The involvement of the women in the study included the interviews themselves, receiving and reading the colour-coded transcript, reacting to the interview material and/or its colour coding, 'putting the interviewer straight' in what to include and how to theorise it, receiving the paper on streaming together with any additional edited transcripts, reacting to and commenting on this material, communicating corrections and criticisms to the interviewer. There were occasions when I met my 'subjects' in unexpected social or professional contexts, where several 'subjects' were present with me by chance in a social situation. This put me in a dilemma: what did I 'know' about this person in these contexts? As a researcher, I have had to 'bracket out' certain knowledge I have about people. This knowledge was an inviolable secret as a result of my commitment to 'confidentiality'.

Once after I had given a paper at a conference a member of the audience said of a case study, "I think I know that woman", then named a total stranger. Not once has anyone-colleague, friend or a member of an audience - guessed the identity of any of the women. I

regard this as a sign of the typicality of my informants' experiences for the women of this particular age group and social background.

RESEARCH AS CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING: A CASE STUDY

Research is a social process and the relationship between researcher and researched is one of human interaction. As a process of human interaction, it is also one of intervention in people's lives. This is true of any form of research, whether the researcher and the researched meet face-to-face, as in the interview situation, or whether the relationship is more distant, such as via a postal questionnaire. As a process of intervention, research may bring about changes in the ways the 'subjects' perceive themselves and may, in fact, stimulate them to bring about major changes in their lives. In her interviews with new mothers, Oakley (1981, 50) noted that

"nearly three-quarters of the women said that being interviewed had affected them and the three most common forms this influence took were in leading them to reflect on their experiences more than they would otherwise have done; in reducing the level of their anxiety and/or in reassuring them of their normality; and in giving a valuable outlet for the verbalisation of feelings."

Presumably, filling in a questionnaire could bring about change, but the impact remains invisible to the researcher. However, in the intimate relationship between researcher and researched fostered in the context of a sequence of long personal interviews, such changes are made visible to the researcher and become part of the data being gathered.

The feminist slogan 'the personal is political' (Bowles and Klein, 1983), provides an insight into the enterprise of sociological research through seeing it as an attempt to relate the personal (private 'troubles', biography or case study) to the political (public 'issues', or social structure). The compatibility of oral life history analysis with the feminist process of generating collective knowledge known as 'consciousness-raising' has been pointed out by Novitz (1983, 299):

"The most personal and intimate relationships can be seen in terms of relative power and powerlessness. A vital component of contemporary feminist activity is the consciousness-raising group in which the personal and unique experiences of women are shared in such a way that a pattern of common experience emerges. In certain respects life history analysis is similar. It involves looking at the life of an individual as a unique history, and the outcome of the historical, political and ideological context within which the person has lived... It essentially involves linking the personal and the political."

Consciousness-raising is a process by which 'personal problems' come to be seen as shared with others, as products of oppression which can be understood and analysed politically and which can be changed. Being involved in research can stimulate this process. I can best illustrate this by means of a case study. I shall describe the case of 'Geraldine' - how I 'selected' her, the nature of some information she shared with me in the course of the first two interviews, and the consequences for her and for my own life of those disclosures.

I had first met Geraldine at a feminist party. Knowing of my teaching, writing, and research on the subject of 'women and education' Geraldine began to tell me of her own schooling. She described feelings of 'marginality', observing that while a 'mature student' at teachers' college, she had become aware that most of her peers had followed the expected path of academic 'success' at school, proceeding straight from school to college, while she, in contrast had been a 'naughty girl', slept around with boys, run away from home in the sixth form, and become pregnant at 17. As a result she felt 'different' from her fellow students. Unlike her college peers, she had had her two children, then taken up the dropped threads of her schooling through the correspondence school. Her husband was a violent man with a childhood background of foster homes and petty crime. An unskilled labourer without educational qualifications, he had opposed her return to school and had ripped up her first assignments. Determined to free herself from domestic boredom and economic dependence, she had passed her University Entrance examination, applied and been accepted for Teachers' College. She was now a teacher highly regarded for her work in multicultural education

and anti-sexist curriculum innovations. In the course of the conversation she described her perspective as both feminist and socialist and mentioned an early interest in anarchist theory. She had been introduced to feminism by two other 'mature' students at college. I asked if I could interview her for my research.

At her first interview, Geraldine described her childhood on a dairy farm, the lack of affection from her mother (an ex-teacher), her teenage pattern of promiscuous sexual behaviour. In the sixth form, she had run away from home and was living in a boy's flat.

This was the second interview I had done for the thesis. At that stage, my theoretical analysis was not very clear. However, one of the hunches I had was that sexual experiences were generic to feminists' theories, the attraction of feminism being partly its analysis of the sexual power-relationships between men and women. I believe that if I had not myself been both a woman and a feminist the interview would not have gone the way it did and the 'results' would have been quite different. Before explaining why I believe this, I shall describe the information elicited in the course of this interview, remembering that my own feminist perspective gave me a certain insight into the relevance of sexual matters to my topic (the nature and development of feminist educational theories):

- G. "I'd been sleeping with him at this flat and I got pregnant just after that.
- S. Had you had any knowledge of sex before you started sleeping with guys, had you had any sex education, knowledge of contraception, anything like that?
- G. No, nothing. Mum never even did the little talk that you're supposed to have with your daughter.
- S. Periods?
- G. No. When I got my period, I was too scared to go to Mum, because Mum had never even mentioned the word 'sex' to us and I knew she absolutely disapproved of anything sexual because of hearing her with Dad and that sort of thing, you know. She was very anti-affection, anti-being-touched, everything like that and there was a persistent, 'Get away, leave me alone' and we had the bedroom next door, so we heard it all the time. So my knowledge of sex really came from the boys on the bus.

- S. School bus?
- G. Yes. We lived on the farm and travelled into school each day and that was sort of my main knowledge of it - and plus seeing the animals on the farm.
- S. Oh yes.
- G. A lot of - the bull with the cows and all this sort of thing. I gathered a lot of what was going on from that. Um, also I had a few years of an experience with a relative who, um, what would you call it? More or less molested, but it was quite with my consent. It was more or less, not forced, but what do you call it when you're young and not really...
- S. Taking advantage of you?
- G. Yes, it was really.
- S. How old were you then?
- G. It started when I was twelve and it went on till I was 15. And, um, money, it had happened to my older sister and I knew it was going on with her and my younger sister was too young, she was only about six when I was twelve. So...
- S. Did you actually have intercourse with this guy?
- G. Yes. It didn't start off with that but it led up to it.
- S. How old was he?
- G. He was in his, he would have been 40ish. Late 30s, 40s, when it started off.
- S. Married?
- G. And he was married with children and nobody knew anything about what was going on. You see, he kept saying to me "Don't you ever tell anybody because I'll go to jail", and he kept saying this all the time. I knew what I was doing was wrong, but he used to give us money and um we used to say to Mum that the money came from helping him round the farm and helping him round the place and that sort of thing, so it was sort of money for helping.
- S. He lived near you?
- G. Yes. And that went on for a long time, usually at his place around the farm. His wife used to go out quite a lot. I guess a lot of what went on - I don't sort of blame myself so much now, but I did for a long time; the fact of the money, kids, going back to get the money all the time. And of course we never had money at home,

we never had hardly any pocket money or anything like that and -

S. He knew how to get his own way.

G. Yes. As I got older, I was more and more scared it was going to be found out. I really was scared and um, and I wanted it to stop, but at the same time I didn't know how to go about stopping it. But, um, it stopped once we sort of moved into town and that; I must have got to the stage when I just didn't see him..."

My being a woman in and of itself I believe was what had elicited this information. Many of the other women interviewed had strongly stated that issues such as menstruation had been seen as 'dirty' and 'shameful' during their adolescence. Despite the liberality of the official policy of the day, as evidenced in the recommendations of the Thomas Report (Department of Education, 1942) in discussing menstruation and the physiological aspects of human reproduction quite openly, most of the women in my study had been taught not to discuss these matters with others - even women - and certainly not with men. This observation is supported by Barrington and Gray's research (1981) as well as in autobiographies by New Zealand women (Findlay, 1974; Frame, 1983), and will be discussed at length in a later chapter (Chapter Eleven). Had I been a man I would probably not have seen the relevance of this information to my topic. Furthermore, even if I had, the information would probably not have been forthcoming in the interview. I knew all this 'instinctively' as a result of my own cultural conditioning. As Smith has put it, the feminist sociologist makes her "direct experience the ground of her knowledge" (Smith, 1974, 11).

At the end of the interview (the tape ran out), Geraldine continued to talk of her childhood sexual experience with a 'relative' describing this as 'incest.' Apart from one woman friend in the past, she had not discussed this experience with anyone. She was feeling the need for a support group or counselling situation, but could not bring herself to seek help. At this stage, I was unfamiliar with the counselling services in her town, but offered to speak with a friend of mine who lived nearby, was known to Geraldine on a casual basis and was herself coming to terms with a similar experience in her past. My

involvement had shifted from that of the researcher to that of a member of the wider feminist community. Her disclosure had come about as a direct result of my research.

Later in the year, Rape Crisis Centres launched a nationwide publicity campaign on sexual abuse, which I discussed on meeting Geraldine again in the course of my work. She had seen the recent 'Closeup' television documentary on incest. I had also bought her a copy of Sapphira's (1982) book, The Sexual Abuse of Children, which was being distributed by Rape Crisis Centres. Geraldine told me that she was wanting to do some reading on the subject, but was holding back until she had finished her university work. She was also feeling ready for counselling.

As a university teacher, I suggested to her that she might like to write an assignment on the topic of incest. That way she could reconcile her need to complete her assignments with her wish to read, and find out about, incest as a social issue. I had students of my own working on this topic as a result of the recent publicity, so was able to help her in this. I gave her the name of a friend who was working for an appropriate feminist counselling organisation and suggested that she might contact her for resources for the essay, since another student had already contacted her for this purpose. She did this. My involvement was now that of researcher, teacher and counsellor; her life and mine had become intertwined through our mutual involvement in the small New Zealand community of feminists in education. In the process of being interviewed, expressing and articulating what had been personal and hidden, Geraldine was going through the process of 'consciousness-raising'.

About a year later, Geraldine came for her second interview. As requested, she brought with her the colour-coded transcript of the first interview and some notes she had made upon reading it. At the end of this second interview, Geraldine discussed with me the essay she had started to write on incest. She had done a library search and spoken with the women at her local Rape Crisis Centre, who had given her some resources and information about the incidence of incest as indicated by the number of phone calls they had received,

especially after the television documentary. Liking the women she spoke to, Geraldine had 'come out' to them about her own incest experience and asked for personal support and counselling. She asked me if I thought it possible to come to terms with the damage the incest experience had had on her sexuality. She had left her marriage since the first interview a year before at least partly because of this: during sexual encounters with her husband she would at times 'flash back' to her incest experience.

In response to Geraldine's question, I replied spontaneously that in my opinion she was lucky it had been a relative 'down the road' and not the continual harassment of someone who lived under the same roof, say, her father. To which she replied, "It was my father."

We spoke for some time of her seduction, her feelings about sex, about men, her wish for revenge against her father, her anger and blame of her mother. She was, at the time of writing, seeing a counsellor. One of the women who first counselled her happened also to be in my research. As Fenwick (1983, 17) has observed, from her research experience with the TEACAPs study, "The research process can provide a forum for strengthening women's networks." Geraldine told the counsellor that being in my research had triggered her search for help.

As a social process, research can stimulate changes in people's lives. This raises questions of ethics and of methodology. To what extent should the feminist researcher 'counsel' women being interviewed? (Oakley, 1981). What implications does personal involvement between researcher and researched have for the continuation of the enquiry? Feminist research of this type becomes a dialectical and reflexive process in the construction of shared meanings and interpretations (Bowles and Klein, 1983; McKinnon, 1982). Had I not been a woman, the data I would have elicited would not have been as readily forthcoming. Had I not been a feminist I might not have known the particular networks which have provided Geraldine with the support she needed, or perceived the relevance of sexual matters to the topic. Had I not been someone of about the same age and sharing many similar experiences to Geraldine I would

have asked different questions and, no doubt, constructed different interpretations. We shared in common our gender, age, feminism, teaching careers and rural background.

This case study lends support to Smith's (1974) argument that feminism has challenged some of sociology's most fundamental assumptions. She argued that if sociology was to accommodate feminist analysis and to make visible women's experiences, it required a methodological reorganisation, which

"changes the relation of the sociologist to the object of her knowledge and changes also her problematic. This reorganisation involves first placing the sociologist where she is actually situated, namely at the beginning of those acts by which she knows or will come to know; and second, making her direct experience the ground of her knowledge" (Smith, 1974, 11).

THE LIFE-HISTORY CHAPTERS: AN OUTLINE

The following five chapters analyse the life histories. Chapter Eight explores, with the help of Bourdieu's model of 'cultural capital', the process of becoming educationally 'successful' at school. It is argued that the choice of course in the third form was, at least partly, motivated by family marital strategies. Within secondary schools streamed on the basis of subject choice, distinct and differentially-valued typifications of female sexuality and intellectuality were constructed and reproduced. While the professionally ambitious 'academic' stream girls typified themselves as both intellectuals and virgins, 'commercial' and other lower stream girls were typified as not only less intelligent, but also as more sexually active. Sexuality and intellectuality were perceived as being contradictory. The cases of one 'commercial girl' and three academic girls (three Pakeha and one Maori; two 'conformists' and two 'deviants') are discussed as being particularly representative of the issues raised in the twelve case histories. This analysis has been checked and validated by ten of the twelve women.

Chapter Nine explores further the experiences of 'academic girls' through four further case histories. The focus of this chapter is on

the women's experiences of 'marginality' in the school years. Examples of 'marginality' include being of mixed social class origins, being from an urban background in a rural environment, being Maori and working-class in a middle-class Pakeha-dominated top stream and being the child of British immigrants. Marginality is seen as an important influence in the process of radicalisation.

Chapter Ten presents the case histories of three women who claim to have been politically radicalised during their schooling. These women described having their experiences of 'marginality' articulated by contact with radical ideas such as awareness of racism, knowledge of the Irish question, and parental involvement in trade unionism.

Chapter Eleven describes the social construction of female sexuality in the family and the school. Overt heterosexuality was seen by many as having undesirable consequences in that there was a stigma against 'unmarried mothers' and their own mothers were seen as frustrated and unfulfilled educationally and professionally. 'Normal' bodily functions such as menstruation were seen as shameful and dirty. Strategies for dealing with the experienced contradictions between sexuality and intellectuality are then discussed with specific examples from the case studies: lesbianism, celibacy, overt heterosexuality, promiscuity and egalitarian marriage are exemplified.

Chapter Twelve presents studies of the process of becoming a feminist educator and the women's theoretical perspectives and educational strategies. The case studies comprise an example of a 'liberal feminist' educational strategy, a bicultural perspective, the teaching strategy of a Marxist feminist, a socialist feminist analysis, a white woman with an interest in Maori sovereignty and republicanism, and a radical feminist.

In presenting the case histories, the issue of confidentiality has been a prime consideration. To protect confidentiality, each woman has been given at least two fictitious names. In a country the size of New Zealand, with a total population of around three million, the total number of feminist educators is small. A woman, who, is, say a Maori, a lesbian, came from a dairy farm and became a kindergarten

teacher would be readily identifiable to many people without any other details. Confidentiality had to be protected. For example, two of the women had had babies as teenagers and had these children adopted out: in both cases the women's parents were not told at the time, and in one case still had not been told at the time of the interviews.

Because of the priority of protecting the anonymity of the informants, this study has lost some of its methodological and theoretical clout. One effect of protecting confidentiality was that I could not use some of the women's adult experiences as feminists because these women had had at some stage high public profiles and would have been immediately recognisable. For this reason, only eight studies of feminist educational strategies have been included in Chapter Twelve. The 'high profile' women's lives have been used only in the sexuality and school chapters, under at least two different names. A second result of protecting confidentiality is that different names have had to be used in the childhood/adolescence and the adult sections resulting in some loss of continuity. This, regretfully, was unavoidable. A third effect is somewhat ironic. Different names have been used in the schooling/educational success section and the sexuality section. Women's sexual and intellectual/professional lives could not be connected. The irony in this is that my own methodology has perpetuated the contradiction between sexuality and intellectuality and prevented a complete analysis of their interpenetration. One cannot, for example, tell if it was the secondary school teacher who had the 'illegitimate' baby, or whether or not the primary school teacher is a lesbian.

Researchers are members of society. The dilemma of sociologists whose membership of a social group prevents them from presenting publically some of their research findings is similar to Bauman's (1978, 17) description of the historian:

"History and its understanding become essentially the same process; the understanding of the past, the effort to penetrate and to capture the meaning of human deeds is itself history. Acting as an agent of this understanding, the historian is subject to the logic of history."

CHAPTER EIGHT

'SETTING' THE SCENE: FAMILY REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES,

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND SCHOOL CULTURES

This chapter discusses the process of becoming academically successful at school. In earlier chapters it was noted that the most common method of organizing pupils and knowledge in New Zealand secondary schools in the 1960s was that of 'setting'- pupils were streamed on the basis of subject choice into academic (or professional), general and technical streams. In this chapter, 'setting' will be examined as a practice which contributed to the construction and reproduction of class and gender identities through four examples from the life histories.

In describing the case studies two themes will be emphasised. First the issue of subject choice will be explored by bringing to bear Bourdieu's model of 'cultural capital'. In earlier chapters it was argued that functionalist studies of the correlations between school success and parental social status had focussed on 'fathers occupation' and tended to ignore or underemphasise the influence of the mother. While some researchers have used 'mother's occupation' as a criterion, the category 'housewife' in stratification studies lumped together all non-employed mothers, whether they had previously been manual workers or had doctoral degrees. The concept of 'cultural capital' allows the researcher to explore the influence of both mothers and fathers on a child's aspirations, motivation, choices and achievements.

My second theme is the adolescent girls' subcultures described in the life histories as having been constructed within secondary schools of the 1960s in academic and commercial streams. It will be argued that within these youth cultures girls constructed 'ideal types' of virginal academics and sexually-active lower-stream girls. Sexuality and intellectually were perceived as contradictory. Within these schools the 'double standard' of sexual morality (the virgin/whore dichotomy) was evident.

In the first section of this chapter I shall present an overview of the occupations and educational qualifications and backgrounds of the parents of the twelve women in this thesis. This information is to provide a context for the case histories in this and the following chapters.

In the second section the case of Sharon is discussed in terms of her experience of how her mother's and her father's habitus influenced her 'choice' of a commercial course and how that decision has determined her later career and her eventual acquisition of 'academic cultural capital' as an adult student. The third section starts with a review of some literature on the practice of 'setting' relevant to an understanding of the models of female sexuality and intellectuality constructed in adolescent subcultures in New Zealand secondary schools of the 1960s. Then the case of Margaret is discussed to show how her school-teacher parents' cultural capital and family marital strategies influenced her choice of an academic course and professional career. Finally, through citing the cases of Tahuri and Geraldine, two 'deviant' academic girls, I shall explore more fully the images and typifications (Berger and Luckmann, 1971) of female intellectuality and sexuality associated with the academic and commercial streams.

PARENTS' OCCUPATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS: AN OVERVIEW

The chart on page 186 gives details of the twelve women's mothers' and fathers' occupations, educational backgrounds and qualifications. This will aid a more detailed analysis of their academic 'cultural capital.'

Three of the women had dairy-farmer fathers, they differed in that one had inherited his farm; he and his brother were the third generation on this land. The other two were working 'rehabilitation' farms allocated to returning servicemen after the Second World War. None of the three dairy farmers had any formal educational qualifications. Two had married primary school teachers - women with higher educational qualifications than they had. The other farmer's wife, frustrated by her own lack of education and unfulfilled professional ambitions, had taken a job as a clerk in a small office in the local town to help finance her children's hostel fees at a city state school. The two school-teacher mothers who had married dairy farmer fathers had both given up teaching in favour of motherhood, one working hard physically on the farm (unpaid), the other refusing to be a 'skivvy' on the farm, but later starting her own business. In all

three cases, it was the mother's influence which was dominant in furthering the daughter's educational ambitions.

Two of the women had parents who were both primary school teachers. Both women had spent their primary school years being taught by their parents in small rural schools. In both cases, the father had been the principal, the mother the associate teacher. This situation of unequal power had influenced the daughters' feminist thinking.¹ One city woman had a primary school teacher mother married to a working-class (factory-worker) father, another had a secondary school principal father married to a mother without school qualifications. The high proportion of teacher parents bears out Ramsay's finding that student teachers tend to have close relatives who are teachers-in-training. In Ramsay's sample this was 20% (Ramsay, 1978, 52). Watson's (1966) study also bears out this finding. Of the women studied in this thesis, three had one teacher-parent, while two had two teacher-parents. Three of the women (Linda, Marjorie and Judith) had professional fathers married to mothers without qualifications. The two Maori women had been brought up by working-class parents, although both identified strong female professional role models in their whanau (extended family) group. The influences of the parental and other adult influences on girls' intellectual and marital aspirations can best be studied by means of specific case studies.

CULTURAL REPRODUCTION IN THE FAMILY: THE CASE OF SHARON, A 'COMMERCIAL' GIRL

At the time of interviewing, Sharon was a school teacher with a university degree. She took a commercial course at school, passed School Certificate the second time she sat it and worked in a succession of typing jobs. Her tertiary education was undertaken as an adult, 'second chance' student.

Sharon's father was a dairy farmer, and her mother had been a primary school teacher before marriage and motherhood. Sharon believed that neither of her parents had been happy in their careers.

1. This point will be developed in later chapters.

Her 'decision' to take a commercial course at school was made in a family context of contradictory expectations about the nature and role of women. It is important to explore her adult perceptions of the expectations of each of her parents in turn.

She reported that her mother had been strongly encouraged to become a teacher by both of her parents:

"she had a good education. Her parents really saw to it that she studied and she really did well. She did languages and they wouldn't let her do any housework. She couldn't even cook when they got married because they were so intent on her getting a good education."

Sharon believed that her mother had felt disadvantaged by her education when she had married into her husband's farming family, feeling alienated from the other wives in the farming district:

"She married into a farming district. My father had been on the farm. He was the third generation. I think they hated her because of that and they gave her a hard time because she married in. She always resented the fact that they hated her because she was more educated. So for some reason in turn she decided her girls didn't need an education."

Sharon's mother's ambivalence about her own education was transmitted to her. She was not encouraged to read during her childhood:

"Never read anything. Never had any books, that I can remember, my parents never encouraged us to read any books. They were well-off, after a while. We were not wanting for anything. We never had good books at home. We weren't encouraged to do anything like that."

During her childhood and adolescence, Sharon experienced contradictory expectations over her body image. These contradictions reflected the dilemma of many women and girls on family farms. Sharon was expected to be both an unpaid farm labourer and a

'feminine' woman. This contradiction was evident in the attitudes of both Sharon's parents, and exacerbated at puberty.

Sharon noted that her mother had refused to do manual work on the farm, a characteristic which further differentiated her from any of the other wives of the district. The 'habitus' of an urban sophisticate was inappropriate in this rural community:

"She refused to be like a lot of the other wives around who just sort of helped to 'muck down'. She wouldn't do that, I think she fancied herself a bit higher than that."

Sharon's father had no formal educational qualifications. Sharon believed that he held conservative views on the nature and role of women, noting that he had set ideas

"of what you could do at certain levels, and what women could do at certain ages. Because since then (I mean about three years ago) my father told me that he feels women are second class citizens. So he had certain ideas about the division of labour."

From her father, however, Sharon had learned farming skills. As a child, farm duties had been a normal part of her life. Sex-role stereotyping was not at that stage an issue:

"we used to have to help on the farm, which was the normal thing with girls. Anybody did on the farm, if you were born a boy or girl you actually worked on the farm. We had to help milk in the sheds. We had rosters, we had to be there in the morning or at night. Before we went to school, and when we came home we had to help clean up. And we had to help feed the cows during the season, and so, you know, we were just part of the work force. And in the summer time we had to help with the hay making. We had to drive the tractor for my father to feed out. One time we had to tether the hay. And we did all that independently so that we split up all the tasks that were easy. We were milking at night or we were doing the tethering."

However, after puberty Sharon was drastically restricted in her physical freedom:

"Then we had this confusion. When I was a teenager then there started to be these constraints. I remember the first time getting a hiding, a good thrashing for coming home late one night we'd been around at a friend's place. They had built a tree house. And they were boys, that family. There were a lot of boys in our district and my parents started to be concerned about those sorts of things. So I started off being free. Then at that stage my father started saying things like "You'll have to watch your nails" and things like that. And you don't realise that those pressures are conflicting. You're out doing things on the farm. And then you're supposed to be looking nice."

For Sharon, adolescence marked a time of restriction. As a physically active girl who excelled at sport, she found this restriction difficult. Sharon's cultural heritage, then, was fraught with contradictions. From her father she had learned to work hard physically on the farm, that girls were as capable as boys at manual labour. Suddenly in her teens she was expected to change her body image - the calloused hands of the farm worker must metamorphose into the manicured elegance of the 'lady'. Climbing trees with local boys was acceptable in childhood, but unrestricted associations with boys exposed the teenage girl to the dangers of pregnancy or 'moral corruption.' From feeling strong and independent in her body image, she was pressured to regard her body as a 'thing' for the pleasure of others, to be looked at and moulded into the current fashions of beauty. The parents' model of a 'young lady' would ensure the reproduction of the family at a comparable, or higher, class status (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Hodges, 1979; Tilly, 1979).

From her mother, Sharon inherited a paralysing ambivalence towards school knowledge. Sharon commented that although her grandparents had strongly encouraged her mother in a teaching career, and to study hard academically, this academic 'cultural capital' was not passed onto Sharon directly in the form of access to books or encouragement to succeed academically. Instead, both parents actively sought to prevent her from becoming 'over-educated.' Being too highly educated could be a disadvantage in the marriage-market of a farming community.

From her perspective as an adult, Sharon said that it was as a result of these contradictory forces in her family that she had taken the commercial course at her local District High School, noting that her father had been

"the main one to make the decision. Definitely I remember mother thinking that marriage was the only thing - that girls didn't need an education, which is surprising seeing she had a very good one. My father actually made that decision I think finally. Although they may have combined because my mother was a stronger person than my father. She would have told him to say it to me. That's the way things worked but they decided secretarial work was enough. Like my cousin, my other first cousin, she was a secretary and that was going to be enough."

Although she was successful in her commercial course, Sharon disliked school, and at the time of the interviews, still felt cheated at her lack of initiation into the subject matter taught in academic streams:

"There were no teachers that motivated me at all. The only one that I was impressed with was the typing teacher who was most efficient and I suppose the only role model I had in terms of a woman operating efficiently and well and successfully. She is the only one that comes to mind. She had high aspirations for the girls you see and that came through very much. I was first, second, third. She praised and gave encouragement to those who were successful. So that on my school report - when I finally left the Headmaster put on my report "Will make a good career in typing." Well there it was... So that was my only role model, and my cousin who was a typist. Otherwise there were no aspirations. It was just awful. I felt my education was totally lacking. I never had any Shakespeare. So amazingly minimal."

Sharon was aware of the low status of the commercial course. As discussed in Chapter Five, this perspective has been shared by several New Zealand women in their autobiographies and by sociological researchers: "At school I felt I was in the dumb class." She had left school and taken a typing job after passing her School Certificate the second time she sat it. She blamed her father's

ignorance of the workings of the 'system' (i.e. his lack of academic cultural capital) for her first failure:

"I had failed School Certificate the first time. But my father had given me the impression that School Certificate was a four year course, and now when I'm at university I read up on all this educational history, I realise that it was, originally, meant to be a four year course. And then, of course, it just developed into a three year course. And my father was operating within the original dates...now I get furious to think that put such tremendous pressure on me, not to worry about it in the third year so much, and I did fail it the first time round. And I sat it the next year and didn't do much better. I got, I'm always too ashamed to tell people I only got about seven marks over. So I passed the thing, but appallingly."²

At 19, Sharon suffered what she described as a 'nervous breakdown'. She took a series of casual jobs, devoting much of her time to her sporting interests. After many years of overseas travel, she was encouraged by a friend to apply for provisional admission to the university. After being turned down the first time, she reapplied and was accepted. After a successful year, she applied for Teachers' College as a means of gaining 'qualifications'. This provided her with a means of gaining an education and being paid at the same time. Sharon attributed her success as an adult 'second chance' student to the confidence maintained through her exceptional sporting prowess and through satisfying her lifelong thirst for travel:

Sh. "I had this big vision of going overseas and I'd had it since primary school where there'd been a map on the wall and I thought, 'one day I'll go overseas,' and that was the only thing that pulled me through, that was having this one thing I wanted to do.

S. Where did you get that idea from?

Sh. I don't know. The only place I can think of getting it from was from primary school, where we had a school photograph taken, and behind us was the world map. And

2. At the time Sharon sat School Certificate (the mid 1960s), a pass was calculated by the aggregate marks in four subjects: 200 was a pass. So in her second attempt, Sharon scored an aggregate of 207.

for some reason that world map is a very important part of my life. Somewhere it got in and never went away."

Although Sharon's mother had deliberately tried to prevent her from becoming highly educated, Sharon commented that she had always "had a hankering to have an education." Eventually, she, like her mother and grandmother before her, became a school teacher. However, the years of denial by her mother, her placement in a commercial stream, and her initial failure at School Certificate left her insecure in her identity as an intellectual. In this, she exemplified Bourdieu's description of the foreigner, whose

"mediate, knowing acquisition will always differ from an immediate familiarity with native culture, in the same way as the interiorised, subconscious culture of the native differs from objectified culture reconstructed by the ethnologist" (Bourdieu, 1971b, 205).

As an adult Sharon retained a deepseated sense of intellectual inferiority, despite some outstanding success academically. She said that she felt her schooling as a commercial girl gave her an inferior education and that she could never 'catch up' with her peers who were in academic streams. In other words, her experience was one of 'marginality' in the intellectual world:

"I missed a lot of ground work and, for instance, I didn't know how to put an essay together. I was so unconfident in those first days at university that I'd be a nervous wreck. I'd be crying and weeping and wailing over my efforts to get things up to a standard which I'd never before had to accomplish. I just found the whole thing traumatic, utterly traumatic. I think there are things that you never actually pick up on, just basic knowledge, basic general knowledge of how the world operates. All about religions, all about politics, all about the history of the world. I've had none of that and I just feel, all the time there's this undercurrent of non-confidence sort of goes along with me all the time because I just know that even though I can get to a certain standard now and I've got a good degree, I still have this basic 'lacking'. But I'll never catch up. I'll never be able to read fast enough, I'll never catch up on all those 'booky' type things in my whole life."

THE PRACTICE OF 'SETTING' AND SCHOOL SUBCULTURES

i. Guidelines From The Literature

During the 1960s, 'setting' was the dominant mode of secondary school organisation in this country. Sociologists have argued that the practice of setting leads to a kind of reification of pupil identities - images of 'academic girls' and 'commercial types' (excuse the pun) are constructed by teachers and by pupils. In the process of reification

"...identity itself (the total self, if one prefers) may be reified, both one's own and that of others. There is then a total identification of the individual with his socially assigned typifications. He is apprehended as nothing but that type" (Berger and Luckmann, 1971, 108).

The effects of streaming in the social construction of pupil identities have been described by a number of sociologists in the phenomenological and interactionist traditions. Becker, for example, studied teachers' attitudes to students from a variety of social class backgrounds and concluded that teachers, like other workers in the service industries

"Typically have some image of the 'ideal' client, and it is in terms of this fiction that they fashion their conception of how their work ought to be performed, and their actual work techniques. To the degree that actual clients approximate this ideal the worker will have no 'client problem'" (Becker, 1971, 117).

Keddie's (1971) ethnographic study of a British streamed secondary school described teachers' typifications of students in 'A' or 'C' streams: teachers had quite specific expectations of what the typical 'A' or 'C' child was interested in or capable of achieving. Furthermore, Becker noted that teachers also made judgments about the moral acceptability of the 'lower class' students: "The early (by middle-class standards) sexual maturity of such children is quite upsetting to the teacher" (Becker, 1971, 124).

In this and the following sections, I shall describe the images of academic and commercial girls as the women I interviewed remembered and interpreted them. In this the women described their perceptions of their own and other streams, and their (remembered) perceptions of their teachers' perceptions. Students in the top stream academic forms took two languages. In city schools this was usually Latin and either French or German.³ As described in Chapter Five, these streams were often seen as the preserve of the middle upper class. For example, Tahuri, a Maori woman with upperclass ancestry, had been brought up by adoptive parents who did not have any formal educational qualifications. She described the clientele of her top academic stream ('3 Professional A') in the girls' high school of her provincial town as

"...the most elitist, most exalted third form in the school which included the daughters of the town's professional and business elite. The high school teachers' kids, the doctors' kids, the lawyers' kids, the accountants' kids, the boss of the supermarkets' kids, the research scientists' kids".

Within elite academic streams, some groups of girls developed 'intellectual' subcultures. In this chapter one of these will be described by Margaret, who attended a girls' school in a provincial town. Margaret's 'intellectual' girls' subculture was based on a virginal model of female sexuality and affected the dress and mannerisms of university students. Their model of intellectuality was based on their fantasies of an academic/artistic bohemia partly drawn from their contact with 'university freshmen'; for the girls, however, the development of their intellect was largely aimed at attracting an intellectual/professional husband. In their case the process of cultural reproduction was, at least in part, one of acquiring the knowhow to become the wife of a professional man (Connell et al, 1982). 'Subject choice' and professional aspirations were, at least partly, motivated by family marital strategies aimed at class endogamy

3. Latin would rarely have been offered in rural schools. To take Latin, rural children would have enrolled with the Correspondence School or attended boarding schools - either private schools or state hostels attached to girls' schools in the larger towns.

or social mobility (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Hodges, 1979; Tilly, 1979).

According to the women in my study, girls in the academic streams who either became overtly sexually active or who assumed the outward trapping of 'tartiness' often became outcasts in the eyes of their teachers and the 'straight' academic girls. In this they created 'deviant' subcultures.

Geraldine, who had been repeatedly molested during childhood, believed that she was demoted from the academic stream because of her overt flirtatious behaviour in the classroom in her co-ed school. Tahuri, placed in the top stream because of her 'high intelligence' was forbidden to take Maori language, which was seen as 'not good enough' for the top stream. She and two other outcasts formed what Willis (1977) has called a 'culture of resistance' and was eventually expelled from the school.

Commercial stream girls took subjects which prepared them not for executive or managerial positions in the business world, but for typing jobs. Although there is little research on this in New Zealand, it may reasonably be surmised that few 'commercial girls' became top secretaries, as few continued their schooling beyond School Certificate;⁴ top secretaries (e.g. legal or executive secretaries) would usually have at least U.E., possibly a degree, and learned their shorthand and typing at a business college or technical institute. The curriculum of commercial courses has been described by an Australian researcher (Taylor 1984) as a form of "apprenticeship in womanhood" in which girls learned not only the practical office skills, but also the appropriate mannerisms of deference to the boss, 'feminine' dress and grooming. Taylor noted that these courses were taken by a mixture of middle-class and working-class girls and that in her study

4. At this time some of the School Certificate subjects taken by girls in the Commercial streams were not available for University Entrance. To sit U.E., they would have had to 'pick up' new subjects for which they did not have the fifth form pre-requisite - a difficult undertaking.

"Very few gave office work as their desired occupation at the time of subject choice. There was some evidence of mothers and sisters having encouraged girls to take commercial courses, sometimes because they had done so themselves. (Taylor, 1984, 8).⁵

The case studies in the next section describe the typifications of intellectuality and sexuality constructed within adolescent girls' subcultures associated with top academic and commercial streams.

ii. Margaret: An Academic Girl

Margaret was a school teacher with university qualifications in mathematics. She had, upon leaving school, attempted an Engineering degree. After failing the first year of the course, she had taken casual jobs, married and had children. On first applying for Teachers' College, she was turned down - she was accepted the following year. Now a qualified teacher she has completed a university degree.

Margaret's parents were both primary school teachers, who had taught together in rural schools throughout much of her childhood. She felt that both parents had always expected her to succeed academically and "It was always assumed that I would go to university." Both her parents and her grandmother's examples had provided her with academic 'cultural capital' and Margaret had always aimed at a professional career:

"I remember thinking that I was different from other girls, say particularly when I was in the third form, in a girls-only school because I knew I was going to university and I felt that going to university was much better than being a secretary. I was actually a total

5. Taylor's study, however, was carried out in Queensland in the 1980s - there is a certain danger in generalising from this to New Zealand in the 1960s. However, it should be safe to assume that the general rationale behind such courses has not changed. Furthermore, Taylor commented that some of the textbooks still being used with secretarial students date from this period. We need research in this country into the ideology of commercial courses in terms of textbooks, teacher and pupil attitudes. For an important study relevant to this theme in New Zealand, see Abigail, (1983).

intellectual snob; I wouldn't have dreamed of doing something I thought as insignificant as being a secretary or something like that. I used to feel I was more interesting because I was a female with those kind of ideas because I knew it was unusual for a woman. The other thing that was always talked about in my family was my grandmother was always held up to me. That's my mother's mother, not my father's mother. My mother's mother was very bright and had got a degree in maths and she'd had a big struggle to get it. This example of granny was always held up in front of me. There were strong expectations of me."

The model of female intellectuality that Margaret had grown up with was intertwined with a perception of an appropriate feminine sexual identity. From her perspective as an adult, Margaret noted that during adolescence, part of her professional ambition (engineering) was motivated by marital ambitions. Although her father had wanted to be an engineer the war had prevented this and he had become a teacher instead. This lost ambition was transferred onto Margaret and became a part of her intellectual and sexual fantasy life:

"I never could decide what I wanted to do. I ended up heading towards engineering because I couldn't think of anything else. My father kept saying how good it would be. A part of their whole fantasy, I've got to say, was that it was always assumed that I was going to get married and there was a slightly 'snobby' thing I suppose. Obviously if you think you have an intelligent daughter I suppose you don't want her to marry a drainlayer. Part of this thing was that I would go to university, I would have a career on my own which would make me more 'interesting' and all the rest of it. It wasn't so much that I would have a wonderful life myself - that's part of it, but still there was this fact that I would make some brilliant professional man an exciting wife."

As a member of the top academic stream in a girls' school in a provincial town, Margaret and her friends had their own 'intellectual' subculture:

"I used to go to the fifth form dancing class which was held from 3.30 to 4.00 and boys came up from the boys' college. You can imagine how innocent I was. It was in

the Girls' College assembly hall...The other thing I used to do at school was debating which is what the girls in the academic stream used to do because we could meet the boys; we had a combined Boys' High School-Girls' High School debating team. If you were too superior to hang around the boys' college when the first fifteen were having rugby practice you joined the debating society and met the intellectuals. An aura of ultimate snobbishness, we really were...The highlight of the debating year was that the university freshmen used to send a team up to debate the combined Girls'-Boys' College and of course these people had enormous status just because they were at university."

The girls in this intellectual subculture saw themselves and each other as virgins. 'Dates' were with boys from the same top-stream academic level with similar aspirations and fantasies. They had their own mode of dress, (the boys "affected black jerseys"), no doubt copied from the bohemian atmosphere of university student coffee bar subculture of the early 1960s:

"As for boyfriends, me and the girls that I was friendly with, our boyfriends all came from our own class level at the Boys' College and the boys were exactly like we were: from the top class and the debating society, high achievers academically...When we were in the fifth form we were all into poetry, candles and stuff like that and we used to go around to Jim's place, the intellectuals amongst us, and lie around in the corner being bohemian. Drinking black coffee with no sugar, which we all hated, but couldn't have asked for some milk or sugar because you had to drink black coffee. The candles would be spluttering down on the wine bottles that Jim had collected from his older brothers or his mother.

S. Where did you get the bohemian fantasy from?

M. I've got no idea. I think very probably from our boyfriends plus the fact that, we had this idea of considering ourselves intellectuals, - part of it was that me and my female friends were all no good at sports. The girls who were interested in sports, there was always this thing about getting a guy in the first fifteen. On principle we would not have gone out with a boy who was in the first fifteen. We all thought and had heard that there was alcohol at some parties the first fifteen went to and we wouldn't have touched any alcohol, apart from communion wine. It was just so straight. If any of us had gone to a party and somebody had opened a bottle of beer we would have gone straight home. We were so virtuous."

For Margaret and her girl friends, sexual activity consisted of romantic attachments and fantasies of relationships with artistic, bohemian, intellectual men. Indulging in sexual intercourse was a possibility that was never seriously entertained:

"I just assumed that nobody was 'having it off' with anyone and really in the group that I moved in I think we were all virgins. I really do... The sorts of girls that weren't virgins were the ones that went around looking 'knowing', and I didn't know what the hell it was they knew anything about. But I think probably now that those were the ones that weren't virgins, the ones that I used to think looked like they knew something that was going on that I didn't. That school was streamed to the end and I was always in the top class. There would be occasional girls in that class that may have been sexually active, they certainly weren't in my friends. We all thought that sex was 'no no' until you got married. I suppose we all had some kind of semi-religious thing in our upbringing to add to our parents' morality."

Their code of sexual morality protected many of these girls from becoming pregnant, enabling them to pursue their fantasies of intellectual relationships and personal achievement at higher levels of the education system.

Margaret found her intellectual/cultural fantasies validated and extended by the adolescent subculture of the top academic stream. The subjects studied in the school curriculum became part of the everyday currency of her youth culture. This was, however, important not in its own right, but as a means of attracting intellectual men:

"...When I was in the sixth form I started going out with a guy who I went out with for about five or six years... he was sensitive and artistic and Jim and Hamish were best friends and they would lie around with candles and read Eliot to each other. They were quite amazing guys. I just remember reading Eliot ad infinitum in the seventh form - we had to read the complete works. I grew to hate T.S. Eliot. Well, I don't think I ever understood a word of it but I did know that it was a frightfully amazing intellectual thing to understand. These guys couldn't do anything wrong as far as I'm concerned."

In Bourdieu's terms, Margaret's habitus and her school experience were compatible and continuous, readily convertible to school credentials. Her peer group subculture reinforced this, the value of virginity serving not only her academic ambitions but also her, and her parents', marital ambitions - as an 'interesting woman' she could attract a 'professional' husband at university.

iii. Tahuri and Geraldine: Two 'Academic Deviants'

Tahuri was a Maori girl brought up by adoptive parents who were 'working class' in terms of the pakeha world. Both had had unpleasant experiences of schooling. Keenly aware of distinguished scholars in her family history, Tahuri had been taught to read by a relative at the age of four. She grew up with high academic ambitions, her cultural capital having been provided by her extended family network. Tahuri was stimulated by some of the teaching she experienced in her primary school. It was at secondary school that her enculturation as a Maori was viewed as inappropriate by other pupils and by teachers and the devaluation of her culture was made explicit. In a provincial girls' school which streamed pupils at least partly on the basis of test results, Tahuri was prevented from taking Maori language:

"To get into the Maori language classes you had to be in the general stream, which meant second or third class intellect, certainly not remedial or vocational or technical, but definitely not top stream and I was top stream, and because I was top stream I had to be fed a diet of French and Latin. And there was no way that they were going to let me do Maori, no way at all. My mother actually come up to the school and it was only one of the few times, because she hated the schools, she hated the whole idea of going near schools. She would never go near schools. She would never go near any of the schools I attended before high school and she actually came up and said that they wanted me to do Maori and the teacher just said, 'There is no way this girl can do Maori, she has to be in the top third form and you should feel very pleased that we are putting her in the top third form because that's where she belongs'."

In order to be 'any good' in the eyes of the school, Tahuri had to deny her Maoriness, which she refused to do. She teamed up with the few other 'outcasts' in the top stream. Part of their resistance was

an exaggerated display of sexuality- assuming the trappings of 'tartiness.' As an example of this form of resistance, Tahuri described 'mufti day' at Girls' High:

"3 Professional A would turn up in little twin sets and pearls, and beautifully cut skirts and neat shoes with discreet heels and they'd be carbon copies of their mothers. You know, with a little bit of lipstick, and maybe earrings, and, terribly prissy. Quite fashionable, you know, the sort of East Coast preppy style, that type of dress. And those were 3 Professional A girls. And I'd wear things like black pants and black shirt - in those days they had those things called jerkins, that sort of V-neck sleeveless tunic. When I wore my black pants and black shirt with jerkin I thought I looked real smooth. And I used to Brylcream, oh, coconut oil my hair and get it all like Elvis. And that's how we used to go to school. It was unacceptable. It was totally atrocious. We were just walking catastrophies, us three, we were just not allowed through the door. I mean, it was just so dreadful that we were in that class, degrading its quality like that. Meanwhile, down in 3 Vocational, 3 Reform and 3 Commercial B, there were all the tarts. All the tarts just like us. At Girls' High the lower forms were brown. And so there was not only the class-sexuality dimension but there was also the class-sexuality-race. They were brown sluts, bags."

Pakeha women in my study mentioned the stigmatising of girls in low streams as promiscuous, however, in Tahuri's school, the association of sexual promiscuity with lack of intellect was further exacerbated by racism.⁶ Maori girls were concentrated in the lower streams and seen by some of the academic girls as more sexually promiscuous. Tahuri described the headmistress of her provincial girls' school as racist and her account of the practice of 'setting' (p.195) suggested strongly that it reflected and reinforced the social class structure of the community.

The women I interviewed described two 'types' of girl: virginal academic and promiscuous 'deviants', who came predominantly from the lower streams. This double standard served the process of cultural reproduction in that an unplanned pregnancy would have destroyed an

6. More details of this will be given in the next chapter.

academic girl's professional career, and (bearing in mind that the period studied is the 1960s) an 'illegitimate' child would have jeopardised her chances on the ruling-class marriage market. These attitudes were held and reinforced by the women's parents and by teachers.

Geraldine, the incest victim whose story was introduced in the previous chapter, offered a clear analysis of the sexual expectations for girls in academic and commercial streams in her small-town co-educational secondary school. Repeatedly molested by her father during childhood, she did not place any value on herself sexually, making herself available to any boy who showed interest in her. She described the value of virginity as dominating the academic streams:

"I felt really different I think, because being in the professional classes, starting off in the top stream class, 3PI, all the other girls there, all of them, I must say, all of them were real straight. And I was the only one, and I knew it, that had had sexual experience because of what had happened to me already. So I knew I was different from them, from the start. But I knew that there were girls in the commercial classes that used to sleep around. Aren't I terrible. I don't think that now, but, I mean then, I used to think, you know, that it was the commercial girls that slept around and I was a real oddity, because not many girls did that sort of thing. And guys used to be shocked too. That was the amazing thing. They used to be really amazed that, I would, that I was prepared to 'do it'. Some of them were professional guys, but most of the guys that I was sleeping with were the technical guys... especially as I got older. Although a lot of the guys in the sixth form I also went with. Quite a few guys from the sixth form, seventh form, would hide it from everybody else that they'd been with me, would go out with the good girls, and then would ring up to see me."

According to Geraldine, academic boys lived out their sex lives according to the double standard: girl-friends must be virgins, but it was alright to have a 'bit on the side' so long as it was kept secret. Geraldine reported that the academic boys were likely to use condoms, while the 'tech' and Maori boys did not. The middle-class boy, then, tried to maintain 'proper' alliances with girls of his own class 'type' (in a similar style to that described by Engels as long

ago as 1891). Geraldine stated that teachers transmitted expectations for the 'good' and 'bad' girl. Speaking of the conflict for girls between sexuality and intellectuality she said that

"As soon as the teachers noticed me fooling around with boys in the classroom they weren't prepared to have me in the classroom - no they weren't. They didn't come down on the boys, they came down on me. And I actually got removed from the top stream and put down a stream, well put down to 3P3 I think it was."

SUMMARY

The case studies presented observations on what MacDonald (1979/80, 151) has called "the operation of the sexual division of labour in the creation and the nature of cultural capital." It was argued that research on educationally successful women must take account of the 'cultural capital' of both their mothers and fathers, and also other significant adults. It was argued that the creation and transmission of 'cultural capital' within the family may be fraught with contradictions. For example, in the case of Sharon the desire for a 'good education' was maintained despite her parents deliberate attempts to prevent this. In the case of Margaret, parental educational achievement and ambitions were translated into a family environment which stimulated their daughter to seek academic and professional success. Although 'significant others' in Tahuri's whanau group had stimulated her academic ambitions, her desire to study Maori was treated as deviant by the school - her habitus regarded as inappropriate, not 'cultural capital' in the eyes of the school administrators.

The case studies also illustrated the types of youth cultures constructed by adolescent groups in the academic and commercial streams of schools (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Connell, at el, 1982; Findlay, 1974; Frame, 1982; Taylor, 1984; Keddie, 1971). The women interviewed for this thesis described distinct and differentially-valued constructions of female intellectuality and sexuality associated with academic and commercial streams. Further examples of these will be discussed in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER NINE

THE EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY

'Marginal people' have often been the subject of sociological research, for example, those classified as 'deviant', migrants and cultural minorities. Sociologists' interest in the experience of marginality has been discussed by Plummer (1983, 88), who argued that the 'marginal person', living at a 'cultural crossroads', was useful to the sociologist in coming to understand the normally taken-for-granted reality of everyday life:

"Experiencing contrasting expectations as to how he or she should live, the subject becomes aware of the essentially artificial and socially constructed nature of social life, how potentially fragile are the realities that people make for themselves. In this awareness the subject throws a much broader light on the cultural order, the 'O.K.' world' that is routinely taken for granted by most" (Plummer, 1983, 88).

This phenomenological 'shock' or 'jolt' is potentially radicalising. For example, Bourdieu noted, (quoted in Chapter One) that it was the intellectuals of marginal status in the academic community who were most likely to "dispute its legitimacy" (Bourdieu, 1971a, 179). However, it is only when the experience of 'not belonging' is understood theoretically as a manifestation of the unequal power relations in society that radicalisation occurs: for example, a working-class student who interprets her sense of alienation in the top academic stream as a consequence of bourgeois cultural hegemony rather than her own 'ignorance'; a Maori who views the clustering of Maori children in low streams as a product of institutionalised racism, rather than because 'Maoris are dumb, or lazy'.

The issue of marginality is important in coming to understand how and why some school-teachers became radicalised. There is some evidence that school teachers tend as a group to come from 'marginal' social class backgrounds.¹ The high proportions of rural girls who became teachers in New Zealand was commented on elsewhere (Department

1. N.Z.C.E.R, Teacher Study, Data summary 6/65; Watson (1966).

of Education, 1962; Nash, 1981; Ramsay, 1978; Watson, 1966).² Sharp (1981) has observed that in Europe school teachers, as salaried employees of the state, form part of the 'petit bourgeoisie,' a marginal social class position which, she argued, predisposed them either to radicalism or, as in the case of Nazi Germany, to extreme reactionary political positions. Sharp described 'petit-bourgeois ideology' as reflecting this sense of marginality and vulnerability:

"Petit bourgeois ideology, with its accompanying themes of ontological anxiety, exaggerated commitment to individualistic competitiveness, and its conceptualisation of social hierarchies as open, natural and just, is significant for comprehending the class perspective of many educators... with the development of mass education the petit bourgeoisie lies increasingly unhappily between the bourgeois class who are its masters and other subordinate classes who (arguably) mistakenly look to education as the key to their social improvement" (Sharp, 1981, 112-113).

As Bernstein (1975a) pointed out, this fraction of the middle-class is highly dependent on the education system for the reproduction of its class position: without property or 'real capital' to pass on to their children, petit-bourgeois parents rely on schools and higher education to turn the 'symbolic property' (Bernstein, 1975a) or 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1971a, 1971b) handed on through appropriate child-rearing patterns in the family into school credentials. School success was seen by such parents as essential for a child's social mobility and, in the case of girls, it was often seen in addition as an aspect of family marital strategies aimed at class endogamy (Connell et al, 1982; Tilly, 1979) or social mobility.

The women studied in this thesis described experiences of marginality as having been 'consciousness-raising' influences and as having been highly significant in terms of their developing a radical political consciousness. In all cases, the women had had access to social theories - within educational institutions, through political groups, through their reading or their friends - which articulated

these experiences for them as social issues, translating the 'personal' into the 'political'. In this chapter, the experience of 'marginality' will be described with reference to four of the women's experiences as children and adolescents within their families and schools. All twelve of the women reported such experiences; these four have been chosen as exemplifying a variety of backgrounds. Issues raised include awareness of marginal social class status, being a member of a cultural minority in an academic top stream, having parents of mixed rural and urban origins, and being the child of British immigrants to New Zealand. Although ethnicity, the rural-urban distinction, and the British influence were important influences on the women concerned, the issue of social class marginality was important to all four of these women, and formed a common thread to the life histories.

In analysing the case studies, I shall bring to bear Bourdieu's notion of the 'habitus', described in earlier chapters. For children from backgrounds 'marginal' to the culture of the school, the nature of the 'habitus' is problematic:

"As a 'habit-forming force' the school provides those who have undergone its direct or indirect influence not so much with particular and particularised forms of thought as with that general disposition which engenders particular schemes, which may then be applied in different domains of thought and action, a disposition that one could call the cultivated habitus" (Bourdieu, 1971a, 184).

CASE STUDIES

i. Barbara: Social Class

Barbara's father had been a school principal with post-graduate university qualifications, while her mother had left school without qualifications. This combination of parental educational backgrounds and aspirations was described by Barbara as motivating her to succeed both academically and professionally.

Barbara described how her father had come from a working-class background and commented that despite some major domestic problems in his family, he had, with his mother's encouragement, been a 'high achiever' at school:

"My father was one of those who came from a very poor working-class background, extremely poor. In fact, almost what you'd call a totally deprived background in many senses. He was adopted out as a baby, had a drunken father, and marital breakup, and everything, you know, it was disaster. But, on the other hand, he showed tremendous brilliance from the beginning at school. And his mother saw it and, despite her funny attitude... she fostered it and, you know, consequently right from the beginning he did brilliantly at school, and was sort of seen as one of the achievements of the working-class basically."

Her father's example was held up to Barbara as evidence of the effects of 'hard work': for members of the working-class, schooling could be a route to social mobility and in her father's case the liberal ideology of 'meritocracy' had worked out. For Barbara, however, this example was somewhat ambiguous as a source of academic motivation. Although she grew up with a sense of confidence that she could achieve anything she set her mind upon, she felt somewhat intimidated by her father's academic brilliance at university. Upon leaving school, she decided not to go to university, but to settle for primary teacher training with the financial independence this offered. She commented with respect to her father's example:

"...this was always, sort of, held up to me, so I always knew the possibilities of, you know, hard work, but on the other hand it always scared me stiff. That was always in front of me.."

Unlike her father, Barbara's mother had had, like many women of her generation, thwarted professional and educational opportunities:

"My mother had basically thwarted educational opportunities. She'd had to leave school at about 13, although she always said she enjoyed school and appeared to be very good at it, to care for her mother, who got sick. She had to care for a family of six children..."

That was the end of her education. Fortunately she was very skilled in her trade, and got an apprenticeship and became a skilled tradeswoman."

Barbara described her mother's example as formative of her aspirations. Barbara wanted not to be like her in the sense of her lack of professional opportunities:

"This has always lurked in my background the effects of my mother never being able to achieve the ambitions that she probably felt she had. I never, ever heard her complain about it. She's never in any sense held it over my head saying 'You've got to do better than me', that never ever came into it. But I always felt that she wanted me to."

Her mother's experience also influenced Barbara's marital ambitions in that, rejecting her mother's example, Barbara was not prepared to view her career as subordinate to that of a man. Although her mother had, before marriage, been a highly skilled tradeswoman, Barbara's father had not encouraged her in further use of these skills other than as an occasional supplement to the family income:

"...she got tremendous skills but has never really used them. And my father never, ever, encouraged her to use them in any respect, except just to bring in a bit of extra money on top of his salary."

Barbara said that it had been her mother, who had left school without qualifications, rather than her academically qualified father, who had passed on to her 'academic cultural capital' in her pre-school years:

"There was one thing that did excite me, that was my mother she taught me to read. And probably from my earliest days, when I was about five, I was an avid reader."

However, neither parent had guided her towards 'good literature', her father tending to remain 'distant' from his daughter. For these

reasons, Barbara believed that she was denied an upper middle-class 'habitus':

"The interesting thing with my parents was that they never ever encouraged me in any educational endeavour. The standard was set which I knew I should aspire to, but my father never said, 'Oh, this would be a neat book to read'...I was given no guidance. And I think if I'd been given that it would have been quite different...my literature at that stage was merely what I'd picked up purely by chance."

Barbara attended a co-educational secondary school in a large city. It was a new school, which she described as having been "built to house the baby-boom kids". She found most of the curriculum uninspiring:

"Nothing was ever a problem to me. But I never put a bit of effort in, because nobody ever gave anything exciting for me to do. It was just something that had to be done."

However, she found inspiration in her art classes in which she was taught by a well-known New Zealand painter, who introduced his students to New Zealand art works. Her enthusiasm for the 'fine arts' led Barbara to question her parents' artistic taste, viewing this as a sign of an inferior, 'lower-class' habitus, not 'cultural capital'. Her newly-acquired knowledge of bourgeois culture alienated her somewhat from her working-class origins:

"One thing that did touch me at that school was our art teacher, who is still a highly respected artist. With his students he was quite innovative. And he took us to art exhibitions. Now my parents weren't the slightest bit what you call artistic. We had ornaments around the house, you know, odd photographs and sort of funny little prints, and things like that. But he took us to art exhibitions, pottery - in the sixties there weren't many of them. He took us to Wolleston's exhibitions and he just opened up a complete new world to us that I'd never known had even existed.... And it suddenly dawned on me about these ornaments and up until then I'd had a tremendous collection of 'little Dickie' ornaments and I went home and threw them all out. My mother was ever so sad and I got a big notice board on my wall and from

that day on I collected modern art prints. It really inspired me, and I've still got the collection. So that really was one turning point, it really turned my mind and gave me a new perspective on one aspect of life."

For Barbara, student life in the 1960s was a time of acquiring the 'habitus' of the intellectual rather than a time of political awakening. Together with other students, she cultivated the tastes and knowledge of the urban intelligentsia:

"People talk about the radical sixties, but I wasn't involved in any political consciousness.... The group of friends that I got in with, I suppose you'd call us more 'intellectual'. We were very serious about going to all the right concerts and listening to the tone of the violins...and reading the right books."

As Bourdieu (1975a, p.175) has argued:

"The structure of the intellectual field maintains a relation of interdependence with one of the basic structures of the cultural field, that of cultural works, established in a hierarchy according to their degree of legitimacy. One may observe that in a given society at a given moment in time not all cultural signs.. are equal in dignity and value."

Barbara was developing tastes for 'cultural works' further up the hierarchy than those valued by her parents - an aspect of the effects of schooling on her social mobility.

During this time, Barbara and her friends were also questioning their religious upbringing. Brought up in the Salvation Army, their changing class identification was accompanied by a growing agnosticism. Barbara described this experience in terms of the church's working-class history:

"In the early sixties the Salvation Army for the first time found itself with large numbers of students. It had been very much a working-class movement....So they decided, in quite a far-sighted move, to set up student groups, in New Zealand anyway. They did not foresee that

they would become as radical as they did.... Now the first group that went through...became very brilliant people, but they joined the Salvation Army and they worked through the system-in quite radical ways-but they stayed within the system. Whereas our group went through-all of us totally rejected the whole philosophy and ethic of the Salvation Army, and our parents' background and everything about it."

Believing that she was 'different' from other girls (whom she described as 'wanting to get married'), Barbara moved to a distant city to begin her teaching career. Her feminist consciousness-raising experience came about after her career had been well-established and she was assuming considerable responsibility within schools. Married young, she and her husband had continued their careers on an equal basis until they had children. Barbara commented that it was the non-availability of child-care and her involvement with groups of mothers of pre-school children which stimulated her feminist consciousness. The other strand of her radical thinking, socialism, was developed largely through academic study as an adult student. However, she described its foundations as firmly laid in her childhood and adolescent years. Her sense of 'marginality' in the family, school and church contexts had made her 'the stranger' (Schutz, 1944) giving her an analytic distance from her own cultural context, a phenomenological 'jolt' (Schutz, 1970b; Berger and Luckmann, 1971) which provided a basis for radicalisation when her reading and study gave her access to theories (Marxism and feminism) which articulated this experience.

ii. Pauline: Rural-Urban Marginality

Pauline was brought up on a dairy farm. Her father had been a manual labourer and, after serving in the armed forces during the war, had settled on a rehabilitation farm. He did not have any formal school qualifications. Although his war-time experiences had been horrific, he had shared with Pauline his fascination for foreign countries and their cultures and his experiences with these during the war, creating in her a strong desire to travel. This remained a driving force in her life and she realised it as a young adult, spending many years living in 'third world' countries.

Her main source of educational motivation and career ambitions was her mother. Pauline's mother had come from an economically impoverished background and had had to leave school at an early age to take a job. She had been therefore unable to attend the secondary school she would have like to attend, or to take up the profession she wanted. Pauline was sent as a boarder to this school (a girls' state secondary school in a large city) and aimed to take up the same profession her mother had wanted. The mother's frustrated ambitions and the daughter's aspirations coincided:

"...she had always wanted to be a broadcaster³ when she grew up...but she left school in war-time and came from a very poor background, and there was just no possibility that she could go on and be a broadcaster, so at the age of six a teacher just sort of joking I suppose, made the comment to my mother that that's what I should be and my mother was right behind me from then on - I mean I wanted it - but I don't remember that she pushed me into it, but she supported me all the way along.... She wanted me to go to Girls' College, She wanted to be a broadcaster, I'm sure she wanted to travel, you know, so all of that has happened."

Pauline described her mother as alienated from the local farming community in that her interests and tastes were those of an urban middle-class 'artistic' woman. As a child, Pauline had been embarrassed by her mother's 'inappropriate' behaviour: assuming some of the trappings of urban 'artiness', she stood out from other farm wives in her hobbies, her 'fashionable' dress and her 'flamboyant' mannerisms:

"When I was a kid I used to be really ashamed that she did things like she danced in the operatic society and she used to practise dancing in the kitchen when we had kids visiting...when I was a kid, she was 'different', you know.... She used to wear fashionable clothes - I mean its all incredibly relative, believe me, but she wore tapered pants when they were just coming in, and I got teased by one of the boys making a sexual innuendo about the fact that my mother was wearing those pants."

3. Name of Occupation changed for reasons of confidentiality.

Pauline stated that her mother's educational ambitions had somewhat alienated her and her sisters from their peers in the local farming community. Unlike them, Pauline did not at first attend the local co-educational high school. Instead, her mother had taken a job in the village in order to send her daughters to the city, where they boarded in a hostel at a state girls' school. Pauline was conscious of her family's financial sacrifice in this:

"We didn't have much money, or anything like that...I've never been able to identify as an adult or as a child about fitting in distinctly into a 'class' thing. But I think the education was what made the difference - and my mother really valued education and wanted to go to Girls' college... I just felt very alienated. In fact, I felt very alienated long before that, I guess, both at Girls' college and at home."

Because she was taking Latin, which was not offered at her local high school, she was entitled to an academic bursary at boarding school to supplement her fees. Because of her mother's 'sacrifice' in sending her to boarding school, Pauline was under great pressure to succeed. This denied her the luxury of admitting to herself any personal problems she may have had in adjusting to the hostel or school environment:

"I don't know that I ever allowed myself the luxury of saying that I didn't like it. In the first year a lot of the kids wrote home and said, 'I hate it! Take me away from here!' Whereas I had this idea since my mother had gone to work to send us that it was a real privilege. And I was very disapproving of them doing this and it would never have occurred to me. I just had a fatalistic kind of attitude I guess as I grew up. We were sisters a few years apart and we each had three year bursaries to go and study Latin and I just knew I had nine terms there and each term I'd say, 'Oh well, four down and five to go' and that was it, and it didn't occur to me that I had any power to change it, or that I wanted to or just that was what was happening. It's very hard to be able to say that I liked or didn't like school."

There has been little research in New Zealand on the state hostels at city schools and the girls who attended them. Rural girls who

attended such schools were likely to be the children of parents with high academic and professional aspirations. While the more wealthy or 'socially or maritally ambitious' parents may have sent their daughters to expensive private schools (Connell et al, 1982), those who sought schooling with 'high academic' standards and/or could not afford, or who did not seek, private schooling for their daughters would most likely have come from the less wealthy farming backgrounds or the rural petit-bourgeoisie (Nash, 1981). Pauline commented that many of the girls at her hostel were 'unsophisticated', coming from 'backblocks' rural areas. While the day-pupils interviewed described the pupil subcultures at their schools as centred on the streams girls were in (academic, commercial etc), Pauline described the status hierarchy at the boarding hostel as centred on sporting prowess rather than academic achievement. Locked in behind high fences, boarders turned inward to their own resources. Access to radio, T.V. and newspapers was limited, outings beyond the school walls infrequent. Other boarders and school teachers provided the main 'windows' on the outside world.

Pauline's academic schooling failed to inspire her, most of her career ambitions coming from her mother. She did, however, gain a validation of her wish to travel and have a career from the examples of 'old girls' of the school:

"the headmistress used to read us letters at assembly from former students who were overseas and had applied for jobs and got the response, "Girls' College, Oh" and had got the job."

However, the academic content of the curriculum did not motivate her to seek higher education, and the personalities of her teachers made little lasting impression on her:

"I went around for many years afterwards thinking my secondary education had been a total waste and I'm only now beginning to appreciate some aspects of it. But I certainly was not taught things that fired me up."

Her adolescent ambitions were to get out of her restricted rural and boarding school environments and 'experience life first-hand':

"I'd always assumed, and my teachers and my parents had assumed I'd go to university, but I couldn't face the idea of going to another 6A year and I just wanted to get out in the world and live, I just couldn't take the limitations anymore. So I left school and got a job. It never occurred to me that university would be the exciting experience it is now, it was just more drudgery. I wanted to get out and live and be free and varsity didn't appeal at all. I had no understanding of the excitement of learning or anything like that."

Despite her lack of enthusiasm for school, Pauline maintained a keen interest in learning, intending to gain her knowledge 'first-hand' through travel. She was aware of the deficiencies of her schooling:

"I had a real thirst. I knew there was more to the world than I had been presented with, but I didn't know how to go and get that knowledge. I had not been introduced to books, I didn't know where to go for books, you know, or anything like that."

Boarding school had denied her the opportunity to 'date' boys and to indulge in adolescent sexual experimentation. Boarders who 'broke bounds by going out illicitly at night risked expulsion. For many, dreams and fantasies of 'getting out' during the holidays sustained them sexually:

"... There were love comics around the school, I used to sneak them home. I knew there was something 'not right' about them, they presented a whole reality which was new to me - 'dating' - so much in contrast with the dances in the hall at home. Comics did influence me - where else was I learning from? You'd spend a whole term thinking about the guy who'd touched you on the breast in the last holidays and where he was going to touch you next holidays."

After her three years at boarding school and having passed her School Certificate, Pauline spent her sixth form year at her local high school. She spent this sixth form year

"being totally juvenile and stupid and fooling around with boys and with girl-friends and stuff like that and drifting along on the knowledge from Girls' College which got me through the year, and got U.E. accredited, but didn't learn much."

Her sexual fantasies, however, unlike many of the local rural girls, were not of marriage and children. Rejecting her mother's pattern, Pauline dreamed of an exotic life of travel and adventure, constructing, her visions of adult sexuality around this life-style:

"I never ever remember dreaming about getting married and having kids, I never ever remember that. There were such limited possibilities presented at the time. I used to vaguely imagine such possibilities as living in a flat, maybe in England, in London and perhaps even having an "affaire". I just wanted to get out in the world and live."

Having 'affaires' was not acceptable in Pauline's cultural context: to do this, she had to be a long way from home. Her boarding school education and her career and sexual aspirations alienated her from her rural peers, intensifying her sense of marginality. Her mother's perceived unhappiness and frustration with her life was probably the major influence in this. Pauline left home, worked in a series of jobs, travelled, and attended university in her early thirties, where she came into contact with feminism through other students.

iii. Hine: A Maori Working-class Girl in a Top Stream

Hine was brought up in a tiny village amongst her mother's whanau (extended family) group. She traced some of her 'academic cultural capital' to her parents' frustrated educational and career aspirations and to the support and encouragement of members of her whanau group, in particular an aunt who was a primary school teacher.

Hine's father had left school without qualifications. His experiences at primary school had been violent:

"He actually had to go and get out of the bush the suplejack that they used to do the whipping with. He had to go and get his punishment material to be the punished with. And he was laid flat on his back. He left school in his Standard Four year and wouldn't go back.... and his cousins had to take him home. He couldn't get home on his own. His father went into the school at that particular stage and apparently threatened to belt the principal that had done that to his son.... It was about Standard Four. He ran away and wouldn't go back. He refused to go back after that. He ran away from home actually...because he wasn't ever going back to school."

Hine's father had worked in manual jobs and had also become involved in setting up various small business ventures. Some of these had failed, and resulted in financial hardship for the family. Lacking in 'cultural capital' or 'real capital', Hine's father had not been able to fulfil himself intellectually or in business. Hine described him as

"a man who's always wanted to do something with his mind but never been quite able to do anything with it, because he's never known how to go about it."

Hine's mother had attended a Maori girls' boarding school for a short time, but had had to leave before gaining qualifications. Although she would have liked to have sent Hine to the same school, the family were unable to afford it. Her mother, however, had had very negative experiences of primary school, which meant that she would not come near the school Hine attended:

"she was very anti the place. She didn't know how to go into the place and I gather it must have been because of her own experiences because she went through that era of a rap on the knuckles for speaking Maori and that sort of thing."

Neither of Hine's parents would go near schools. When she was in Form One at the local primary school, Hine received a school report with outstanding grades. Knowing that her parents would not come to the school, the teacher had written a letter:

"he wrote them a letter and said that I had to make the most of my educational opportunities, and they were so proud of that report. So everything was placed on that report. From there 'she had to do something with her life,' sort of thing."

Despite their own unhappy school experiences, Hine was aware throughout her childhood and adolescence that both of her parents expected her to succeed educationally:

"Mum and Dad always did have aspirations for me and I think it was because Dad had never been able to. In fact he impressed upon all of us that we had to go to school and that was the only way to get ahead in life. When I started analysing it my Dad was the main reason for me being here, he just kept pushing and pushing... (and mum was too) in a more silent way... In fact she was pushing him and he was pushing me. She's always been behind Dad in everything."

The high expectations of her parents were supported by other members of her whanau group. Hine's success would be a source of 'mana' for the whole group:

"There was not only pressure from my mother and father but pressure from my aunties and uncles to do well. I was supposed to be the 'brainbox' of the whanau and so I had to do well and they kept on at me."

The high expectations of Hine's primary school teacher were passed on to the secondary school staff. Together with her cousins, Hine travelled by bus to a co-educational high school at a nearby town. At that stage, despite the expectations of her parents, her teachers, her uncles and aunts, Hine had no wish to become alienated from her cousins and expected, like them, to work in local factories:

"I was just going to do what all my cousins were doing, which was go and work in a factory. I had no aspirations at all, never dreamed of having any."

When she entered secondary school, Hine sat the 'OTIS' test. Astonished by her poor result, the teachers placed her in the top academic stream regardless. Hine felt marginalised and alienated by this and tried to move herself in with her cousins 'down in commercial':

"I remember before I went from primary school to college, the test we had to sit there...the Otis...and I failed that miserably. They all had high expectations of me passing through with flying colours and I didn't; and I remember having to sit it again. They just couldn't understand why I failed that test. When I first went to high school, there was streaming at the time, I was streamed into the academic level even though I failed the Otis test. They just put me into that one and I refused to go there, because all my cousins who were my mates, were put into the commercial stream or even lower, which I guess was the home science course. So I went into that for the first day and then they came and got me out of there and I remember crying the next day because I didn't want to be in there and I was the only Maori in the class."

As Hine became more senior in the school, the gap widened between her and her cousins. However, she also felt alienated from others in the academic stream:

"I was the only Maori in that class in the school. For several years I was the only Maori, so it was a very lonely existence I guess. I could see the gradual drifting with my cousins at this stage."

At this time, Hine's father was out of town and unable to support the family financially and her mother had gone to work in a nearby factory. As the eldest of her large family, Hine had to assume a great deal of domestic responsibility, such as cooking the meals and sewing the younger children's clothes. By her sixth form year, Hine's sense of marginality in the top stream increased. Her increasing domestic responsibilities made it difficult for her to keep up with her homework and, as the most highly educated member of her family, she had no-one to help her with sixth form subjects. By this time, her cousins had left school to work in local factories. To become

educationally and professionally successful, Hine would have to leave the security of the whanau group. She was being pressured simultaneously to enter the pakeha world and to accept a heavy load of responsibility in her family. To some extent, these pressures were incompatible and the conflict resulted in falling grades. Hine failed U.E. but gained the sixth form certificate she needed to enter Teachers' College.

Her decision to go to Teachers' College was made together with her parents, members of her whanau group and supportive teachers. She has since become an outstanding teacher, active in union affairs, feminist teachers' groups and the promotion of the teaching of Maori language and culture in schools:

"...I had no idea what I was going to do, right through high school. I just didn't think at that stage what I was going to do and it wasn't until the crucial year which was the 6th form, the end of 6th form because I just kept going back and back to school. It was Dad that made up my mind for me. I wasn't going teaching by no means, that wasn't the job for me and I guess it was because I just didn't feel that I could do that job anyway. We have an aunty and she was a teacher and she put the idea into Mum and Dad's head that I should go teaching. She said in no uncertain terms that's what they had to do for me, to get me into teaching and I fought, tooth and nail. I didn't want to go to Training College. I cried, I wasn't going to go there at all but when I look back I'm damned glad that I did. All I wanted to do at that time, because my cousins were my best friends too, they were all out working and getting money. I guess that must have been the reason why. I wanted to go and do what they were doing. They stayed at home or in the local factories, I was quite satisfied to go and do that too but no way. Dad was never going to let that happen and I realise now he never intended that to happen."

As a Maori at teachers' college, Hine experienced herself as marginal, preferring to keep company with other Maori students. She described the college hostel as "extremely lonely", although she was able to share a room with one of her cousins. The college curriculum failed to inspire her and she began to mix socially with local Maoris from the town. Describing herself and her fellow Maori students as

"more interested in the social world" than their college work, Hine described her group as "damned lucky that we were able to carry on":

"For the first term we all went back home. But then we met Maoris from the city and we started interacting with them and going out with them. We no longer started going home so regularly. We were able to make a niche for ourselves with this group of Local Maori people and it was mostly rugby people, going to games, and netball people. So we went around in those groups together. And of course the tavern opened and we all went to the tavern and went into the public bar because that was where the Maori people were and mixed with them. Gradually the contact with home started to fade and that was it."

During her training, Hine married a Maori from the town and had a child. Despite the non-availability of child-care (at this time there was no creche on her campus) she managed to complete her training with the help of relatives.

Although when she started teaching, Maori language was not taught in state primary schools, Hine did this 'naturally', introducing her classes to aspects of Maoritanga. Her interest in feminism came much later as a result of university study. She had decided to attend university when she had met women teachers who were studying for their degrees part-time:

"I was at a school where quite a few of the teachers were doing university degrees and it was just by listening to them talking about the university and I thought, "I wonder if I can go and do that?" Because I didn't know anything about university at that stage. I just made some enquiries and found that I could go as an adult student, I didn't have to have U.E., and along I went. I took a social science course straight out, found it heavy going and yet thoroughly enjoyed it... And the interest just grew from that course. From there I just kept going and it's been the turning point in my life. It's just opened up a whole new field for me. It's made me realise that I can do as much as I want to, I don't think I fully had that, although I've always been determined."

Her first encounter with feminism was through having a feminist woman tutor in one of her university courses. Her reading and discussions of women's issues led her to re-assess her own domestic life:

"It was through that social science course and learning about yourself as a person. The woman who took our tutorial group was a feminist. She made a big impression on me, as women who were really confident in themselves as well. They were presenting women in a positive light whereas before I'd only seen women as Truby King described, the housemaid, this was the sort of thing that women do. I was beginning to think well, "Is that all women do", and it was through them, they opened up the field that women do lots of other things besides just keeping house. My whole attitude to life changed quite dramatically because I was at that time fitting into the pattern of Truby King. I was rushing home, doing all these tasks at home, keeping a good house and that sort of thing and after that I thought, "To hell with it, if it doesn't get done, it doesn't get done." And it no longer gets done. It gets done in it's own good time, so it was putting things into perspective."

Hine was also strongly influenced by 'successful' women, particularly Maori women, in key senior positions in the education system, who gave her active support and encouragement. Aware of the determining effects of 'mentors' in her own career (parents, teachers, relatives and administrators) Hine has set out to give her own pupils, and fellow teachers, positive images of what it means to be a Maori and a woman. She had become involved in promoting the teaching of Maori language and culture in schools and in feminist teacher's organisations. Her own sense of 'marginality' has been transformed into a driving determination to help other women, particularly Maori women, to succeed within 'the system'. In this respect, her educational strategies were those of the 'liberal feminist'.

iv. Marjorie: Becoming a New Zealander

Marjorie was the daughter of British immigrants to New Zealand, although she herself was born in this country. Her mother had had middle-class origins. Adopted out in child-hood, Marjorie's mother had been brought up in an orphanage until family members had financed her through a private girls' boarding school:

"Although she was in the orphanage she was supplied money by some unknown person...to send her off to a private school. So she didn't go to school with the children in the village."

Marjorie described her father as having had working-class origins, although his parents had had middle-class aspirations. Successful at school, he had become an accountant. His parents' working-class origins had left them and him with a fear of entrepreneurial risk-taking, she perceived 'security' as her fathers' goal. In these aspects, he resembled the 'Ear 'Oles' (academically successful working-class boys) described by Willis (1977) in the British context. Marjorie's description of her father's family's values was reminiscent of Sharp's (1981, 112-113) description of 'petit-bourgeois ideology':

"...my father's family, my grandmother and so on who is still alive, were incredibly right-wing; even though they were poor they bought the capitalist myth. If you work hard you can make it and they put that very much on to my father who is actually quite manually-oriented I think, but more-or-less forced to go into figures. The only future you've got is, the only future for a young man is in the office, and that's where you get your pension. You don't want to go out working for yourself because that's the road to ruin. You don't get anywhere. So that's why he came into office work and went on from there, and I'm very middleclass."

Marjorie described her father as "very upward aspiring" and saw his aspirations for social class mobility as one of the reasons for her parents' marriage - her mother's 'middle-class habitus' had attracted him. From her father, Marjorie acquired high academic aspirations:

"My father was forever seeking a better job, this upward mobility...I was very much pushed into the academic achievement thing and the leadership thing. I was really encouraged in that by my teachers and my parents."

From her mother, she learned the mannerisms and language of the cultivated English middle-class lady, a 'habitus' which was foreign to

the New Zealand town in which she grew up. Confident of her superiority to the 'locals', Marjorie turned her marginality to her own advantage; her mother's attitude to her adopted country and its inhabitants being one of derision:

"I had to speak 'properly', I had to repeat things, I wasn't allowed to have a 'kiwi accent.' That I think has been a very important thing in my life too; I've only recently in the last few years begun to identify myself as a New Zealander... I was brought up as an English child in New Zealand. I was brought up to dislike and rather despise Kiwis, my fellow livers in this country. I was brought up to despise and dislike the New Zealand bush, the New Zealand accent, all those kind of things. I was different. I always felt different from everybody else because I was English, I wasn't a New Zealander. I believed that fervently about myself. I used to tell my friends how I went to boarding school in England. It was just a bullshit story that I used to make up, things like that. And I used to get most stories from Billy Bunter comics because we used to get the English comics, and other things. That made me feel very different and separate from people."

As a child, then, Marjorie experienced two forms of 'marginality':

"I had these two things that were separating me - the thing of being English and not New Zealand, even though I was born here, and being 'bright'. Those two things really pushed me apart from people when I was a child in a small rural town."

As a child, Pauline had sensed that her father had despised women. Perhaps partly in order to please him, she had developed an identity as a 'tomboy'. Although she had gained some acceptance from the local boys, her status was marginal:

"I was always called a tomboy and I was always very proud of that and ... I'd like to accentuate that, I didn't like being a girl, I hated girls, I despised girls utterly and completely, and that only changed recently when I became a feminist. I took on the beliefs of the society around me and identified with the men. As a child I was very much a tomboy, I used to

climb trees and fight and do all those kinds of things and really act brash and smart to be accepted by the local community boys, which I wasn't really. I can remember there were gangs. We used to always belong to little gangs and we used to traipse along through the countryside because the little town was sort of half rural. We lived on the outskirts and all the girls had to walk behind the boys. The boys had to walk first and the girls second. So I was still identified as a female and therefore inferior, but I tried very hard not to be. I tried very hard to be as good as the boys physically."

Marjorie spent her third form year in the top stream at her local co-educational high school. However, her desire to be 'one of the boys' worked to her disadvantage academically. As a girl, the only way she could gain acceptance was by 'playing dumb'. Her school-work suffered accordingly:

"When I got to secondary school, in the third and fourth forms; I subsided really in puberty. It was the sort of typical female situation where I got friendly with some boys and really wanted to be accepted by them and liked by them and discovered extremely quickly that if you're bright with boys, and brighter than them, they don't like you. So I immediately became 'dumb'. I can remember in the fourth form getting 25% for my science exam and I still remember that. It's trivial, but it was something that shocked me in a way, but in another way I was driven to do it, to be accepted by these boys who I hung around with. I can remember I used to sit up the back of the classroom and just flirt. I became very flirtatious."

After her third form year, the family moved to a larger town, where Marjorie attended a state girls' school. This, and her mother's assertive intervention in the school's streaming practices undoubtedly saved her school academic career:

"My mother went down there and on the strength of my results I wasn't going to be put in the top class. My mother wasn't having that, thank you very much, so she went down to the school and said, "Put my daughter in the top class." So they said, "all right", because my mother was the sort of person who if she wanted something, she would get it. And they took me aside and said, "O.K. you'll be here on sufferance, deary. If you don't shape up, you ship out". I had no boys there to

flirt with so I pulled my finger out and worked very hard and of course did very well in that top class and ended up being Head Girl of the school."

In her senior years at Girls' College, Marjorie specialised in science subjects, viewing this as an aspect of her rejection of the dominant attitudes towards of 'femininity'.

"I was very good at science and I was very good at maths and I got prizes in maths. I just liked it, I had a logical kind of bent and in fact that was always considered to be my downfall that I wasn't emotional, attractive and creative. I was logical and cold and unattractive."

Marjorie described her style of dress as a deliberate strategy of resistance to the image of 'femininity' to which she was expected to conform:

"My mother kept telling me that I could be quite attractive if I'd only dress better. But it was because of this whole thing that I rejected creativity, I rejected beauty, right from the beginning. So I quite deliberately dressed in a sloppy and casual way in an anti-feminine manner, I always did and I always have and I continue to. My mother tried desperately to buy me pretty dresses and things but it never worked."

Marjorie became interested in the political issues of the day while at secondary school, and her interest in becoming a scientist was partly motivated by this concern: as a soil scientist, she was going to "clean up Vietnam." Her early views on world events reflected her parents' conservatism. At this stage of her life, social class marginality had predisposed her towards conservatism:

"I scrutineered for the National Party in the '71 elections. My parents were National Party supporters and so I was too, automatically. I just took on their beliefs. My father very much supported the Americans in Vietnam. I can remember the day that they went into Cambodia there was a girl at my school wearing a black arm band and I said how silly she was to her face. Because my father used to say that at home, how stupid the protestors were and I just accepted that."

Confident and assertive, Marjorie developed qualities of leadership in the church and the school. For example, she ran the local Anglican Bible Class:

"I was very conservative. I was political, but extremely conservative. Like I was very active in the bible class, I ran the Anglican bible class. My parents never went to church but they occasionally did at Christmas and now and then they encouraged us to go to church so that we could make up our own minds. I ended up going to the Bible Class, that was where my social life was and I used to run the Sunday School and I was the shining light in the Bible Class."

In her seventh form year, Marjorie was made Head Prefect. Conforming to the ethos of the school, she described her style as 'fascist':

"I was quite a fascist Head Girl. I had a lot of control in that school. I controlled the headmistress and used to call the whole school detentions and things. They all used to come, and I'd be like a policewoman really. I used to encourage uniform checks. I did the bloody teachers' work for them really. I sort of ran the school. I can remember quite clearly... I got a prize for leadership that year... By the time I was in the seventh form I was a right sort of up and coming right wing young leader. Everybody thought I was marvellous because I was everything that they wanted a young woman to be."

Her stance on political issues began to shift when she became aware of the sheer horror of the Vietnam War:

"At that stage I had glimmerings of feelings about 'maybe my father isn't really right about this.' It was an emotional thing. I just couldn't bear the pictures of the starving children and the napalm and the women - that started to get to me in an emotional way."

When she first attended university, Marjorie intended to use her scientific training 'cleaning up the world.' She enrolled in a male-dominated professional course. Her feeling of marginality and horror

at the sexism of the males teaching and studying in this course led her to withdraw from it and enrol in an ordinary science degree:

"they were male and they were boorish and I couldn't stand them.... I was developing without realising it a feminist consciousness because I was top of my class and I was also incredibly critical of the course I was taking."

Marjorie, then, experienced marginality in three aspects of her life, describing these as "the strands of my beginnings, which led me to where I am now." First, her social class background was marginal with both working-class and middle-class influences. Second, her parents were of British origin, her mother despising New Zealand and New Zealanders, which alienated Marjorie from her peers. Third, as a 'bright' girl with an interest in science, she rejected the image of 'femininity' her father had taught her to despise. As an adult, she became interested in socialism, Maoritanga and feminism.

SUMMARY

Studying the life-histories of feminist educators shows that the experience of 'marginality' can be an important influence on the development of radical political beliefs in adult life, such as socialism, anti-racism and feminism. These four case histories have all demonstrated the influence of ambiguous social class status in childhood as an important influence. In the cases of all twelve women in this study, the label 'working-class' or 'middle-class' would be an over-simplification. All twelve came from families of mixed class backgrounds, a characteristic, perhaps of women who choose school-teaching as a career (Department of Education, 1962; Sharp, 1980; Watson, 1966). The concepts of the 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' have proved useful in coming to understand the educational decisions and school experiences of such 'marginal' individuals.

The life-histories discussed in this, the previous and the next chapter, provide an interesting view of the experience of 'social mobility' which characterised the lives of many young women of the

post-war era, whose education provided them with a vision of the possibility and the desirability of change in their personal lives. When feelings of marginality were articulated as social issues, e.g. manifestations of class inequalities, institutionalised racism or sexism, these experiences became a basis, a grounding, for radical political theories and strategies. In all four cases discussed in this chapter, feelings of 'marginality' were experienced at school. However, university courses gave all four of these women access to social theories which articulated these earlier experiences. Education, particularly higher education in the adult years, was for these women, a means of empowerment in two respects: it gave access to a profession (teaching) which was perceived as an arena for bringing about changes in students' consciousness, and it gave access to radical ideas.

CHAPTER TEN

SCHOOLING, RESISTANCE AND POLITICAL

AWARENESS

SCHOOL RESISTANCE: THEMES FROM THE LITERATURE

In recent years, sociologists of education have shown considerable interest in pupils' strategies in relating to schools. For example, Connell et al (1982) have identified three ideal-typical strategies: compliance, pragmatism and resistance. They defined 'compliance' as "an enthusiastic engagement with the school and its project" (Connell et al, 1982, 89); the description of 'Marjorie's' approach to her office as head prefect outlined in the previous chapter exemplified this. The second strategy, 'pragmatism', was that adopted by pupils who were neither 'stars' nor 'delinquents', but who tolerated their schooling in order to 'succeed' sufficiently to obtain any benefits it may provide, such as qualifications, or in the case of private school girls, choosing "to exploit their school's function as an arena of training for and placement in the marriage market" (Connell et al, 1982, 91). The third strategy, that of 'resistance', has received a great deal of attention from contemporary sociologists of education.

For example, a number of contemporary sociologists have studied the strategies of school resistance adopted by working-class adolescents. Perhaps the best-known of these is Willis's (1977) ethnography of Birmingham 'lads'. Willis argued that rejection of the 'intellectual' values of the school and the idea of 'white-collar' jobs as 'sissy' and 'effeminate' ensured both the lads' failure according to the criteria of schools, and their destiny as manual labourers in the steel mills. Their strategies of 'resistance' (Willis, 1977) (e.g. truanting, swearing, overt sexuality, rejecting 'school values') ensured that the cycle of cultural reproduction was completed - "working-class kids get working-class jobs" (Willis, 1977). A similar theory of resistance has been developed by McRobbie (1978a, 1978b) in her studies of British working-class girls. She described their strategies of resistance as centred on:

"...their ability to work the system and to transform the school into the sphere, par excellence, for developing their social life, fancying boys, learning the latest dance, having a smoke together in the lavatories and playing up the teachers" (McRobbie, 1978c, 104).

The girls studied by McRobbie experienced contradictions. She argued that their strategies of school resistance were centred on an exaggerated flaunting of their feminine sexuality. Examples included wearing their school uniforms in a 'sexy' way, wearing cosmetics to school, reading 'love comics'. According to McRobbie, the girls showed some awareness that their mothers' lives did not live up to the 'happily-ever-after' idyll promised by the ideology of 'love and romance' as portrayed in the mass media (McRobbie, 1978a, 1978c). They did not, however, reject either 'femininity' or domesticity as personal aspirations. Paradoxically, their patterns of 'school resistance' reinforced their subordination by devaluing the school's criteria for 'success'. In this they denied the possibility of social class mobility and ensured their careers would be similar to those of their mothers: menial workers and wives of working-class men.

This approach to the concept of 'resistance' may be criticised as being highly deterministic. For example, Giroux (1982c) has described the work of Willis and others as oversimplifying the concept of resistance through using it in the sense of rebellious, oppositional, behaviours which result in perpetuating the cycle of school failure characteristic of many working-class families:

"Power, in these perspectives, appears mostly as an instance of domination. Even where resistance and contradictions are highlighted in the analyses, they appear to be nothing more than faint bursts of misplaced opposition that eventually incorporate the very logic they struggle against" (Giroux, 1983c, 225).

Giroux argued that sociologists should distinguish between oppositional behaviour which was of radical significance and that which was not and which merely served to perpetuate working-class children's social position of subordination:

"...not all oppositional behaviour has 'radical significance'. nor is all oppositional behaviour rooted in a reaction to authority and domination. the point here is that there have been too few attempts by educational theorists to understand how subordinate groups embody and express a combination of reactionary and progressive ideologies, ideologies that both

underlie the structure of social domination and contain the logic necessary to overcome it" (Giroux, 1983c, 225).

In this chapter three case studies will be described of women who claimed that their patterns of 'school resistance' had been consciously articulated political strategies. Each of the three had had personal experiences of 'marginality', or 'victimisation' during her school years and, within the school and/or the family context, had access to ideas about the social world which articulated this experience as a social issue, a consequence of social injustice rather than merely a sign of 'personal inadequacy'. The first case study is that of Tahuri, who traced the origins of her awareness of racism and imperialism to the political and personal influences of Irish nuns in a multicultural convent primary school in a provincial town. The second is Colleen, who described both Irish and Communist family influences as underlying her adolescent rejection of 'competition' and the 'work ethic' and her adoption of a 'hippy' life-style. The third example, Janet, attributed her awareness of class marginality to her father's working-class origins and trade union background and her mother's and grandmother's teaching backgrounds. Although the specific issues the women were aware of in their personal and wider social lives were racism, imperialism and class differentiation, each of the three claimed that these insights into the nature of oppression were generic to her developing awareness of herself as oppressed as a woman when feminist ideas became accessible in the 1970s.

CASE STUDIES

i. Tahuri: Racism

Tahuri's career was marked by outstanding academic success and an involvement with radical Maori, as well as feminist, groups. Tahuri was brought up by adoptive parents who were 'working-class' in the Pakeha sense. Her whakapapa, however, traced a lineage of scholars in both Maori and Pakeha traditions: "My Maori ancestry is rich with scholars in the Maori tradition. My Pakeha ancestry is just as strong." Although her adoptive parents were not 'educated', other relatives passed on academic 'cultural capital' which would benefit her at school:

"My Auntie used to hang around the house a lot...She was delightful, she was a teacher and she had some pretty radical ideas-one of her ideas was to have any kid, any Maori kid that seemed bright and receptive, reading as soon as the kid could pick up a book.... I don't come from a bookish home environment at all, there weren't books around, but when Auntie would come, and she was my babysitter a lot of the time, she would bring books. By age four I was reading..."

Tahuri was a 'sickly' child, spending time in hospital. This alienated her from her peers, who preferred outdoor physical pursuits to indoor ones. By the time she started primary school, Tahuri described herself as "always buried somewhere between the pages."

Because of domestic upheavals in her adoptive family, Tahuri experienced a number of changes of school, living in turn in several towns with different relatives. Some of her relatives were Catholics and one convent school experience was particularly significant to Tahuri in developing her awareness of racism and imperialism as well as providing her with example of strong women to emulate in her own life. She identified several themes in the curriculum of this school which had a major influence on her political awareness: apartheid in South Africa, the evils of British imperialism in Ireland and studies of women saints and war heroines:

"I'll tell you about the curriculum. Just thinking back, I was ten, eleven, twelve year's old and I was introduced during those years to issues like apartheid, racism, the Ku-Klux-Klan, Nazi Germany, to strong extraordinary women who flew aeroplanes and fought against spies and blew them up, wore shining armour and rode horses - those nuns, they were Sisters of Mercy they were the daughters of the I.R.A."

The nuns provided Tahuri with strong female role-mode's through the stories they told and through their own personal examples. Tahuri described some of the heroines she had heard about in the class-room:

"We were told things like the story of Violet Szabo who was the woman who got the Military Cross and how she was a war hero and they made a movie about her called "Carve her Name with Pride" and how she was so wonderful and

fantastic. We were read reams about Joan of Arc and how she was a warrior and that is really good for a woman to be. We were told about the heroines of the French Resistance. We were given amazingly dynamic models of what women could do as well as men."

Tahuri was impressed with the physical strength, intellectuality and independence of some of the nuns and cited two examples:

"I thought it was the most amazing thing that I'd ever, ever seen and she would do it every year, every winter. She coached the boys in football.... In her habit. This huge nun, she was six foot tall, she was huge. In this great long black swaddling medieval garb that she sort of hitched between her legs. She'd get the back skirt, hitch it up between the legs and tuck it into her belt. They had these masses of black leather wide belts with chains and beads and God knows what, and she'd rope it all around her waist. She'd have big thick stockings and these great big boots and she'd pick up the football and off she'd go. And no man could better her. This was her image. Such power. God, I loved that woman. My other mentor was much more sedate and certainly very much a lady of leisure; one looked at her and immediately thought of illuminated medieval manuscripts and church embroidery. She was just that sort of image. I guess the much more orthodox image of the nun. As models for me, they were brilliant. Not only in their lifestyle but also in their ideas, in their celebration and reinforcement of things."

As a Maori in this particular school, Tahuri felt proud of her cultural identity, an interesting contrast with the racism she experienced later at 'Girls' High' (pp. 201-203). She described this convent primary school as "a true multicultural school", noting that Maoris there were in the majority. The school had a substantial immigrant population and cultural diversity was regarded as a strength, a learning resource for the pupils:

"It was a true multi-cultural school. It really was. In that school we had about 40% Maori, it was very much a Maori school. We had French Tahitian, Rarotongan, Portugese, Dutch, Italian. Those were the different nationalities. All the immigrants of the '50s, were there at that school and they were all our classmates. There was a real celebration of differences. Like if we had a fair, then all the kids would come in their

national costumes. We'd all learn each other's dances. We'd all learn each other's silly little songs and those differences were emphasised, they were drawn out but not in a smarmy way at all...I was very proud there. Maori kids were the top students except for one Dutch family. But we were a pretty dominating group, even more so I think than we were at the state primary school because we were almost all Maori kids."

Positive in her own identity as a Maori, Tahuri was horrified by stories told her at school of racism overseas, stating that they had been taught

"Gut level things. We were told about the Ku-Klux-Klan and about the slaves."

"I can remember when Verwoed got in and we had to pray for the black babies and the nun actually telling us, and she was weeping, about apartheid and what was happening in South Africa."

In addition to the horrors of racism, she was told about the evils of imperialism and the heroism of those who stood up against oppression - in Ireland, the civil rights movement in the United States and the heroes and heroines of the Second World War:

"I was ten because it was 1959. I remember the most fabulous stories, heroism and everything about the I.R.A. and the bloody English, the bloody British and what they were doing in Ulster and one of the boys, who was very Irish coming to school one day in tears and we learned that his uncle had been shot, and what they'd done. And this is true, it's incredible really. It was in Northern Ireland somewhere-they'd put wire across the road and decapitated a British soldier."

It was hardly surprising, then, that as a university student Tahuri would become involved with radical Maori groups. However, at primary school she had not connected the issues of racism and imperialism she knew about in overseas contexts with the situation of Maoris in New Zealand. This was to come in her secondary school years. She acknowledged her debt to these nuns for helping to prepare the ground for this later insight insofar as they had introduced topics:

"like the I.R.A., like the French Resistance, like the civil rights movement. Admittedly it was never ever given a New Zealand context but I suppose that would have been much too subversive. But the seeds were sown. God, I do owe them that, I really do."

Some of Tahuri's experiences at 'Girls' High' were described in Chapter Eight (pp.201-203). The only Maori in the "most elitist third form", she was forced to take French and Latin. To take Maori as a subject, she would have had to be in a lower stream. To Tahuri, this was a systematic devaluation of her culture, an outcome of institutionalised racism:

"I really hated them for doing that to me. I really did...I was forbidden from doing what I really wanted to do and yet at the same time I was told how brilliant and academically excellent and gifted I was and I should be feeling really good that I could merit being put in such a wonderful class. It's like saying, "this isn't good enough for you even if its what you want to do, we know what you want and need".... It was just that tearing and ripping at me."

Tahuri perceived the attitudes of her top-stream peers as overtly racist. As an example, she described her experience of a class fund-raising project:

"We had a stall, you know kids have cake stalls, lunchtime cake stalls and each kid had to say what they were going to bring and some brought things like coconut ice, cream sponges, this and that and I got up and said, "I'll bring a rawene bread." "OO, what's that?" And I said. "Oh, Maori bread." "We don't want that on our stall." And that's what they said and I can still see them rising out of their desks in mortification that their pristine little white stall with its godamn gingham tablecloth was going to be contaminated by this ethnic presence."

Tahuri teamed up with two other outcasts in the top stream. They engaged in 'delinquent' activities such as running away from home, breaking the rules of the school, and committing petty crimes:

"In the school we used to do things like, one day we all brought in a different bottle of something, we mixed it all up and we drank it and everybody ended up puking and vomiting around the various classrooms. The pakehas had this hockey tournament and one of the other kids had a very powerful alarm clock and we took it out right in the middle of the match, we set the bells off and everybody thought...the bells were going and there was general disarray. We threatened to beat up pakehas if they didn't give us their lunch. We did over everybody's lockers, we went on shoplifting sprees, played the wag¹ all the time, broke into houses constantly, didn't get quite as far as converting cars but we pinched stuff from cars. Just stuff most twelve to thirteen year old Maori kids get into and that's where I was."

Expelled from Girls' High, Tahuri was accepted as a pupil at a local co-educational school. At this school, her Maoriness was viewed in a positive light. This time she shared her top-stream class with other Maori pupils. Her academic career "just took off" and she proceeded from school to a highly successful university career, where she became involved with radical Maori student groups. The seeds of her awareness of racism and imperialism had been sown in her school years. The 'academic cultural capital' from her whanau group had enabled Tahuri to transcend the set-backs and disruptions in her nuclear family and first secondary school experiences. She remained passionately involved in radical Maori issues.

ii. Colleen: a School 'Dropout'

Colleen came from a solidly Irish Catholic background. Unlike Tahuri, she was not academically successful at school, being placed by her parents in a commercial stream at a Catholic girls' secondary school. Colleen described three central themes in the development of her political awareness as a school-girl: first, her dislike of girls, having been brought up in a large family of brothers; second, her rejection of the curriculum, the rules and the competitiveness of secondary school and her resulting behaviour as a 'school resister'; third, political influences from her Irish and communist family connections.

1. Played truant.

Colleen had one sister and seven brothers and was the 'middle' child in age. Her father was a manager in a business, while her mother, previously a secretary, was a fulltime homemaker. The division of labour between Colleen's parents was clear-out:

"My father, he didn't believe women should have to work. He believed that it was his job to keep the family and it would have been a slur on him had my mother 'had to' go out to work, so that's how he feels about women working. He handled all the money. The chores in the house were evenly distributed, boys did as much as girls did, because my mother believed that boys should be as capable as girls".

Despite the strict division of labour between the parents, the children shared the household chores equitably between the sexes. Colleen was, however, expected, as a girl, to show more maternal qualities than her brothers:

"The boys were always very good at doing housework. Looking after younger children, I probably had a bigger role in that than the boys. I was always left, because I was the girl, to play a bigger role in that."

As a child Colleen enjoyed a vigorous regimen of boisterous outdoor play, and always felt the physical equal of the boys. Like them, she used to

"climb trees, we dug tunnels, had dirt fights, I mean, what boys did I did. My father, used to referee sport and I was always taken along as well as the boys. So we were always integrated in that way."

At her convent primary school, Colleen had continued her preference for boys' company:

"I'd always played with boys. I think there were girls there but I always played with boys. I was always sat next to boys at school. The teachers always sat me next to a boy..."

As a girl used to the company mainly of boys and men, Colleen found traumatic the transition from her 'tomboyish' childhood of physical rough-and-tumble with her brothers and boy peers to a girls' convent secondary school:

"...going to an all-girls school I found very threatening in the sense they they put me in a role I felt wasn't me, I didn't like it. And that was when I think I rebelled."

She described cultural differences between the groups of adolescent school girls at her convent and the familiar mores and activities of her brothers and other boy peers. She disliked girls as a group, and criticised

"the silly giggly thing, that girls were. The fact that if you talked to a boy, there were sexual connotations, which was far from my mind 'cause to me boys weren't like that at all. And I sort of saw them in a completely different light to that. And then there were the things you were supposed to be interested in, clothing, and I couldn't sew a stitch. And also I found that they spoke a different language. I found with boys you said what you thought and it didn't matter, whereas with girls you'd say something and 5 minutes later you'd see her and she'd say something completely different. The sort of things they might say; "Oh, your hair looks nice", and then you'd see that person pass out of range and they'd say, "Isn't it terrible." Whereas that sort of didn't happen with boys. If they thought that your hair looked terrible, then you were likely to be told that and that was it. And you accepted it. Whereas there was a deviousness with girls that I found very hard to cope with. It was a completely new language to me. I also found that with boys, if they said they were going to do something you did it, if you were caught then you owned up and that was it, whereas I found with girls quite often they were all willing to get in on everything, but once you were caught, they always passed the buck."

Colleen, then, felt alienated from the 'culture of femininity' of her peer-group. From being accepted as 'one of the boys', and being familiar with their cultural norms, she was plunged into a feminine world which she neither understood nor admired. As a girl amongst girls her experience was one of marginality.

She was further alienated from her schooling by her negative feelings about the commercial course. The decision as to which course she was to take had been made by her parents, who both had backgrounds in the business world. Her mother believed that a commercial course would give Colleen job security:

"my mother had seen so many girls go through an academic course and come out of school and they couldn't do anything and had to go on for further training. So she decided it was better that I do a commercial course so that I'd come out and could do a job. Mainly I think because she'd been an office worker. But it didn't suit my temperament."

Both of her parents having worked in office environments, Colleen was steered towards this course. However, she found it intellectually unstimulating and began to resist the rules and norms of the school. She quickly became disillusioned with the cloistered old-fashionedness of the nuns, whom she described as feeling threatened when their opinions were challenged by students. Colleen rebelled against the discipline of the school by indulging in petty misdemeanors in which she was encouraged by her more timid peers:

"I found the nuns were threatened - you were not to question, we just took it ...because they were very old fashioned at that stage. They were just locked in the convent most of the time and didn't know how the rest lived. Life just got from bad to worse. I got into a lot of trouble at school, I didn't do much. Some of them were mischievous things like I told a girl in front of me a spider was descending upon her, which it was, and she screamed and disrupted the class and I was immediately singled out. Another time we were told to write lines which I always thought were an utter waste of time, so I ruled lines. Now I was told to do lines, so I ruled lines and took them up. The teacher sent me back to my seat. Some other girls went up, some of my friends, they'd done them in short-hand and this teacher completely broke down and stormed out of the class-room. So it was the sort of things like not wearing school uniform properly, or ladders in my stockings, always getting lines for that. But then there were always plenty of other people felt the way I did, but none had the courage to say it. Or I didn't mind saying it, so they used to do the lines for me. And if they weren't found out well, you know, it got rid of their frustrations."

Colleen's rebellion was at times carefully thought out as a political statement. As an example, she described her rebellion against the examination system:

"I cheated at exams once, because I thought exams were an utter waste of time and didn't really test for one's ability. So I actually went in and I cheated a whole exam to prove it could be done. I think the teachers knew I'd cheated, but they weren't brave enough to admit it, because it was a 'paying' school and they couldn't exactly go to my parents and say, 'look, I think she's cheated'. I in fact told them I'd cheated... Just to prove that it could be done and the irrelevancy of exams."

Colleen became deeply interested in questions of personal morality. Although she was critical of the dogmatism of the nuns, she found some satisfaction in Religious Studies, since she got on well with the priest who taught it:

"I started to get interested in things like religion, but not in the sense that they wanted you to get interested in. I found religious studies was something they wanted you to learn about, but not to question. So your interest was only allowed to go to a certain depth. For example, I wanted to know if you could be 'good' and 'bad' at the same time. Was there such a thing as 'good', was there such a thing as 'bad' and those sort of things didn't quite fit their ways, so I didn't really get on. In fact the only time I did was when the priest came over and it was only because he was Irish, me having an Irish name, that we struck a bond, and I mean usually it would end up in the class with just me and him talking. He didn't mind."

Catholicism provided Colleen with two further sources of political inspiration. The first like the examples described by Tahuri, was the influence of the examples of women saints:

"in a sense they were political in that they stood up for what they believed. So that was an influence. You know, we were always given, sort of, role models if you like. You see in some ways I think our religion gave us a lot of positive role models, in that sense. Women were capable of noble deeds."

The second Catholic influence on Colleen's political awakening was the 'Irish question', with which her family was deeply and personally concerned:

"we had the Irish thing going on in our house didn't we? The Orange and the Green. So we were always made aware that there were political fights in your life, and political differences, so I suppose in a sense you could say it did come from the environment that we lived in. My parents were anti-British, for a start and they saw the Orangemen as bigots."

Colleen was also made aware of socialist ideas when she was an adolescent. Although she did not habitually read for pleasure, preferring to learn about life 'first-hand', she had sensed that there was something 'forbidden' about her late grandfather's communist leaflets because they had been hidden in the attic. Because of this, she had made a point of reading them. The ideas in them had attracted her:

"My grandfather had a lot of Communist material. And when he died a lot of it filtered back to our house. And I can remember my father put it up in the attic. A lot of it was Marxist, bought from the ...was it the Left Bookshop? And so, I sort of noised through some of that. So if you know what I mean, I was aware that there were other alternatives."

While at secondary school, then, Colleen had begun to develop ideas which were critical of the ideology of schooling and of capitalism. Her strategies of resistance at school and to the concept of 'careers' can be seen as at least partly an active rebellion against the competitive ethos of the examination system and of capitalist society - the restrictions of the work-place and the materialism of suburban life.

Asked to leave her convent school, Colleen attended a local co-educational high school until the pressure of School Certificate was felt in the fifth form. Her decision to leave was strongly influenced by friends who had already 'dropped out' of school without qualifications:

"pressure started coming with exams. And I knew there was no way I'd get School Cert., I mean, you don't muck around for two years and then suddenly get school "C". And by this time I had friends outside of school, had left school...and these friends would sort of say "Well, why stick it? Why let other people live your life for you? Come and do what were doing. You know, go out there in the big wide world and do your own thing." And I thought, "well that's true". And I left."

She and her friends adopted a 'hippy' lifestyle (Willis, 1978). Central to their system of beliefs was a rejection of their parents' values, such as their emphasis on 'careers' and on the accumulation of material goods. Colleen described her and her friends attitudes to 'careers' during the late 1960s as "a lot of crap...they actually hindered relationships". She attributed her adherence to this view as a result of both her own negative experiences of schooling, particularly the competitiveness of 'exams', and to her feelings about the effects her father's business career had had on their family life:

"My father was a manager. No doubt he had to work hard to get to that position - to a certain extent I suppose, work had come first. Like if we were to go out for the day, and someone rang up there who had an emergency, he would have to go to that, before us. And I always saw life the other way round - that it should be us before that. A lot of my friends at that time also, felt their parents had been "successful", nice comfortable homes, but they lacked something. They lacked a sort of real honesty. I think it was we felt they'd been so busy achieving that aim that they'd lost each other in a funny sort of way, their relationships were very superficial. That's how I felt with jobs. And, most of my girl-friends felt the same thing, other parents were the same and they felt the same thing. I mean, our parents never fought or did anything like that, but they lived through their jobs and through their roles. And I think the basic thing was the 'honesty' thing with them I think. You know, how honest was being honest? And thats what I felt the world lacked, honesty. And opted out'."

When first exposed to the ideas of liberal feminism, through the media during the early 1970s, Colleen found them antithetical to her 'hippy' beliefs: far from liberating women, 'careers' were an instrument of oppression for both sexes.

After leaving school, Colleen drifted from one casual job to another. She did not resume her education until her late twenties when she was married with children. Her decision to seek higher education as an adult student was motivated by two major concerns. The first was her interest in politics: university would help her to develop her ideas. The second was her fear of widowhood after her husband had had a major illness; as an 'unqualified' woman, she would have difficulty supporting her children alone. Her husband had encouraged her to attend Continuing Education courses on political issues. Her abilities had attracted the attention of the lecturer, who encouraged her to attempt university study.

Colleen had always felt alienated from her peers by her 'radical ideas'. University was a place where these ideas would be acceptable, where she need no longer feel 'marginal' in her identity as a political theorist:

"I think I've gained confidence in my ideas. Because I've always had these radical ideas. My parents had always said to me, 'Don't go and spout them outside the door. We can accept them, but the world doesn't'. I suppose I thought, I felt I was 'different' and yet I wanted to be the same as everybody else. Some people were happy with their lot. I couldn't understand why I couldn't accept things the way other people did. Like religion. Why can some people still go along and accept it? Why couldn't I accept things as other people did? Like being happy about getting a new lounge suite and getting all ecstatic about it. I didn't do that."

Colleen has qualified for a university degree with a 'double major' and several "A" passes to her credit. Her self-esteem has come a long way since her convent school days:

"They called in my parents once and in the end I think they said, 'sometimes it happens, even in the best of families, you get these uncontrollable children...'"

"One sort of got used to 'useless', 'no hoper', I had 'no character', no 'backbone' and all that..."

Although she had been 'put down' by teachers in the schools she attended, Colleen described her youthful rebellion as a consciously constructed political statement on her part. Insatiably curious about the human condition, she had a certain self-assurance from her politicisation as an Irish Catholic and from her activities as a 'ring leader' at school. Her history, then, was very different from that of Sharon, the other 'commercial girl' in this study (pp.187-193). While Sharon hankered after the 'good education' she saw her mother and grandmother as having had, and equated that 'good education' with what went on in the top academic streams of the school, Colleen actively rejected the whole competitive ethos of the school and the wider capitalist society. While Sharon's was the stance of 'failure', Colleen's was that of overt resistance.

The legacy of Colleen's 'hippy anarchism' (Mitchell, 1973; Greer, 1971) was evident in her description of her philosophy of education, which can be seen as characteristic of 'child-centred' or 'permissive' pedagogies characteristic of the late 1960s-early 1970s (e.g. Holt, 1974; Postman and Weingartner, 1971; Kohl, 1969) (These perspectives will be discussed in later chapters):

"I'm afraid we 'school' children to a particular end rather than educate them. I think until people can basically respect children, as persons, as individuals, then there will be no such thing as education. I think until we remove the 'competitive' thing - this was another thing I had against work because achievement at school meant (and I had a thing against exams) you had to beat your friends - it was competitive and I didn't think it was very good. I still don't think its very good, I think it makes for bad relations. The competitive thing in school I think is bad because I think it does away with things like co-operation."

Colleen's educational theory, then, may be seen as grounded in her experience of 'marginality' during adolescence: as a 'bright' girl frustrated by the lack of challenge in her commercial course, as politically aware in an authoritarian school context, as a girl used to the culture of boys suddenly thrust into the culture of heterosexual adolescent 'femininity'.

iii. Janet: Class Consciousness

Janet's mother, and her mother's mother, had been school teachers, her mother having taken 'units' towards a degree while at teachers' college. Her father had had to leave school at the minimum age during the Depression, becoming a factory worker and trade unionist. Janet described both her father's working-class consciousness and her mother's and grandmother's intellectual 'success' as central to her political radicalisation: in other words, her family environment had provided her with both political awareness and academic cultural capital. This section will explore the dynamics between Janet's experiences in academic streams at school and her sense of marginality as an 'intellectual' with a working-class consciousness. Her experiences of these underlay her interest in academic Marxism as an adult.

Janet attributed her educational success partly to the marginality of her 'mixed class' family background. Her mother had come from a farming background, while her father's family had been of urban working-class origin:

"I think that I've got a sort of 'split' family background; I've got this typical thing of a mother 'marrying down', which is usual I know for people that succeed educationally - if they say that they come from a working-class family and that they've got a mother that 'married down' that's a typical kind of pattern."

Her mother's and grandmother's training as primary school teachers had been Janet's primary sources of academic cultural capital:

"That kind of aspiration for a child to have education I think was the kind of saving grace for me as far as not getting sucked into my father's ideas about education, which were really quite different."

Her father's influence had been positive in that he had exposed Janet to radical political views in childhood through his union connections in the factory in which he worked. This provided her with an insight into the experiences and ideas of the urban working-class and stimulated her awareness of socialist ideas:

"...he used to take me up there; it was quite interesting from my point of view understanding working-class culture because a lot of the people there were (a) women and (b) 'Poms' - they were all from Lancashire. And he became familiar with unionism and with some elements of Marxism and sort of quasi socialist kinds of ideas through his involvement with those people .. like, very early on I was aware that my father was, that my family were strongly Labour supporters, that my Dad was a unionist, that I got told things about the Depression and the waterfront strike later on, from the side of the workers always, and I'm sure that's where my sympathies for socialism really grew."

Forced to leave school early during the 1930s Depression, Janet's father had retained some educational ambitions for his children. However, he "idolised the school's authority", and was uncritical of the school 'system'. If the girls had trouble at school he attributed this to them, not the school:

"...Because he could never succeed, he wanted his kids to succeed but only in conventional middle-class terms..."

Janet's home had always had a good supply of children's books, her grandmother and other relatives having been major providers of both children's classics and 'trash from Woolworths', and she had read them all. As a child Janet had sensed that she was expected "to be average and O.K." at schoolwork and at primary school she had proved to be a "good all-rounder."

Her decision about which secondary school to attend was made on the basis of her mother's experience and her own reading. As a child in a large city she could choose which school to attend. She chose a state girls' college with a long tradition because her mother had been there:

"...she went there. I had these pictures. The photograph album that my mother had shown me of her at Girls' College was quite important to my choice of school...the reason that I wanted to go to that school was that I was utterly intrigued by these pictures. My mother gave me this real impression of fun at school, it

was a beautiful old school, it had the old Victorian architecture with the big tower and in the 6th form she climbed up with a lot of girls into the tower and had this picture of her with her friends in the tower. And the girls looked intriguing, they looked really neat, the uniforms looked neat, the school and its architecture looked neat and I had this feeling that it had a tradition. That it was a good school, I knew that was important to my parents."

Janet obtained and read the school prospectus and decided for herself to take the 'professional' course called '3 Mathematics' on the basis of her own love of science and her idea that languages were becoming less important as a field of study in the modern world. However, through not taking Latin, she had inadvertently placed herself in the second echelon in the school's streaming hierarchy, a decision which was to have far-reaching consequences:

"There were two 'professional' streams. One was described as 'languages' and one was described as 'maths' and since by that stage I was into W.E. Johns and reading about space travel and science, I got into all that off my own bat - archaeology, paleontology - I was just interested in it naturally. I thought science was the coming thing and that languages were something that were dying, it wasn't as practical for the modern world. It was described as 'Three Mathematics,' that was the name of the class and I was too ignorant at that stage to realise about streaming and that the Latin form was the top form and the next form was the maths form but they were both 'professional' forms."

Janet soon became aware that as the second stream, the girls in her class did not receive the same quality of teaching as those in the top form:

"We didn't do Latin. Only that top form did Latin; but we did much the same as what the top form did except for Latin. It was just that we had the second echelon of teachers, that was important. We didn't actually share a lot of teachers with that top form. That was quite important and I realised that pretty soon after I got there."

As a member of the 'second stream' academically, Janet felt 'short changed' in the style of teaching she received. Rebelling actively against those teachers she disliked, she succeeded only at those, subjects taught by those she admired. French and mathematics were subjects she resisted. Certain teachers, especially those with doctorates, were a source of academic inspiration and aspirations and further highlighted her awareness of the inadequacy of much of the 'rote-learning' type of teaching she received in most of her classes:

"I cut myself right off maths and science without realising what was going on. Became defined as a maths failure, got to be bottom of the maths class, took a pride in being bottom of the maths class because I thought this woman was so stupid. That was the pattern right through my schooling. If I liked the teacher I did well. I came top of science in the 3rd form because we had this neat teacher, a 'Doctor'. She was one of the old school, she was very maternal and lovely, she wore a gown, she had this aura of "European successful, independant woman." That was just the way she was for me, just everything about her. Like I knew she was a 'Doctor' and she'd been to an overseas university, or something like that, I'd looked up in the calendar about what teachers had what. I was really fascinated by the fact that some teachers had been overseas, she was one of them. I really loved her. I just loved the way she was and she loved me, so I got top of science and that went right through. If I liked the teacher I did really well. If the teacher victimised me or I didn't like the teacher, that was it. Like French that happened too. I had a stupid bloody French teacher, did no more French. And they never dealt with us in terms of that. I think that was pathetic, it was the most pathetic education frankly for a school that was defined as a really good school, all we got given was "copy this off the board, turn up the text book, draw a map". It was incredibly authoritarian, there were no discussion groups, virtually. It was as boring as shit and it's just as well that I could read, because if I couldn't have read I would have been in great trouble."

Janet became strongly aware that certain subjects, and the girls who studied them, were accorded higher status than others at this school and her experiences as a 'second stream' student led her to a sharp awareness of the relationship between academic 'brilliance' and social class background. 'Delinquent' (e.g. overtly sexual) behaviour was associated mainly with girls in the lower (commercial, general or homecraft) streams:

"With that kind of school we were discouraged from getting involved with boys and the professional girls were actually I think even more discouraged from getting involved with boys. That's an area in which I became aware of 'class'. I learnt about racism and I learned about classism in assemblies because that's where a lot of the victimisation and the degradation ceremonies went on. Because certain kids were always in trouble and they were never the kids from my forms, they were always the kids from the commercial or the other forms, the homecraft forms, and those were the girls who at lunch time, would be on the fence. They'd be hanging over the fence, there would be boys going by in these beat-up cars, they'd always be in trouble for talking to the workmen. There were these stories about "so and so wore a bikini at the weekend." They were always kids from the lower forms. I remember there was a girl there who got to be a small scale pop-star. Girls from my form were not expected to do any of that and none of us did really."

Having failed her University Entrance, Janet had to repeat her sixth form year. Because she did well in English when she had sat the examination, she was placed in the top sixth form in her 'repeating' year. She experienced in those two years, then, the teaching in both the second and the top-stream sixth forms. Her description of the differences between these classes in terms of the 'cultural capital' of the students and the teaching styles and expectations of the teachers are worth quoting at length, as they provide a fascinating account of the class differences in 'habitus' between ruling-class and middle-class girls in a large New Zealand city. Janet regarded this experience as central to her developing awareness of class:

"I was a reader. So I got streamed into 6G which was the second, like we continued that basic professional streaming. 6L was Latin and all those kids virtually got straight through. They were virtually the same, although there had been promotions from other forms. A few kids went out of and went into that form; they were the 'successes'. By then I did very much see them in 'class' terms as 'success kids'. 6G were the kids that were not academic 'successes', had got through U.E., had got through S.C., not terribly wonderfully, and the ones that had managed to somehow struggle through U.E. from the other forms. They were in 6G. So we had some kids from M2; there was L, M1, M2, who were the form below us, they were 'professional' in mathematics. Then there was 6G, 1, 2, three commercial forms and a homecraft form, so it was a very big school, lots of courses.

The odd person managed to stumble through from commercial, a few from general, and certainly quite a few from M2 got through and we were all in 6G. About two-thirds of 6G would have been doing what I was doing which was biology, general science, history and geography, and English for U.E. - we were all doing that. A few kids were doing science and a few kids got promoted into the Latin form and did Latin things. I by that stage I had become very aware of the class difference between the Latin stream and the maths stream. I found out that this whole group of girls existed whom I'd never come across in my life before who were the daughters of professors, the daughters of diplomats, the daughters of businessmen who had parents who took them off on world trips, who could speak different languages - they all had funny names, like 'Dagmar.' The city was quite cosmopolitan and, you know, 'upper civil servant, upper echelon civil servants' and all that kind of thing. I became aware that there were certain girls who were certainly bound for really outstanding careers. They were treated that way. We heard their names, they were repeated. I did well in U.E. in English and got promoted into the top English form, that's the only time in my whole career I got a promotion, so that was wonderful, I really, really liked that. Now at that point I became very aware that the teaching that went on in that top English form was different from anything I'd ever experienced. Suddenly there was a dialogue between the teachers and the students. And I remember that the teachers would actually ask the students questions and then the students would rave, they wouldn't give single answers. One word answers or one sentence, two sentence answers, they'd actually have a big rave and what's more they would be funny and amusing and the teacher would laugh. I'd never come across anything like this in my whole career. Like these girls that were seen as real 'whizzes' you know how, I don't know if you've ever done English at Varsity, but there is definitely an echelon of kids that take English who are seen as English 'whizzes.' You could see the girls there who were seen by the teacher as English 'Whizzes,' like not only would they automatically get accredited, they were bound for university and wonderful careers. I thought they were geniuses. They were treated like geniuses as far as I was concerned. I'd never received this kind of teaching. Suddenly I was expected to get into dialogue about things, to have my own ideas on things. This had never ever happened. I responded to it very well."

Janet felt that the teachers discriminated against her in class by not giving her the same kind of attention and support as that given to the 'whizzes'. She attributed this partly to her lack of appropriate

'cultural capital', commenting that she had lacked the debating and discussion skills of the top-stream girls. Another explanation Janet offered was her lack of 'assertiveness' and offered the following illustration:

"The teacher said "OK Roget's Thesaurus". I instantly said, 'right, I want Roget's Thesaurus' and my Dad was actually good enough to get it and went into town and got it. Then we had exercises which were synonyms and antonyms, something like that and we'd get one word, so I'd go through all this and spends lots of time doing my homework. I'd come up with several different alternate things to what the synonym might be and the teacher would ask me...and I got treated differently. She'd say "no". Now you know what synonyms are like, you can have lots of different connotations. I had perfectly good reasons for thinking that might be a connotation but it wasn't discussed. Whereas some of the other girls went into long, I mean the teacher would say 'no' to them and they'd say "Why not? Why can't it be that? I think it can be." And they'd come back at the teacher and there'd be a dialogue and they were treated as an equal more or less to the teacher. That didn't happen to me. Part of it was obviously my non-assertiveness. I'd never stood up against a teacher like that at all in an intellectual dialogue. I didn't know what it was to have one's own opinions. I'd never been asked to. I felt a failure."

The theme of social class awareness, then, was a powerful influence on Janet's thinking during adolescence. While she had been academically motivated by her mother's and grandmother's school success, her father's union background and Labour Party sympathies had been a source of radical political ideas and sensitivities. Her experiences in the second stream and the contrast between this and the top English sixth form class she saw as reinforcing an awareness of class and her personal status in the school's hierarchy as 'marginal'. In this she exemplified Bourdieu's (1971a, 179) description of the 'foreigners' - the marginal intellectuals, on the fringes of the academic system, whom he saw as being those most likely to "dispute its legitimacy".

Janet believed that her resistance to teachers she disliked was one of the reasons she was not accredited for University Entrance twice. This was a severe blow to her self-esteem:

"I felt I wasn't succeeding. I remember having this distinct impression that I wasn't succeeding. In fact, I got third in that class that year. I was succeeding but I didn't have an impression that I was succeeding. That was the important thing. Now I didn't get accredited. I was very angry with them for not accrediting me because girls in my own form whom I considered at least my intellectual equal if not inferiors got accredited and I started to see that it was because I was seen as a ring-leader and a defiant kid and a naughty kid. That's what was happening. During the 4th form in particular I'd been fairly rebellious."

Because she failed U.E. Janet was not promoted to the Seventh Form. This was used as an excuse not to make her school Games Captain, a position Janet believes she deserved, since she had been outstandingly successful at sports and had organised the school's cricket programme "doing the teachers' work for them:"

"I sat the exam having had no proper preparation in my view, like it certainly wasn't the sort of school where we were taken aside and deliberately prepared for that exam and I just didn't make it. 7 marks. Which hacked me off and it hacked me off even more when I discovered that meant I had to repeat the year. I wasn't at all sort of aware of things like that. I didn't know that you didn't get promoted into the 7th form. I got put in 6G again. I got removed from the top English form. I was not Games Captain because of it. I would have been Games Captain. They breathed a sigh of relief because this naughty, rebellious kid didn't get through into the 7th form. Therefore they gave it to another girl whom I considered pretty bloody 'wet' and she wasn't even particularly good at sport, but she was a 'goodie-good' and it suited them and I felt extremely angry with them about that, because it was unfair. I felt that they'd victimised me. By this stage I was having quite big hassles with some of the teachers."

Because of her rebellion against what she saw as poor teaching Janet felt herself stigmatised. She believes that poor preparation by the teachers had led to her failure of U.E. Together these two things were used by teachers against her becoming Games Captain in a sphere at which she was both successful and hard-working. She left school after passing U.E. the second time she sat it. University was not seen as an option for a 'second echelon' pupil, so she went to primary

Teachers' College, while the 'whizzes', "The ones that were bound for glory went on and were obviously going to university." She qualified as a teacher and attended university as an adult during her teaching career. She chose courses which focussed on political issues and has developed a sophisticated academic knowledge of Marxism.

SUMMARY

The case studies in this section have illustrated what Giroux (1983c, 225) referred to as "oppositional behaviour rooted in a reaction to authority and domination". In contrast to the studies by writers such as Willis (1977) these women's strategies of resistance did not result in their opting out long-term from formal education. At school their patterns of oppositional behaviour were often a means of standing up for their beliefs against what they experienced as oppressive rules and regulations based on a mindless petty authority or upon more deep-seated class and racial relations of subordination and domination. Endowed with academic 'cultural capital' from their immediate or extended family backgrounds, these women were able to resume their education as adults. Each of the three viewed the university as a place to further develop their political analysis of the social world rather than merely as a means of gaining 'qualifications' or of gaining entry (via a profession and/or marriage) to a higher class stratum. In this, they were different from the 'school resisters' described by Willis, McRobbie and others. As Giroux has expressed it:

"...these students are resisting school ideology in a manner that gives them the power to reject the system on a level that does not make them powerless in the future to protest it, i.e. not having access to knowledge and skills that allow them to move beyond the class-specific positions of dead-end, alienating labour that most of the showy rebels will eventually occupy" (Giroux, 1983c, 246-247).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SEXUALITY: CONTRADICTIONS

AND STRATEGIES

During their schooling and higher education, young 'educated' women of the post-war era experienced contradictory expectations with respect to their sexuality. Previous chapters have discussed contradictions between intellectuality/professionality and sexuality and between the beliefs about domestic femininity and the permissiveness of the 'sexual revolution.' This chapter presents case studies of how individuals experienced these contradictions, the strategies they devised to deal with them, and the implications and relevance of sexual contradictions and strategies for specific individuals in coming to adopt a feminist analysis of the social world.

The chapter consists of two sections. The first outlines women's experiences of the social construction of female sexuality during childhood and adolescence; it shows how the 'official ideology' of sex education for girls (Chapter three) was reproduced and contested in the consciousness and actions of individuals. In this first section, two topics are explored. The first is the social construction of attitudes towards the universal female biological phenomenon of menstruation, which is seen as an example of family and school attitudes towards biological sexuality in general. The second topic is the women's childhood and adolescent perceptions of overt heterosexuality as having negative consequences. These perceptions were important in the social construction of the ethic of 'virginity' in the family and school. Three inter-related themes are explored in this: the women's perceptions of their mothers' lives as frustrated, unhappy or unfulfilled; the association of overt sexuality with the lower (i.e. 'non-intellectual') streams in secondary schools; and the stigma against 'unmarried mothers'.

The second section outlines sexual contradictions as experienced by individual women and the strategies they developed in their sexual and professional lives to resolve them. Four strategies are outlined: lesbianism, overt non-marital heterosexuality and promiscuity, egalitarian marriage, and celibacy. For reasons of confidentiality, the women in the case studies have been given different names in this chapter from those given them in the previous chapters.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF FEMALE SEXUALITY IN THE FAMILY AND SCHOOL

i. Menstruation

Menstruation is a biological experience shared by all women at an important stage of their lives. Although many cultures regard the menses as an important 'rite de passage' (de Beauvoir, 1959), in New Zealand Pakeha culture menstruation is often a source of shame and embarrassment, many girls resenting it and the inescapable proof of femaleness it offers (Barrington and Gray, 1981; Frame, 1982). This may not necessarily apply to Maori women.¹

Evidence of the negative feelings that Pakeha women have had towards menstruation has been described in autobiography (Frame, 1983) and in recent sociological research (Barrington and Gray, 1981). On the basis of their survey of 100 women, Barrington and Gray noted class and age differences in the type of sex education received by the Smith Women:

"Women in their 30s had fared better than older women, over half had heard about menstruation, but for many, especially from the working class, the first period was still a distressing occasion " (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 37).

The 'Smith women' reported that at the onset of menstruation, "warmth and reassurance offered by ...parents were definitely unusual" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 37). Even though (in line with the educational policy of the time) young middle-class girls of the 1950s were often told the 'facts', the emotional side of their changing physiology was seldom discussed:

"It is true that most of the younger women were better prepared for puberty than women 30 years ago, but it was disturbing to find that biological details about the

1. Conversations with Maori women and men have led me to believe that menstruation was not seen negatively, at least in certain tribes. As a Pakeha, I am unable to generalise about this. Pere (1983, 52) commented of the Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu tribes that "Conception was not associated with sin": menstrual blood was not seen a 'curse' or 'pollution'.

changes in women's bodies were still inadequately explained. Even those who knew what to expect physically had little indication from their parents that there might be changes in how they felt" (Barrington and Gray, 1981, 36).

New Zealand Pakehas have been seen by a number of writers as having a very repressive attitude towards sexuality (Ausubel, 1960; Donnelly, 1978; McLauchlin, 1976; Ritchie and Ritchie, 1974). This attitude has been described as 'Victorian': sexuality was, in Foucault's terms (1980, 35) "spoken of ad infinitum, while being exploited as the secret" in many New Zealand families and schools of the 1960s. For example, a sense of shame and secrecy surrounding menstruation and other female bodily functions was mentioned by ten of the twelve women in this study.

For some of the women, puberty marked a time of increasing restriction on their personal and physical freedom. For example, the case of Sharon (Chapter Eight) exemplified her experience of her parents attempt to 'feminise' a tomboyish daughter, to turn her into a 'marriageable young lady' and also to control the amount of contact she had with boys, for fear of pregnancy. No longer her playmates, her equals, boys were to be feared as possible 'impregnators.' The transition to secondary school occurred around the time of puberty. As Barrington and Gray pointed out (1981, 19):

"Problems at primary school were often magnified at secondary school. Most of the girls were growing into adolescence just at the time they had to cope with new subjects and routines and even larger and more impersonal schools."

For 'tom-boys', being sent to an all-girls school could be traumatic, as in the case of Colleen (Chapter Ten). Conversely, being sent to a co-educational school could lead to difficulties in maintaining a pattern of acceptance as 'one of the boys', since, as Marjorie reported (Chapter Nine), some boys expected girls to behave as submissive and 'scatty' sexual objects. A useful description of the social construction of puberty for girls in 'Victorian' cultures

was given by (Thomson, 1937, 1971 edition, p 132). It exemplified the experiences of some of the women in this study:

"The changes brought about by cultural restrictions at the girls' puberty are not of a superficial nature. At this time in the Victorian picture a girl passed from a position of relative equality with boys to one of inferiority...especially in her sexual life her freedom of development was curbed. The punishment for spontaneous expression of sexual interests was very great. One impulsive act resulting in pregnancy could ruin a girl's whole life. Her training was in the direction of insincerity about her sexual interests. She was taught to be ashamed of menstruation. It was something to be concealed and any accident leading to its discovery was especially humiliating. In short, womanhood began with much unpleasantness. It was characterised by feelings of body shame, loss of freedom, loss of equality with boys, and loss of the right to be aggressive."

A description of the unpleasantness of menstruation was offered by Kathleen. Unlike many of the others, Kathleen had not been told the biological 'facts' before she started menstruating. However, her description of menstruation itself was typical of the twelve women's experiences. Although her family was Catholic, Kathleen believed her parents' attitudes to have been typical of those of New Zealand parents in general at the time:

"...when you had your period you lived in fear of it ever going through your smock, your pinafore, and someone finding out. Because, you see, you didn't realise that other people got it as well... My mother's exact wording was, 'If you bleed, come and tell me.' Now that could have been my finger or my big toe 'cause I didn't know. Now I did vaguely know something, 'cause I can remember sanitary pads, but I never associated that with young women. I associated it with older women. So, when I actually did get my period and woke up one morning and was in dreadful agony I actually went to my father, and I thought I was dying. And I said to him, 'I'm bleeding'. And of course he, in shock and horror immediately told my mother to get out of bed and fix me up. So, you see, you were kept in ignorance... you didn't talk about it, and didn't talk about it among your friends. So, they were all doing their own thing...they all had their own sexual activity, but never reported about that to each other. And I suppose we were all going through the same traumas."

- Sue. Do you think that was partly the Catholic thing then?
- K. No. Because a girl across the road from me that wasn't a Catholic, her parents were fairly liberal. When she got her period she put on a Winter skirt in the middle of summer and was too frightened to tell her parents, 'cause she didn't know what was happening to her. But, there you are, she was from quite a liberal home. So, no, I don't think it was that. I think it was the times. People just didn't talk about it."

The experience was made more unpleasant by the inadequate materials available; none of the women had easy access to tampons, all having to use sanitary pads, belts and pins. The embarrassment associated with 'periods' further exacerbated the physical discomforts involved. Leslie, who attended a large city girls' school described the physical unpleasantness caused by both an inadequate 'technology' and the embarrassment brought about by cultural taboos in the school setting:

"...my mother made me use these sanitary pads which I didn't like from the start. I found them pretty uncomfortable and inadequate. Certainly by the time I went to high school, impossibly inadequate, because I was into sport and we'd have sports practices before school. I'd have to catch the bus - at about 6.30 ...it would take me 50 minutes to get into town, then I'd have to walk up the hill, get changed into my sports gear, get all the stuff out, have the sport practice before school began, which was about 8.45. So I'd start the day with that, I was too embarrassed to talk about menstruation really at that point. I talked at primary school about it but when I got to secondary school I didn't know the girls and not many people were talking about it. It was something that happened but nobody talked about. We had a bit of a brief explanation about how to get sanitary towels from toilets. They had a vending machine in the toilets, you needed seven pence. You can imagine how many kids would be carrying seven pennies with them, which meant you had to get some money, you then had to take it to the office, to get it changed into your seven pennies by the... secretary. She was lovely, but just that action of having to get together this money, take it there, go to put seven clunky pennies into this bloody machine; I never once used it and I don't think many of my friends did either. We had these horrible gym slips in the summer which were a light colour and we'd have to sit for hours during the day and of course menstrual blood would just soak right through. It would soak into my uniform, I'd be stuck at

school with no way of getting any other towels or anything like that being too shy and too ill at ease to go and get new towels. So that sometimes I would go through the day incredibly uncomfortable and with my uniform just covered in blood behind, it was really horrible. I hated that."

On finding out about tampons, Leslie located her mother's source of supply and began to steal them:

"I worked it out by going through the drawers under her bed that that's what she used. I saw no reason why I shouldn't use them, I used them. We just didn't have that kind of relationship. She'd not talked about sex."

Ten of the twelve women described their mothers' embarrassment and reticence on sexual matters and, some, as in the case of Leslie, resorted to subterfuge rather than confront them directly on this topic. Two of the women mentioned that, although tampons were at the time available in the shops, they were regarded as being for the use of 'married' women only. One woman felt that this was because to insert an object into the vagina would have been destructive of virginity!

Only two of the women had attended schools where menstruation was discussed openly by teachers. Interestingly, these were both new co-educational schools. One woman described how her Physical Education teacher had told the girls, in a class where boys were present, about the benefits of physical exercise during menstruation. Another had had a full sex education programme in a mixed sex situation at school. It may have been that the newer schools, with younger staff, were more likely to implement the recommendations and spirit of the Thomas Report on sex education. The other women either had no sex education at school, apart from the mandatory general science lessons on 'reproduction', or one talk by a doctor or District Nurse, an experience which was seen as embarrassing to all concerned and where issues of sexual behaviour and morality were avoided i.e. sex was a 'medical' issue (Foucault, 1980).

Only two of the women studied had felt positive about beginning menstruation and about female sexuality in general. Linda saw her parents as unusually 'liberal' for the time. Her father, a social worker, had been closely involved in his daughters' sex education and the occasion of the onset of menstruation was given the dignity of a "rite de passage":

"My parents were very determined that us kids had healthy attitudes to our bodies and sexuality because my mother always taught how her mother had been committed to that too because she'd had such awful experiences with knowing nothing and starting to bleed and thinking she was dying from a bleeding wound and things like that. Both of them wanted to be sure that we felt good about ourselves. The dinner table was always a place where we talked about everything and so when I was eleven and started to menstruate I certainly knew everything about it and saw it as a time to celebrate. My parents wanted to have a celebration of some sort, so I was able to choose to go and see Helen Shapiro. But I got the mumps and didn't go, so my next choice was to go and see Howard Morrison, the Howard Morrison Quartet. Went along and had a wonderful time."

However, Linda was aware that her family's attitudes were unusual:

"To me it was a lovely thing to start menstruating and I felt really good about it and very aware that for my friends it was very different thing. It was sort of hidden and not known about. So I was aware that what was happening to me and my family was slightly different to what was happening in other families."

In general, then, the experience of menstruation was very much a negative one. Far from 'glorying in their womanhood,' these girls at puberty felt restricted, ashamed, and cut off from open relationships with men, menstruation being seen as a private matter for women only. However, one of the Maori women told of how when she had first menstruated, her father had explained about it to her, suggesting that the negative connotations of menstruation may be a Pakeha phenomenon.² This description of the social construction of menstruation is

2. See footnote on p.263. Also Pere, (1983a).

important in its analysis of 'normal' biological womanhood as something dirty or shameful. For girls who rejected the dominant ideology of domestic femininity, or 'sex-roles', this might well have further reinforced negative images of what it meant to be an adult woman.

ii Virginity and Perceived Negative Consequences of Overt Heterosexuality

During their school years, all twelve of the women in this study had perceived overt heterosexuality as having some negative consequences. Three commonly-mentioned examples were their perceptions of their mothers' lives as unhappy or unfulfilled and their determination not to follow their examples, the association of overt sexuality with girls in the lower streams, and the stigma attached to those young girls who became 'unmarried mothers'. These perceptions strongly reinforced any religious or other moral beliefs the women were taught regarding the importance of pre-marital virginity.

Examples of the women's perceptions of their mothers' lives have been given in previous chapters. For example, Sharon and Pauline both had mothers whose 'habitus' was seen as inappropriate for a dairy farming community: too 'educated', too 'artistic', too 'fashionable.' Five of the women had mothers with higher educational qualifications than their fathers and expressed concern that their mothers had abandoned any career ambitions upon marriage. The two women whose parents were both primary school teachers stated that their mother's careers had been subordinate to the those of their fathers, even though, in one case, the mother was the better teacher. All twelve women perceived their mothers' lives as in some sense unhappy, frustrated or unfulfilled. Reasons given for this were the lack of educational and career opportunities for women before the war, poverty in their mother's family, hardships caused by the depression and the war. This perception of mothers as 'unfulfilled' led to a determination on the the part of the majority of the women in this study to avoid becoming like them. For some this meant making the most of the educational, professional and travel opportunities of the

years of the post-war 'boom'. For all twelve women it was seen as a major reason for their adoption of a feminist analysis in later life: rejection of one's mother as a 'role-model' meant having to construct a new model of what a woman should be; the various types of feminism offered such possibilities. The determination to avoid the type of life lived by their mothers was a major incentive to young girls to forgo early marriage and pregnancy. During the school years, virginity was the sexual strategy which was most likely to protect their personal and professional autonomy.

A second incentive for school-girls to remain virgins was the stigma against 'unmarried mothers'. During the 1950s and 1960s there had been widespread public debate on the issue of 'juvenile delinquency' (Department of Education, 1962; McDonald, 1978), which in the case of girls usually meant non-marital sex.³ At this time there was no Domestic Purposes Benefit for solo parents. Girls who became pregnant outside of marriage were often pressured by parents into 'shotgun marriages' while others left home to hide their pregnancies from family and neighbours in 'homes for unmarried mothers' or worked as domestic helps on farms, adopting the baby out after birth. The stigma against unmarried mothers was so great that for some this acted as a deterrent on becoming heterosexually active.

An insight into the attitudes of the time was given by Jill, who described her experiences in a rural community where she was working after having left school. Jill was saving her money in order to travel. At this stage of her life she did not have any clear ambitions for a career of her own, but believed that she would some day 'get married.' Her horror at her mother's distress over an unexpected pregnancy when Jill was a child had left her with a determination not to have children of her own. At nineteen, she had become involved in 'dating' two boys, both of whom wanted to become engaged. Pressured by both to 'have sex', Jill resisted, but the stresses and conflict involved in this and other aspects of her life led to a serious nervous illness, for which she was hospitalised:

3. The term 'non-marital' sex avoids the ambiguity of 'pre-marital' sex, which suggests that the couple later got married.

"He'd go so far and not all the way. And that was really terrible. I think the strain of that is just fantastic. I think that contributed a lot to my illness, I think that was a tremendous strain".

Jill commented that her parents had convinced her that sex outside marriage was evil and that this belief had held her back from 'giving in' to the demands of the boys:

- S. "What was holding you back from sleeping with the guys? Why didn't you just sleep with them?"
- J. I think that I had such a very good socialisation from my parents that sex was bad. Wherever I got the message from I got it loud and clear..."

Jill believed that it was her fear of pregnancy which had been the major deterrent on her 'having sex' and observed that the stigma against 'unmarried mothers' had been particularly strong in rural communities:

"At that stage there was this real terror of getting pregnant, because in country districts poor young girls get pregnant, and its very looked down on there. There's really a lot of stigma attached to it and a lot of anti social feelings. In country areas, you're regarded as a slut, and you still are, I mean look at the Gisborne Federated Farmers people, I think it was last week, saying that the solo mothers should get no money, no benefit. They hate them. There has always been this antagonism in the country with solo mums."

Jill married, but did not have children. Her decision to train for a career arose from her sense of financial and emotional dependence on her husband. Her feminism was centred on her expressed need for personal independence from men.

The stigma against 'unmarried mothers' was mentioned by all of the rural women in the study. Many of the urban women also mentioned it. For example, Pat had attended a co-educational secondary school in a provincial town. Members of her peer group were knowledgeable about

the physical facts of sex, and their decision to remain virgins was largely motivated by the fear of pregnancy. There was a 'home for unmarried mothers' in the town and the high rate of teenage pregnancies was well known:

"It must have been quite prevalent because I remember my Mother going to a meeting and hearing the Matron of the Salvation Army Home where they looked after the unmarried mums, Bethany. And she came back absolutely shocked out of her mind recounting all these stories of all these young girls and babies. I remember, every time I went out on a Friday night to town, I got you know, like a five-minute lecture about these girls who got pregnant and she seemed really hung up about that for about eight weeks afterwards. My friends talked about that and said how stupid it was and how hard it was to get contraceptives even if they were thinking about, you know, going that far. But none of them were, the boys or the girls and this was in the 6th Form. They got involved in sort of light petting perhaps."

Although none of Pat's friends in the top streams had become pregnant, a number of girls in the lower streams had done so:

"You see, we were in the top streams and there was no-one in that I can think of in our groups who got pregnant...You were always hearing about, you know, the latest scandal of someone in the lowest type of classes getting pregnant."

The academic girls' typification of lower stream girls as more likely to fall pregnant (Chapter Eight) merits further research. There is evidence (Fuller, 1980; Jones, 1984; McRobbie, 1978b; Moran, 1983) that working-class girls and girls from ethnic minority groups in British, Australian and New Zealand schools were also, like their middle-class peers, expected to remain 'respectable virgins' until marriage. It may have been that lower stream girls were more likely to flaunt their sexuality as a form of 'school resistance' (Becker, 1976; Connell et al, 1982; McRobbie, 1978a, 1978b) and thereby give the appearance of being 'non-virgins'. It may have been that remaining a virgin was less important to low-stream girls, since their future careers did not require lengthy periods of training and

early marriage could release them from the drudgery of menial jobs. For the middle-class girl an unplanned pregnancy could wreck not only her career opportunities, but also her family's marital strategies of her meeting and marrying a professional husband.

Boys who were planning professional careers were also careful not to 'get caught'. For example, Kelly had become pregnant at seventeen. Her boyfriend regarded her as an unsuitable mate and was prepared to lie to escape his paternal responsibilities:

"There was no talk of marriage, it wasn't that sort of relationship. He wanted a career anyway and I was a bit radical for him. I was good company, but a little bit radical...there was a little bit of wrangling because at this stage the boy didn't want me to divulge..He said "Don't tell anybody whose it is." He didn't want to be implicated. The doctor said to me at this stage, "You fool, you'll say that and then you'll want maintenance or something". Because then it was very difficult to get money out of anybody. I had to go to a lawyer. I didn't want to go, but my parents forced the issue, so I did. He (the father) was prepared to perjure, to get other people to say they'd been with me, which quite shocked me actually that it got to that stage. The people he had actually gone to were in fact friends of mine that I had totally platonic relationships with, that's what shocked me. And one of them I know was prepared to get up and say that he'd been with me so that did shock me a bit."

For the academic girls, having a career meant delaying becoming too heavily involved sexually. While some viewed university primarily as a place to catch a husband (Findlay, 1974; Frame, 1983; Ingham, 1982) and could therefore afford to 'get serious' in their student years, the 'swots' major concerns were academic success (Frame, 1982; McRobbie, 1978b). Josephine described a subculture of 'swots' in a girls' school and their attitudes towards sexuality:

"They were all very much, pretty much the same as me, you know, involved in their work and rather despised boys actually. We were always above 'those boys.' We didn't have much to do with men you see, it was mostly boys, the other school boys. And so, therefore, we kind of thought they were greasy little grotty pimply creatures and couldn't stand them basically... If anybody had a love bite on their neck it was kind of

noticed and sometimes giggled about. But usually looked upon rather disdainfully".

Speaking of the girls in lower streams, she commented on the typifications held of them by academic stream girls. She noted that it was the 'habitus' of the low-stream girls that gave the impression that they were more sexually active; their dress, their language, jokes etc:

"I don't actually know that they were all sexually active. I always had the impression that they were, because there were all these love bites and I don't actually really know whether they were all sexually active or not, but they used to talk, they used to make more crude jokes and it was just a stereotype that we had of them. But you see its interesting because we never, as the top stream, never had anything to do with the rest of the school. We were totally unto ourselves, just self-sufficient and arrogant and kept to ourselves."

Lower-stream girls did not necessarily envy or wish to emulate the 'swots', whom they often saw as headed for unglamorous spinsterhood (McRobbie, 1978b). As noted previously (Chapter Eight), commercial girls' schooling emphasised grooming and femininity as preparation for secretarial work (Taylor, 1984). One commercial girl in this study described the teachers of the academic stream as 'stodgy', citing as an example a science teacher who wore her hair "plainly done", and sported tweed skirts, plain blouses and flat-heeled shoes. She noted that while these teachers were 'unmarried', commercial teachers, on the other hand were more likely to be married, wore high heels, tailored suits and had manicured finger-nails, presenting to the girls the image of the sexually attractive 'perfect woman' to which, as future secretaries, they were expected to aspire (Taylor, 1984). The image of the 'old maid' was one which excluded any sexual image - to be an 'academic' was to be a -sexual (Llewellyn, 1980; McRobbie, 1978b). However, some academic girls described glamorous well-travelled highly-qualified and sexually experienced teachers who had inspired them to high intellectual and artistic and romantic ambitions (e.g. Janet, p.252).

For some women, becoming sexually active was not a matter of choice; some 'losses of virginity' were a result of sexual violence. Three of the twelve women had been victims of rape or incest during their school years. For example, Diane had been raped at the age of seventeen during her sixth form year; all she knew of her first experience of sexual intercourse was that she had got drunk at a teenage party and had 'woken up lying in a pool of blood'. She had not told anyone at the time of this experience. Two years later, she had got involved in 'heavy petting' with two boyfriends. Although she had not had actual intercourse with either of them, she had fallen pregnant. At this time Diane's sister was pregnant and the family were going through the pressures of what was then known as a 'shot-gun wedding.' The distress this caused her parents (her mother 'nearly had a nervous breakdown') meant that she felt unable to tell them of her situation for fear of the hurt and 'disgrace' it would cause. Seven months pregnant, she gave up her job and moved to the North Island where she lived in a 'home for unmarried mothers.' The baby was adopted out. At the time of the interviews, Diane had still not told her parents of these events:

"I chose to go secretly to the North Island and go through the whole pain of childbirth and stuff and finding my feet on my own in a strange place broke, at the age of 19 and a half rather than deal with my mother being in on the situation...I did not have the guts to stand up to them on it, you know, I am in such terror of her."

Diane's feminist activities have centred on analysing her experience of rape and helping other rape victims. While for some girls high academic, professional or other aspirations helped to protect them from becoming involved in sexual relationships which would lead to early marriage and/or pregnancy, for other girls it was family pressures which kept them from becoming sexually active, or, if they did, forced them to keep their sexual activities hidden from their parents. Although all twelve women had been brought up to believe that sex outside marriage was 'sinful' and/or 'delinquent', by the time they were in their late 'teens to early twenties, not one of the women remained a virgin. All twelve experienced considerable tensions in their sex lives.

SEXUAL CONTRADICTIONS AND STRATEGIES: CASE STUDIES

By their late 'teens to early twenties all twelve women had experienced at least one sexual relationship. The patterns of sexual relationships they adopted may usefully be studied as ways of dealing with the contradictions they experienced between sexuality and intellectuality/professionality and between the ideology of domestic femininity and the permissiveness of the 'sexual revolution.' Four sexual strategies will be discussed: lesbianism, overt non-marital heterosexuality and promiscuity, egalitarian marriage, and celibacy. The argument will be presented first in general terms, then case studies given to exemplify each strategy and to draw some implications of these contradictions and strategies for the development of the individuals' feminist perspectives and political involvement.

i. Sexual Strategies: An Overview.

The first strategy that will be exemplified in the case studies is lesbianism. Three of the women identified themselves at the time of the interviews as lesbians. While one of these women had always seen herself as lesbian, the other two had been married and divorced; one of these two had a child whose upbringing she was sharing with her ex-husband. All three lesbians were open in their sexual identification, i.e., 'out of the closet'. For the purpose of this analysis, lesbianism will be viewed as a strategy of resistance to the institution of 'compulsory heterosexuality' (Rich, 1980). Through refusing to conform to social expectations of 'marriageable femininity', lesbianism may be seen as an act of 'marriage resistance'. As Rich (1980, 649) has expressed it:

"Lesbian existence comprises both the breaking of a taboo and the rejection of a compulsory way of life. It is also a direct or indirect attack on male right of access to women...we may... perceive it as a form of nay-saying to patriarchy, an act of resistance".

As a strategy, lesbianism enabled the intellectual/professional woman to pursue a career and to satisfy her sexual needs; the contradiction between intellectuality and sexuality could be resolved

through a rejection of patriarchal 'femininity'. However, the stigma against lesbianism in particular, and homosexuality in general (Daly, 1979; Donnelly, 1978; Gifford, 1981; Rich, 1980) created stress for lesbians in relating to their families, peers and colleagues. The permissive ethos of the 'sexual revolution' saw the emergence of 'Gay Rights' groups in New Zealand (Chapter Six), as lesbians and homosexual men sought legitimacy for their 'sexual preference'. However, perceiving the 'Gay Rights' movement as dominated by homosexual men seeking law reform, lesbian women began to form their own groups (Chapter Six). The early days of the feminist movement were dominated by heterosexual women and lesbians had to struggle within the women's movement for visibility and for legitimacy. Lesbian feminism may be seen as a political movement which seeks not merely to assert the right to an 'alternative lifestyle', but which defines itself as a form of resistance to the institution of patriarchy, or 'compulsory heterosexuality'. This analysis was adopted by two of the three lesbian feminists in the study, both of whom have endorsed Rich's work as being particularly relevant to their own lives.

A second sexual strategy adopted by young women in this study was that of overt non-marital heterosexuality. Living in flats and hostels, they were free of their families' watchful supervision of their 'moral welfare'. Access to the new ideas of the 'permissive era' (Firestone, 1979; Mitchell, 1973) and possibly, 'the pill,' as well as sheer loneliness, tempted many to experiment with their new-found freedom. Rejecting the lives of their mothers as desirable examples, they sought to create new moral codes, new patterns of relationships. The contradiction between the ideology of virginity/domestic femininity and the ideas of the 'sexual revolution' led to considerable stress. These young women, brought up with a strict code of 'virginity until marriage' experienced intense conflicts in their relationships with their parents. For example, Ingham (1982) has described the elaborate subterfuges of young women university students (all born in Britain in 1947) in hiding their sexual relationships from their parents - living with men, yet hiding their boyfriend's clothes when their parents visited their flats. Similar scenarios have been described by feminist novelists (Alther,

1976; Piercy, 1982). If parents believed so strongly in the 'virgin-whore' dichotomy, being open about one's love affairs could mean being stigmatized as 'whore' by ones parents. This would mean loss of love, loss of family support. Many young women were unwilling to take that risk. Some women found the stresses involved in maintaining a 'double life' so intense that they failed their university courses, resuming their careers after marriage and children. Sexuality and intellectuality were in conflict and it was felt necessary to establish sexual and emotional 'security' before they could concentrate on higher study or careers.

For some, overt heterosexuality outside marriage led to the temporary abandonment of their education or career training. Some of these were women who had become highly promiscuous and/or had fallen pregnant. Two of the women were raped during their school years. Unable to tell their parents of this experience, both women became highly sexually promiscuous, drifting in and out of 'casual relationships' and jobs. Five of the twelve women had unplanned pregnancies in their late 'teens to early twenties. Two of these were 'school drop-outs', while the others had been training for professions. One of the five managed to complete her training; she had married her baby's father and received support from relatives with child-care. One of the 'school drop-outs' had been supported by her parents in her decision to keep her child; her parents looked after the baby while she worked. She later married a man who accepted this first child and she later trained for teaching as an adult student. Two of the babies were adopted out, as the women concerned feared rejection from their parents if their pregnancies became known. At the time of the interviews, one of these women had never told her parents about her pregnancy. The fifth pregnant woman lived with, and later married, her baby's father. The strategy of overt heterosexuality for four of these five women led to the temporary abandonment of career plans, although all managed to resume their education and training as adults. Sexuality, then 'intellectuality' dominated their lives in sequence.

The third strategy was marriage. Two of the women had become pregnant in their early twenties and had married the babies' fathers.

These marriages followed a patriarchal pattern, with the man as breadwinner. Both women resumed their education as adults, a decision which brought about strife in the marriages, since the husbands did not at first support this decision. Both women's feminism was described as a result of this conflict (Novitz, 1978). Three women got married towards, or just after completing, their professional training. These women married men who shared their beliefs in the equality of the sexes and they managed to pursue their careers on an equal basis with those of their husbands up until the time they had children. They also managed to avoid coming into conflict with their parents over expression of their sexuality. Two of these egalitarian marriages did not survive. Both women, having married young, 'fell in love' with other people: one left her husband for another man, the other 'came out' as a lesbian. The third of these marriages survived as a 'dual career' (Rappoport and Rappoport, 1976) partnership. During the course of the research six of the twelve women were living with their spouses, although two of the marriages were unstable, the partners separating and reuniting several times during the four years of the study. To be able to combine marriage and a career a woman had to find a husband who was supportive of her choice and either to avoid having children or to have available adequate child-care facilities (Cook, 1983).

A fourth sexual strategy was celibacy. Remaining single has been a strategy of 'career women' for generations. However, the 'spinster' or 'old maid' has often been a figure of fun, an object of pity (Daly, 1979; Gifford, 1981). All of the women in this study were sexually experienced. Two had never married: one lesbian and one heterosexual. While celibacy among women has often been seen as a sign of inadequacy, of being a failure or 'left on the shelf', some contemporary feminists have espoused a 'new celibacy', a voluntary withdrawal from sexual activity as a political statement and as a therapeutic process. This strategy was espoused for about a year by one of the women in this study. Identifying herself closely with other feminist women, she withdrew as much as possible from any relationships with men into a separatist, sexually celibate, lifestyle. Her term for this strategy was 'political lesbianism' (Johnson, 1973).

In the remainder of this chapter specific case studies of women who adopted each of the above strategies will be described.

ii. Lesbianism

Chris was the eldest in a family of girls. From early childhood she had been physically active, and good at sports. She did not enjoy the games and domestic tasks associated with 'femininity' and strongly resisted pressures to make her 'feminine'. Although her father had encouraged her at sports, he was ambivalent about her lack of 'femininity'. Chris believed that her father had always wanted a son, yet when she behaved in a 'boyish' way, she was punished for it. Chris's gender resistance became a source of conflict between her parents:

"I was getting into trouble with my parents for not wanting to do feminine things...I kept being pressured especially by Dad to be inside and help my mother and that became a recurrent theme and by the time I was an adolescent it was a really bad source of conflict between me and my father. Meanwhile, I think he was really split because I think he wanted a boy, very much wanted a boy for his first baby. He didn't get it so in order to be a father he didn't quite know what to do with this girl. And because I wanted to be outside and doing active things, one thing he did encourage me in was sport... Meanwhile he taught me how to dig the garden and grow vegetables, how to make concrete, how to make fences. I was hanging around when he was tinkering with the car. I spent a lot of time with Dad, far more time than I did with Mum. I liked doing that sort of thing but I didn't get approval for it."

Although pressured strongly to be 'feminine', Chris was cruelly punished when she behaved in a heterosexually female way. During her primary school years she had suffered a brutal beating from her father for her first heterosexual experience, when she had become involved with a group of older boys and girls showing off their genital areas and 'feeling each other up' in the bushes. The primary school principal had called in the police, her father had beaten her uncontrollably and made her swear not to tell her mother of this 'disgrace'. Chris observed that this event had taken place around the time of the Mazengarb Report (p.67).

During her secondary school years, Chris developed strategies of resistance to the pressures towards 'femininity'. According to Connell et al (1982), 'tomboyishness' was a widespread pattern of resistance to the 'feminising' influences in secondary schools:

"...resistance is a relation to school that is generated on quite a wide scale (though in greatly varying intensity) by the interaction of the authority structure of the school with class and gender dynamics...among girls it means acting like a boy, among boys it is liable to mean hypermasculinity" (Connell et al 1982, 88).

Chris's strategies included affecting a 'boyish' mode of dress. In Rich's (1980) terms, she was resisting the imposition of the outward trappings of 'compulsory heterosexuality.' She commented that, apart from one incident in the junior school, her peers had accepted her:

"I was a young dyke just quite obviously and I had my hair cut super-short and you just couldn't tell I wasn't an adolescent boy; except for the fact that I had girls' gear on. Yet I never got victimised by my classmates right from the start, I had no other girl in my class that I knew when I got there, they were all from other areas in the town. The only time that I got anything vaguely that looked like that was in the third form one day, they grabbed me after lunch, threw me to the ground, held me down and tried to put lipstick on me, because by then I'd obviously made it clear that I thought such things were fucked and I just struggled clear, because I was a strong kid. I'd never worried about things like that. Just took it off and told them to get stuffed and left it and they never ever did anything else. I think I had a strong personality. I succeeded at both classwork and sports and so nobody really victimised me. My classmates accepted me."

During the first years of secondary school, her lack of interest in boys was seen as normal for academically and professionally-ambitious girls in the top stream in her city girls' school:

"We considered that we were meant to be there, to be at school, that boys would come later. It was that era I think when still we weren't expected to get involved

with boys. If we ever did, it was all incredibly ritual and formalised, there would be school dances but only one a year and there would be the odd dancing class in which Boys' College would be invited over or Boys' High would be invited. But no other occasions did we have anything to do with boys; all the time we were encouraged to have to do with girls. Like we had links to the other main girls' school in the city, a public school, and we would have sports days. We were very sport-oriented, and very academic-oriented and boys came a distant third for most of the girls until about fifth form."

In her junior years, Chris's lesbian feelings were compatible with the school's academic stream subculture. In fact, having 'crushes' on older girls or teachers reinforced academic or sporting achievements and motivations by fostering strong 'identifications' with successful academic, professional and sporting women. Such 'crushes' were compatible with the long-term aims of academic girls, who perceived overt heterosexuality as at least temporarily incompatible with their vocational and educational goals:

"The other good thing about Girls College was this good tradition there of dykes. It was seen as natural for girls to go through a stage or a phase in which they would be in love with either teachers or other girls and many of us were. We talked about it to each other, and there were no problems. And 'crushes' were quite normal. Like we talked about crushes, younger girls had crushes on older girls, it was expected."

However, by her sixth form year, Chris felt that the girls were coming under greater pressure to dress and behave as 'young ladies'. Resisting attempts by her family to dress her in 'feminine' clothes and to encourage her into attending school dances, Chris came under pressure to change her image:

"I think falling in love with other girls was definitely my awareness that I was going to be different. At that age, at age 13 I then became aware that I was unlikely to fulfil many of the roles that were expected of me, that's how it felt. My relatives who were always interested in such things, would say "Oh well, you'll change. You'll find some nice man" or other stupid things, and I'd say, "I won't" and I was absolutely sure

I never would and I didn't want to get older because it put me closer and closer to that age at which it would become apparent to everybody that I was not going to get married. I was not going to have babies and part of that was definitely to do with falling in love with girls."

Chris successfully resisted the pressures on her to assume a 'feminine' identity. During her years as a tertiary student, she became friendly with other lesbian women, and was active in the Gay Rights movement.

Recognising the differences between the men's and women's experiences, the lesbian women began to analyse the issues common to them as women, such as the experience of male violence and sexual abuse:

"It was very much at that stage men and women, it was Gay men and women, not lesbians at that point, together fighting various battles...That's my only real contact with CR groups... It was in Gay Liberation. We went into things like having a lot of women in the room. We did actually split at that point. We recognised that there was a difference between the Gay men's experience and the Gay women's experience. Women would get together and talk about things, like I remember once where we talked about rape. I was absolutely horrified to discover that every woman in the room, except for me and one other person, and there were about a dozen women in the room, had all been raped."

Chris's first encounter with feminism was hearing Gemaine Greer speak during her campus tour. She became personally involved with feminism in her mid twenties at university when she heard a talented older woman student being 'put down' in class by the male lecturer for her feminist ideas:

"This was the first time that anybody in any class that I'd been in mentioned a topic and said that it was feminist and I became aware that there was people around who were calling themselves some unusual name that I was not really familiar with. This woman was in my class and she attempted to do a topic...I remember at the time that it came up that the person taking it, the man taking the course, was pretty unsympathetic. I remember

the feeling that here was this woman whom I really respected, I thought she was bright, she had lots of personality, lots of experience, she was older, she was at that stage, probably in her late thirties with a family and children, and she'd been around a lot and here was she, somebody whom he should have respected as a person and a student, coming up with something that was hers, clearly hers, which she was really involved in and I just remember getting this impression that it just wasn't treated as a topic which was acceptable, that was a real topic. I remember a lot of laughter. I just remember the attitude of the lecturer really struck me, that whereas others were coming up with things nobody seemed to question it and that was O.K. Here was this really good student coming up with something and he was just saying "Oh really do you think that's any use? And is this this new funny feminist stuff?"

Chris immediately identified with this woman as an 'underdog'; her own experiences of victimisation, marginality and discrimination as a lesbian and in other aspects of her life were evoked by this woman's treatment by the lecturer. Feminism addressed these feelings and experiences:

"It was the feeling that either somebody was being treated differently without being laughed at or they were being victimised, something like that and it was the same feeling that I had and that was quite interesting...and I became interested instantly in feminism. What was this? Part of that is how I see myself in response to these situations... I am a person who because of the sort of characteristics I have don't easily fit in to dominant structures...dominant teaching structures and dominant power structures in this society, being a lesbian and also being a working class person.... The point at which I become aware that other people were being victimised, has had a lot to do with me and how I felt victimised, my feelings about myself."

Chris's feminism, then, was an attempt to address her experience of oppression as a lesbian in a society premised on the cultural reproduction of 'compulsory heterosexuality', her sense of alienation from 'Gay men' in the mixed-sex Gay Liberation Movement, and her identification with the oppression of and discrimination against women's perspectives and feminist theory in academic settings. Although being a lesbian had led to painful struggles for acceptance,

it was a sexual strategy which allowed her to pursue an autonomous career.

iii. Non-Marital Heterosexuality

While some women rejected 'feminine' sexuality, others lived out their heterosexual feelings and put little emphasis on their intellectual-professional development during early adulthood. For example, Cathy had been academically successful at school and was taking a university degree in a male-dominated professional school, a course she had taken to please her parents. There she experienced discrimination against women by lecturers:

"I spent a year at the School and that was just an unmitigated disaster from start to finish. It was actually very hard being a woman there in those days. In my year there were 70 guys and 3 females. One of the girls, we were all about 18, 19 then, left after six weeks. She decided she didn't like it and she wanted to do maths. I should have done that but didn't. It was terribly hard. I left after one year, the other girl stayed there the whole time but she managed to deal with it. She was a very 'twin-set and pearl' sort of dressing lady, she used to go along there in tweed skirts, twin sets and pearls and looked like she was 40 and sit at the back and never open her mouth. She had this protective lady - like cocoon around her and that seemed to be how she survived."

Finding the conflict between her academic work and the desire for sexual experimentation and emotional security too intense, Cathy focussed her energies on the latter, a strategy which resulted in failing her university course and dropping out of the programme. Cathy described herself as:

"putting a hell of a lot more energy into my sex life and my emotional life than I ever did into my work and really university was just a backdrop against which the dramas of my sex life were played out. All sorts of things that were totally anathema to my parents were played out."

Cathy threw herself into student life, stimulated by the social and political networks and activities of the late 1960s:

"I just absolutely adored being at university. Floating around in the coffee bars. There were demonstrations starting - the Vietnam War. I just loved the whole thing. It was the beginning of breaking away from home..."

However, she found aspects of student life lonely and worried a great deal about finding a suitable 'mate'. She 'lost her virginity' in her first year. Her first experience of sexual intercourse was not pleasant. Cathy had consented to this relationship because of loneliness and because she could not think of adequate reasons to refuse. The ideas of the 'sexual revolution' triumphed over the value of virginity with which her family and schooling had imbued her:

"I did not like him very much, but it was very nice not to be by yourself the entire time. Anyway he wanted to go to bed with me and I didn't particularly want to and I remember saying, "I want to be a virgin for the man I marry" and he said to me, "Why?" I thought, "Christ I don't know." I said, "Alright, I'll sleep with you tomorrow". He got very excited, so that was it."

At this time, Cathy drifted into relationships largely through fear of loneliness and a lack of a sense of direction in her education and career. She was frightened of becoming pregnant, the contraceptive pill at that time was not available on her campus except on the 'black market' and few doctors from the town would prescribe it for single women:

"It was absolutely insane, I feel quite weak at the knees when I think about it. For ten months I was sleeping with him on and off. A lot of that time we were actually living together. For only three months out of that entire time was I on the pill. The rest of the time he used to try and remember to withdraw before he ejaculated. But of course it was pretty nondescript sex. On the other hand I felt that that was one of life's great mysteries that was no longer a great mystery. I would have just completely fucked my life if I'd got pregnant then. But you couldn't get the pill in those days... It was just dreadful. If you knew a doctor who would give it to somebody that wasn't married, the word would go around like wildfire."

Cathy soon became tired of her boyfriend and wanted to terminate the relationship:

"I knew that I was going to have to leave him sometime in the future, he was very clinging and dependent, kept talking about marrying me and I knew the last thing I was going to do was marry somebody like him."

This relationship was carefully hidden from her parents. Cathy was afraid that her boyfriend, Fred, would tell her parents they had slept together if she broke up with him. To prevent this, she decided to leave home and break with him after a period of time which would lead him to stop associating her with her parents:

"He was always moaning about my parents anyway, the fact that I had to be home on the last bus occasionally and stuff like that. I knew that if I was living at home and broke up with him, he would be quite capable of ringing my parents and telling them that I had been sleeping with him. So I decided that I had to leave home, if I could be in a flat for long enough so that he would stop in his head associating me with my parents sort of things, or blaming my parents for the fact... So when I left him he couldn't think that it was my parents' fault, not even he could. I was thinking then he wouldn't tell my parents I'd been sleeping with him. It was insane. Of course my parents thought he was a real 'egg', which he was, and they didn't want me to go flatting because they knew it was going to mean that I would be seeing a lot more of Fred. I guess they were scared that I was going to sleep with him, I don't think they knew that I was. We had this insane thing, my parents and I fought the entire weekend and it was virtually 'go and never darken my door again if you go' sort of thing. They must have been absolutely desperate.... Nobody ever talked about what was really going on of course, the fact that what they really worried about was Fred. I had to leave home so that I could break up with Fred. They would be amazed now if they knew that was why I had to leave."

Cathy suffered intense conflict between her parents' view of sex outside marriage and the laissez-faire attitudes of her student subculture. She resolved this through resorting to subterfuge to maintain the pretense in the eyes of her parents that she was a 'good girl'. However, her sexual relationships gave her little pleasure.

Lonely after a broken relationship she had a series of 'one night stands' to avoid sleeping alone.

Cathy 'dropped out' of university and took an office job. She later met and married a man and had children. She stayed at home with her children when they were very young, then applied for teachers' college. She became qualified as a teacher and got her degree with many 'A' passes. Sexuality then intellectuality/professionality had dominated her life in sequence:

"It was a matter of how much energy I had. My sex life and my love life was just far more important. I could never see the intellectual thing as being important then... there was no way I could have concentrated on work. I very much wanted a steady relationship with one person and most of my energy when I was young was directed at finding that. I don't think I could have ever succeeded at university without that. I feel so much different being at university or studying now because I've got that all sorted out."

University was a site for enacting her 'marital strategies.'

Cathy has not been actively involved in feminist groups but espoused a liberal feminist philosophy, which she attributed to her perceptions of the difficulties women faced in achieving equal political and professional opportunities. Her mother's and grandmother's difficulties in achieving professional success were described as particularly strong influences. Cathy's feminist activism was directed at helping her daughters to achieve financial and personal autonomy and encouraging the girls she taught to take non-traditional subjects:

"What I can't believe is that anyone, any woman can say she is not a feminist. I think I'm a feminist because I want my daughters to be independent, choosing their own lives, not according to men - that their life choices are not limited because of, say, a relationship with a particular man or men in general. Starting from right back...my mother was basically brought up to think that she should really do what her husband said. There's no way that I would ever have been part of that. I accept that women in our generation...that did want to achieve academically had enormous struggles against their

families and against what society said they should do... My strongest value thing is justice. I have a very strong feel of justice. I think my feminism arises out of the fact that I think that women have been unjustly treated for generations and generations."

iv. Promiscuity

Three women, all victims of sexual abuse (rape, assault or incest) described their patterns of sexual behaviour in early adulthood as 'promiscuous', while a fourth (Cathy) described a brief phase of 'one night stands' as a reaction to a broken love affair and the loneliness of sleeping alone. Two women who had left school at 15 and 17 fell into a pattern of sharing flats and beds with a sequence of men. For these women sexuality triumphed over any intellectual or vocational aspirations they may have had. It was only as adults when they had established stable sexual relationships that they were able to take up their higher education and train for a teaching career.

Rachel had been raped while still at school. Her home was violent, and by the time she was in the sixth form the situation had become intolerable. At the first opportunity, she ran away from home. Since her rapes she had become promiscuous and found that she could use her sexuality to support herself, exchanging her domestic and sexual services for food and shelter:

"I'd just turned 16. And I was doing well at school in my school-work, but my emotional behaviour, my emotional state and everything was just really, you know, terrible and I just couldn't stand it at home or anything. So I went and I was living with these guys in this flat and I'd taken off in the middle of the night. I stayed there for about a week and I had no money or anything like that and I used to clean up the house for them and they'd come back and I'd sort of cook up their meals and stuff. I guess I was being used. I was very much being used just as a housekeeper and a cooker - and to have sex on the sideline, I guess, or something like that."

After being found by the police and returned home, Rachel ran away again. This time her mother refused to take her back and this was the end of her schooling: Rachel's description of these events

illustrated clearly how her sexuality was at this time her means of escape and survival. Sexuality dominated her life and intellectuality/professionality temporarily abandoned:

"So anyway I went back to their flat and - I didn't go to school or anything, I was there for about two weeks and I started to worry and I thought, "I wonder what's happening back at home?" I sort of expected that Mum would find me again, you know, or come straight round and get me or something, but nothing happened and I wondered why that hadn't happened. So the guys persuaded me to go back home. They never had any money in the house, hardly. We existed on starvation level, there was no hot water in the house. It was an old house it was really appalling, it really was. It was in winter time and the main reason that I slept with this one particular guy was because he was the only one with an electric blanket. It sounds really horrible, but he would let me share his bed - I didn't like him at all, in fact I thought he was really awful but, because I was so absolutely freezing at night and he was the only one with an electric blanket, I used to get into bed with him to share his electric blanket. So anyway they gave me enough money to catch a bus home. So I got a bus home and I walked in the door. I sort of thought Mum would be really pleased to see me for some reason and I was really very wrong in what I thought was going to happen and the minute I walked in the door she said, "Right girl, get your things and get out of here!" and I thought, "Oh", you know, and she was really dead serious. She just said "Right, get all your things!" and that was it. So I had to start packing up things and I didn't know where I was going to go and so I thought "Well I'll have to go back to the flat again." So I caught a taxi, I had no money and I caught a taxi and I got the guys to pay for the taxi after I'd got my things."

Throughout her troubled adolescence, Rachel had wanted and needed affection from her mother. She could not communicate with her at all about sexual matters. Her mother found out about Rachel's 'promiscuity'. However, this did not lead to communication, but to further rejection:

"Mum found my diary when I was about 14, and I'd sort of listed all the guys that I'd been sleeping with and all sorts of things like that. And, in a way I was quite pleased that she had found it because she could see, she had to face up to talking about sex, but she didn't even face up to it then. She started telling me that I was a

slut and all these names like this, and she just sort of kept yelling names at me and that was about it, that was all she said. She didn't really say anything much else at all."

Rachel became pregnant in her late teens and later married the baby's father. Like her own father, her husband was prone to violence and she was beaten by him on a number of occasions. She decided to resume her education and train for teaching as a means of establishing financial independence. Her husband did not at first support these efforts and Rachel had to resort to desperate measures to win his support. She gained strength from feminist women, also 'mature students', in her teachers' college class:

"I really started feeling confident in myself to start making sure that at home with my husband I was going to start being my own person. I found that the kids were the main hassle, the main drag, because to get to achieve my aim of becoming a person in my own right who had a right to do things, I had to leave the kids by themselves because he'd go out and refuse to look after the kids so I would say "Right, now, I'm going out. You're not going to be responsible then I'm not going to be responsible", so I'd just take off down the road or jump in the car and off I'd go and kids' be just left. And it happened on quite a few occasions. And it took about two or three months before he really realised I meant it, either he was going to start being just as responsible for them, or nobody was going to be responsible for them, and I felt really terribly guilty when I did it. I really did, I used to feel absolutely terrible. But then he started, he did start, taking on the responsibility that he'd never taken on before and the same thing happened with housework. I just refused to do it, I wouldn't do it. He kept saying, "Oh, God, this place is in a mess! What about doing the dishes?" And I'd say "if you make a start, I'll come and help you" and it just carried on like that all the time. I just got, somehow got the courage to just start. I knew that I had my own money. This is the main thing I think; if I left, I could support myself, and he knew it too and so he knew that if we wanted to stay together, it was going to have to start changing, everything was going to have to start changing, and, believe it or not, it did."

Rachel's life was dominated by sexuality, then intellectuality, in sequence. Because of her rape, the question of whether or not to remain a virgin did not arise. However, her sexual precocity had to remain hidden from her mother and, when it was discovered, led to rejection. Rachel has become a talented school-teacher who has actively tackled the issue of sex-stereotyping in the classroom and has worked closely with her pupils' parents in raising consciousness on the issues of sexism and racism.

v. Marriage

Young women could avoid the conflict between the dominant ideology of virginity-until-marriage and their desire for sexual expression by getting married. During the 1950s and 1960s many women abandoned their education to do this (Friedan, 1963).

Three of the women had married in their late 'teens to early twenties, had abandoned their education and careers, and lived in partnerships in which the husband was the breadwinner. Although these three marriages have survived, they have undergone considerable stress as the wives have striven to take up careers as adults (Novitz, 1978). The case of Rachel exemplified this. Three other early marriages were based on a shared belief in the equality of the sexes. In these relationships both partners managed to keep their careers going (Rappoport and Rappoport, 1976).

For young women brought up with a strict code of sexual morality, early marriage was a way of avoiding confrontations with parents. Cynthia had been brought up with strict religious principles. She commented that her peers in the church had not followed the trend at the time of openly 'living together', although some of them had furtive sexual relationships:

"There was somebody I would've very much like to have lived with. We bedded to a certain extent, but to have actually have lived together. You know, it would have just been so unspeakable in terms of our families. It would have been incredible. So most of us, we all went and got ourselves married."

Cynthia had always seen herself as having an independent career and had strong feelings against becoming financially or emotionally dependent on men. However, she had always taken it for granted that she would get married:

"There was always this sort of feeling... I knew nobody else like myself who didn't want to. I suppose I did want to sort of be 'with somebody'. But I knew nobody who'd decided purposely they weren't going to get married. Everybody I knew was getting married."

Cynthia said that she had got married to a man who "had been pestering me for ages" in order to 'have sex' and companionship. Her husband was highly successful in his profession and shared her belief in the equality of the sexes. They planned to travel together and to delay having children, a decision which was seen as 'radical' by others from their religious sect:

"The reason I agreed to marry him - he'd been pestering me for ages - was the fact that (a) we wouldn't be having any children for some years and (b) that we would be going overseas and there was no way I was going to give up that.... I felt I was quite radical, at least, I was getting married and going on 'the pill' and not going to have children. Everybody else I knew was saving up for their first house. And I thought, we thought, we were quite 'with it', you know, we didn't even buy furniture before we got married. We got married and then went away for a holiday. Then came back and sort of vaguely looking for a flat, and we had \$40 in the bank and we went and spent it on a bit of furniture. And I thought that was radical enough."

Cynthia and her husband travelled and, when they returned, had a baby. Cynthia tried to remain in teaching, but, due to the lack of child-care, had to give up her job. Although she had, by this stage read some feminist literature, such as Greer's Female Eunuch, she had not connected the theory to her own experience. It was the experience of motherhood and the irreconcilability of its demands with her career ambitions which led her to make the connection. The 'personal' became 'political':

"There's this sort of separation between what you read and your theory and practice anyway - its very hard to get them together. And, in many ways, it hadn't ever touched me, and it wasn't till I had children that for the first time I suddenly realised what the books, what feminism was about...[It was] having to give up my job. We kept delaying having children because I didn't want to give up my job. I loved work and I knew there would be problems when I gave it up. We couldn't see any way around it. I tried to get nursery care and find a child care minder. I couldn't get anybody suitable...and so I had to resign my position eventually. And, you know, I was devastated".

Cynthia felt that her identity as an individual was threatened by being financially dependent on her husband:

"I hated being financially dependent, and it wasn't as if I had a mean husband. He would have given me anything. You know, he used to bank an allowance for me. It was up to me what I did with it, there were never any 'issues' or anything. But I just felt very uncomfortable being financially dependent."

Cynthia tackled this situation by finding work she could do at home to earn some money of her own. After having her second child, she went to university, child-care being by then available on campus. After completing her degree she resumed her career as an educator.

vi. Political Celibacy

The term 'political celibacy' refers to a consciously chosen celibacy. In feminist circles this is sometimes known as 'political lesbianism' (Johnson, 1973) because it refers to a deliberate withdrawal from sexual relationships with men in order to explore with other women, through consciousness-raising, the nature and bases of women's sexual oppression and exploitation in a patriarchal society. 'Political lesbians' are seen as lesbian separatists in all but the physical sense, since many associate almost exclusively with women in their domestic, educational, working and recreational lives (Johnson, 1973; Rich, 1980).

Cora had had very painful experiences in her heterosexual relationships, which included sexual violence and a resulting estrangement from her parents. She had begun to attend university as an adult student and it was here that she had first encountered feminist ideas. However, she had already developed an awareness of other forms of oppression: class and racism, and had always expressed feminist sympathies through sensing her mother's frustration and unhappiness educationally and professionally. Cora had moved into a house with other feminist women, all of whom had experienced unhappy marriages and divorce. As a group they began, through consciousness-raising, reading, and their university women's studies courses, to develop a collective analysis of their experiences of oppression:

"We had a lot of questions about the way that male/female relationships usually are. So I think that what we did then was getting out of our sexuality, out of our bodies and with that motivation we got very much more into our heads and what followed was several months of really intensive feminist theorising. A great deal of sitting around talking, and talking and analysing our childhood experiences, our grown-up experiences, our experiences and relationships and marriages, every time we went out the door and had any kind of interaction in the outside world we would come back and analyse it in terms of feminist theory...I think it was basically a C.R. process. Some of us were doing women's studies courses at university but at that stage of the year they weren't very heavily theoretical, this was a course which didn't get very deeply into theory. Though there was definitely input from there. One thing I must say at this stage is that I found it, and still find it, very hard to draw the line between personal life, political life, the education I receive, the educational work that I'm doing - teaching others - my job, its all very much bound up as part of the same process. So it's really hard for me to say in my women's studies lectures and tutorials was I taking things back from those tutorials back to my household of women or was the flow going the other way, or was it going both ways? I think it was actually going both ways. Specific books certainly, and specific feminist theorists, certainly had influence on us but often it was indirectly."

Cora offered an interesting description of the way in which the ideas expounded by particular theorists became part of the intellectual currency of the entire group, a useful record of an educational process occurring outside formal educational institutions:

"I remember a sort of turning point for me in that whole period was a particular conversation when one of the women I was closely involved with read Lesbian Nation, by Jill Johnstone [1973] and talked about the theory of 'heterosexism' which I had never come across before. It was something I had always known, it seemed, when it was described and we just sat and had this very long conversation. Even though it was just one person that read the book, saying 'Hey, she says this.' So without reading the book, without going deeply into the theory at all it was very influencing and I think that happened a great deal. That we didn't actually study, formally study.... That was fairly much how it happened; one person would read a book and say, 'Hey, what do you think of this?' and then it would just be part of this whole C.R., constant C.R. process that just went on. From the moment we woke to the moment we slept. There was just this constant dialogue that was going on with everything that we came home with. All of the time."

Cora began to see the world in terms of the theory of 'heterosexism', or 'compulsory heterosexuality'. She saw women as being physically maimed and deformed by the constricting clothing they wore to please men, women as shaped according to male desires and expectations:

"Around this time I think I really started to notice that if I was walking down the street where there were men and women walking along, I would hardly notice the men at all, although sometimes to get a point maybe, it was later in the process where the men seemed to me like alien creatures. Like a totally different species to women where I just didn't relate to them at all. At other times I would see men walking down the street with women, obviously heterosexual women very much in the mode of women as adapted by newspaper advertisements, the media image of women, the very stereo-typed image of how a woman should be, and I'd see men walking down the street with women tottering on their high heels with their hair looking uncomfortable or wearing clothes that didn't look comfortable. And the men striding beside them, much more using their bodies, much more in their clothes and using body language, it would seem more comfortable and free and it seemed to me at that time that the women were absolutely captive. It seemed to me that they were less than human, less than the men."

Cora's intellectuality was focussed on coming to understand her, and other women's, social conditioning for 'compulsory

heterosexuality'. Her sense of alienation from men and her growing sense of identification with other women led her to question her heterosexuality:

"One of the first significant conversations we had I said with great pain and humour, I think, about the trials of being a radical feminist heterosexual and just what they meant. An expression I used then and was thinking about the other day was that I had painted myself into a corner by having developed my ideas about male/female relationships in such a way that although I identified as heterosexual, I was finding it impossible to contemplate having sexual emotional relationships with men. The next stage was actually putting that to the test and going into a period of celibacy. In this period of celibacy, getting more and more into the theory, we began to identify ourselves as political lesbians because of being influenced particularly by theories such as that of Jill Johnstone and heterosexism and so on, and I began to see that as a logical extension of radical feminist theory. I was celibate, increasingly alienated from men, increasingly attributing to the patriarchy all the problems of women and of ourselves, to such an extent that we had no desire to now, and perhaps ever, be having, sexual emotional relationships with men. What friendships we had with men were becoming increasingly fragile, we had no desire to spend time with them."

Political celibacy provided Cora with a means of 'retreat' from exploitative relationships with men. After about a year, the group split: some members 'came out' as sexually active lesbians, while others resumed a pattern of heterosexuality.

SUMMARY

In order to become a feminist, a woman must come to perceive her personal experiences of 'marginality', discrimination, victimisation or oppression as social products. She must also perceive change in her own life, and the lives of women in general, as being both desirable and possible. In the last four chapters, case studies of individuals have illustrated experiences of class inequality, racism and sexual contradictions and the beginnings of each woman's engagement with feminist theory and involvement in feminist politics. At this point it is useful to draw together the threads of class, racism and sexual contradictions.

To analyse the 'personal' as a 'political' issue, or, in Mills's (1959) terms to perceive 'private troubles' as 'public issues', a person must have access to social theories which make and explain this connection. In all but one case ('Sharon'), the women in this study with marginal class backgrounds were exposed to socialist thought during childhood and adolescence: the Labour Party, the trade union movement, 'communist' literature, or, as tertiary students, to academic Marxism. Sharon differed from the others in that she viewed her experience of being 'put in commercial' as a denial of access to an upper middle-class habitus and perceived this as a continuing form of 'cultural deprivation'. Unlike those with access to socialist theories, she did not develop a socialist feminist analysis as an adult. Rather, her theory drew on her experiences of continuing financial and emotional dependence on men and was radical feminist rather than socialist in emphasis.

Awareness of racism and the injustices of imperialism was common to the Maori women and some of the Pakeha women in the study. The Maori women had access to their parents' and other relatives' stories of oppression at school - brutal beatings, racist treatment by teachers and pupils and a sense of alienation from the curriculum. This knowledge helped the women to perceive their own school experiences of racism as part of a continuing tradition of Pakeha cultural imperialism. At university they came into contact with more sophisticated theoretical perspectives on their experiences through student groups like Nga Tamatoa, the anti-apartheid protests, Maori land issues and the theories of the social sciences. Some Pakeha students were also aware of racism in schools, e.g. the clustering of Maoris in the lower streams. Involvement in the anti-South African sports tours protests and the Vietnam War protests heightened their awareness of racism and cultural imperialism as social phenomena. Women with Irish Catholic backgrounds had become aware of these issues through their families' identification with the Irish against what they construed as the forces of British domination. These themes of racial and cultural equality permeated these women's feminist analysis when, as adults in the early 1970s, they came into contact with feminist ideas.

During their adolescence and early adulthood all twelve women had experienced contradictions in their sexuality and had developed strategies of resistance and reconciliation. These contradictions have been identified as those between the liberal ideal of equality of professional and educational opportunity limited only on grounds of 'merit' and the patriarchal ideology of virginity followed by domestic femininity and the contradiction between virginity and the permissive anarchy of the sexual revolution. Liberal feminism encouraged women to resolve the contradiction between intellectuality/professionality and sexuality by pursuing careers and political involvement on the same basis as men. Radical feminism encouraged women to explore through consciousness-raising "the emotional structures of their dependency" (Foreman, 1977, 151).

The life-history technique has clearly illustrated the feminist slogan 'the personal is political' in that the type of feminist analysis developed by each woman (liberal, radical feminist, lesbian feminist, anti-racist or socialist) was consistent with the nature and intensity of her own experiences of class, racism and sexual contradictions and the availability to her of appropriate social theories.

These four chapters have focussed on two major themes: the process of becoming educationally successful and the process of becoming a feminist. In the next chapters a further theme will be explored: how does feminism influence the practice of feminist educators? What impact does feminism have on the nature of educational institutions and on the content and style of classroom encounters?

CHAPTER TWELVE

FEMINISTS IN EDUCATION: PERSPECTIVES

AND STRATEGIES

The final chapters of this thesis explore the educational strategies of individual feminist educators and their implications of such strategies for the politics and organisation of educational institutions. This chapter describes case studies of feminist teachers who espoused each of the following theoretical positions: liberal feminism, a bicultural perspective, radical feminism, republicanism¹ and Maori sovereignty, socialist feminism and a Marxist-feminist pedagogy. Details of the women's perceptions of the influences in their families of origin and schooling which led them to hold these theoretical perspectives have been given in the four preceeding chapters. For reasons of confidentiality, it has been necessary to give the women different names in this chapter from those they have been called by in previous chapters. For the same reason, precise details of the women's occupations at the time of the interviews have been omitted and women who have had particularly unusual jobs or high public profiles have been excluded. Before proceeding to the case studies, I shall give a brief overview of what feminists have written on the subject of educational strategies.

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES: AN OVERVIEW

Contemporary feminist writers have written a great deal on the subject of educational strategies (e.g. Bowles and Klein, 1983; Freeman and Jones, 1980; MacKinnon, 1982; Rutenburg, 1983; Spender, 1981a, 1983b; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Tobias, 1978). This literature suggests two approaches: one consistent with the aims of liberal feminism, and another derived from a radical feminist model of education.

The political aims of liberal feminism have been discussed in earlier chapters. Liberal feminist educational strategies are designed to bring about equal representation of the sexes throughout current educational hierarchies. Liberal feminists support strategies of affirmative action to encourage more women to apply for senior positions in teaching and educational administration (Department of

1. In the New Zealand context, the term 'republican' is used in the sense of 'anti-monarchist' and 'anti-colonialist.'

Education, 1982; Garlick, 1981; O'Neill, 1977; Thompson, 1973). A second aim is to remove sex-role stereotyping from schools, e.g. from texts (Wainwright et al, 1975) and from subject choice (Abigail, 1983). Liberals argue that boys and girls should be exposed to all subjects and girls 'compensated' for any deficiencies in their socialisation which may influence them not to attempt subjects such as physics or engineering (Byrne, 1978). Feminists have observed that 'girls' subjects' such as home economics or typing often have the lowest status in the 'hierarchies of school knowledge' (Deem, 1978; Taylor, 1984); encouraging boys to take these subjects is seen as a means of raising the status of 'women's work' as well as removing 'stereotyping' from schools and the wider society in terms of vocational choice. Another curricular strategy consistent with liberal feminism is to 'add women in' to existing curriculum subjects, e.g. making sure that women's history is taught, making the works of women artists visible in art history courses. While the aims of liberal feminism are to seek an equal balance of the sexes within current hierarchies, feminists of more radical persuasions, such as socialists who choose to work 'within the system', may also support these measures as reforms which are a necessary first step towards wider, more revolutionary, social change (Eisenstein, 1981).

The strategies advocated by radical feminist (and some socialist) educators have a different emphasis. The radical feminist model of education is based on a view of knowledge as socially constructed (Freeman and Jones, 1980; Rich, 1979; Spender, 1978, 1982b; Tobias, 1978). It is argued that men have constructed an education system which oppresses and excludes women largely through the way 'academic knowledge' is generated and taught. Within the 'patriarchal paradigm' in education (Spender, 1981b), women's experiences are denied visibility in course content and teaching methods, or are interpreted through male eyes (Foreman, 1977; Oakley, 1974; Spender, 1983b). Educational institutions, especially secondary schools and tertiary institutions, are organised on the basis of academic 'disciplines' with hierarchical patterns of organisation (e.g. 'departments'). This pattern of organising knowledge fragments and compartmentalises it so that students find it difficult to gain a sense of integration in their studies. Feminists have viewed this fragmentation as largely a

historical accident, the categorising of academic knowledge reflecting the power conflicts between male academics rather than any conceptual unity within 'subjects'. As Coyner (1983, 48-49) has pointed out, there may be a greater diversity within some 'disciplines' than between them:

"Psychology, for example embraces not only experimental and clinical approaches, but also Freudians and behaviourists. Economics includes Marxists, supply-siders, and several orientations in between. These different trends within the disciplines are not complementary; they do not 'add up' to form a consistent or somehow more complete picture. They compete with each other as alternate explanations of the same phenomenon; they too are 'distinctive' systems of knowledge. Are these differences within disciplines any less than the differences between them?"

Feminist educators have sought to break down disciplinary walls through creating a new, multidisciplinary field called 'women's studies' (Chapter Thirteen).

The patriarchal model of education has also been criticised for teaching in an impersonal, authoritarian and bureaucratic manner, which denies the validity and relevance of students' personal experiences of oppression (du Bois, 1983; Mies, 1983; Reinhartz, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1979, 1983a, 1983b). The radical feminist model of education is premised on the belief that 'the personal is political', that learning starts with the sharing of personal experiences. It is argued that through consciousness-raising, women learn

"...to look at themselves through their own eyes rather than through those of men..."[it is the]..."often painful process of breaking through the experiences of femininity. By discussing and comparing their individual experiences women develop an understanding of the emotional structures of their dependency" (Foreman, 1977, 151).

Because of the importance of sharing personal experiences of oppression, discrimination or victimisation in the radical feminist

model, many have advocated separatism in education. Reasons given for this vary, but may be summarised in terms of three main arguments. The first is that men tend to dominate discussions in mixed-sex groups, and women, socialised for 'passivity,' tend to acquiesce in this; only in single-sex groups will women begin to value their 'personal knowledge' and feel confident about expressing their feelings and thoughts (Spender, 1981). A second argument is that women share a common experience of what it means to be oppressed as women: men, by definition, cannot share this knowledge and women, therefore, have a certain 'epistemic privilege' in women's studies courses (Freeman and Jones, 1980). A third is that women have been taught not to discuss some subjects openly, especially their sexuality, and that these inhibitions apply particularly in mixed-sex groups. These arguments for separatism have been used to advocate the exclusion of men from women's studies courses. Some of them have also been used to advocate a return to single-sex secondary education for girls (Lavigne, 1980; Shaw, 1980). It is argued that the experience of a non-patriarchal learning environment can give women a sense of power to change their personal lives and work for broader social change.

Radical feminists working within formal educational institutions have advocated teaching styles which allow students the opportunity to explore themes which they perceive as directly relevant to their own lives. As Bernstein has pointed out (1975b) the pedagogy associated with infant and preschool levels of schooling allows for greater flexibility in timetabling, in 'integration' of subjects, and a less authoritarian method of assessment of pupils than the pedagogy of secondary schools and tertiary institutions. He noted that the levels of the school with the more 'child-centred' pedagogies are also those where women predominate and which also have the lowest status in the teaching profession, e.g. in terms of salaries. The levels of schooling in which men predominate as teachers, the secondary school and tertiary levels, are more bureaucratically organised and have higher status. Teachers have less flexibility in what they teach, when and how they are to teach it, and the methods of assessment tend to be more formal and impersonal. Radical feminist teachers have attempted to introduce teaching styles similar to those of primary

schools at secondary and tertiary levels; this will be explored more fully in Chapter Thirteen. The methods of radical feminist teaching are seen as being superior to the impersonality of so-called 'scientific' or 'technocratic' styles of contemporary behaviourism or programmed learning (e.g. Bruner, 1967; Skinner, 1968, 1972) which have been seen by curriculum theorists (Apple, 1979; Giroux, 1982) as the dominant ideology of contemporary [American] schooling. In contrast, the radical feminist teaching style has been described by Rich (1979, 43):

"It has been almost a given of women's courses that style and content are inseparable. A style has evolved in the class-room,, more dialogic, more exploratory, less given to pseudo-objectivity, than the traditional mode."

CASE STUDIES

i. A Liberal Feminist Strategy

Jane attributed her feminism to her experiences of discrimination, victimisation and marginality as a student and teacher of Home Economics. Perceiving the stigma attached to students and teachers of her subject, she resolved to work towards altering its status:

"I'd seen the stigmas attached to teaching home economics in schools because of my experiences on section. I'd kind of got the idea that people who took the homecraft subjects in schools were 'dumb' and they were 'think'...it carried on into the teachers as well. And I thought, "Wow, you know, this really silly, really narrow,".... So I thought, "Well if I'm going to stick with it, perhaps I should have a look at the system and see if there is something I could do within the system, to perhaps change this kind of stereotype of home economics teachers."

While on 'section'² in a girls' school, Jane met feminist women for the first time. These older and experienced teachers stimulated her interest in women's history through the topics they were teaching

2. Placement from Teachers' College for 'teaching practice'.

in their social studies and history classes. Jane had long conversations with these women, who discussed with her women's struggles for equal rights during the nineteenth century and also their own personal experiences of inequality and discrimination in the promotion structures of schools. This was a very important influence on Jane's development of a liberal feminist consciousness:

"When I went to Girls' High School there were very few men on the staff - but the women were, seemed to me, absolutely incredible. They were highly qualified. The ones that I had observed in the classroom and who'd let me come and teach their classes were just so supportive, and that was my first contact with women who were feminists. So this woman who taught History - said, "Come into my group" and, one of the things that we were talking about was, she was doing the section on Victorian England, and she got round to talking about the suffragette movement, and I thought, "Well, this is really interesting." And she said, would I like to do a few lessons? And she told me all the books I could go to and where I should start and what the syllabus was and things like this, so I did, I really got into this. And I used to have really good discussions with her about what happened and she kind of explained to me...the ideology of what the Pankhursts were on about and what they were trying to achieve and how that carried on into New Zealand and how she felt about women in the school. And she was giving me, showing me examples of how at Girls High School she felt that it was, (she'd taught in about four schools), but it was the only school that she'd taught in where promotion of women within the school was encouraged and she thought this was because of the philosophy of the principal, who really was a go-getter. She influenced me greatly in that time I spent there."

On completing her training, Jane won a position teaching home economics and other subjects at a brand new co-educational secondary school in a provincial city. From the very beginning, she worked hard on upgrading the image of home economics: actively encouraging boys and academic pupils to take the subject, becoming active in her local home economics teachers' group and attending inservice courses. Through making all of the technical subjects compulsory in the first year, the school exposed both sexes to all of the subjects. Jane's efforts were rewarded by high examination success rates, attracting academic pupils of both sexes to her classes, and being recognised as a 'resource person' by her colleagues:

"I thought, "If we're stuck with this subject, home science, in schools then perhaps we'd better make the most of it and try and change some of the stereotypes and fight the system. So I got into that and by the time I had my first fifth form I had the highest School 'C' pass rate in the school and continued to do so up until the year I left. I had the second highest pass-rate over all the other subjects. I actively encouraged from the start in the third form to have all the kids come through in the technical subjects, you know, just to have a taste of them. And we did this so that they had half a year in tech. drawing, half a year in home economics, half a year in art. And so by the time they got to the fifth form, each year I seemed to have a good group and they all opted to do home economics in the school 'C' year. So I did have brighter kids and its good now when I look back that so many of them went on, some of those kids went on to university. Two of them have done food technology courses, two of them are currently finishing Home Science training in Dunedin, another two are Home Economics teachers who went through the teachers' college courses. We, I think, managed to dispel quite a few myths. At the end of my first fifth form year, I was suddenly being asked by the advisors to go and give workshops at Home Science meetings, which I did."

At the end of her fourth year of teaching, Jane applied for and won a first-level position of responsibility (PR 1) at her school. Apart from the 'Senior Woman', no other woman on the staff had a P.R. She then won a P.R.2 at the same school. This elicited sexist responses from some of her male colleagues:

"I found that when I had the P.R.2., when I got it that there was quite a lot of 'anti' feeling among the males on the staff although many of them said, "No, you deserve it, Jane, because you work harder than most other people round here, but really, should a Home Economics person have a P.R.2"....I was the only Home Economics teacher with a PR2 in town at that time and in the next few years more people got RR2s. But I remember at workshops people would say, "Oh, Jane got a PR2 in Home Economics" and everyone would say, "Wow, how did you get that?"

Jane's awareness of and involvement with the feminist movement was further kindled by the university courses she took in social science subjects as an adult student. She did her degree part-time, attending

lectures after school hours. She began to read feminist theory, and mentioned Friedan's Feminine Mystique as having been particularly influential on her thinking at that time. She also attended one of the United Women's Conventions where she encountered women from a variety of theoretical positions, such as lesbian feminism. As a result of this, Jane began to read about lesbianism and began to wonder whether or not some of the single women who had so strongly encouraged her in her career had been 'closet' lesbians.

Recognising her own teaching situation as a privileged one, Jane became involved in setting up her local feminist teachers' group as a means of supporting other women who were experiencing discrimination in their careers:

"we were trying to get 'Feminist Teachers' going. We were talking about it and how we felt that at our school we were quite well off, but compared with women in other schools, you know, there were lots of hassles and just kind of becoming aware generally of what was going on in schools, women not applying for positions, why they didn't apply; and if they did apply why they didn't get the jobs, the PRs; Home Economics and Clothing being put down."

Jane's educational theory and strategies in these early years of her career were characteristic of liberal feminism, a description with which she concurred:

"I think then I would've been a liberal feminist. I thought, you know, equality of educational opportunity, all those kinds of things. I thought, 'Right, that's where it is, that's what we've got to do, we've got to change things from within the system, we've got to talk to the Department of Education.'"

At the time of the interviews, Jane was taking time out of teaching to bring up her preschool children. She had returned to university to complete her degree and had taken this opportunity to advance her knowledge of feminist theory. Her re-entry into teaching as a 'reliever' in a co-educational school had shocked her. Nothing had changed in the years she had been out of the profession and the

sexism of the men seemed to her an enormous impediment to women's equality:

"I found the men on the staff, their ideas, and their approaches to things, especially to things like corporal punishment, totally alien to the way I felt. The more I looked at it, the more I saw patriarchal administration with the women figuring less and less. The men were running it. Although there's a senior woman, it's the men who make all the decisions. There's only two women head of departments. I'd gone back to university thinking, 'Right we've got to change the system from within.' I'd gone back four years later and nothing had changed: if anything it had got worse. There were fewer women in senior positions, the men were still making the decisions as to what happened in the school. I was absolutely incredulous at attitudes of the males towards corporal punishment, and that they should have it. I was very angry, and I thought, 'What has got to happen, to change the system?' I just thought 'It's hopeless'. I was fairly despondent. We're not going to get anywhere unless we educate these damned males."

Despite the need she saw to change the attitudes of men, Jane believed that women and girls were freer to develop academically and professionally in girls' schools, a position shared by a large number of liberal and radical feminists (e.g. Lavigne, 1980; Shaw, 1980):

"I think that probably the best thing for me to do would be to go into a girls' school and have a look and see what's happening there, because I still remember the good positive things that were going on at Girls' High ten years ago, and I just wonder if those things are still being manifested there. I think perhaps it's the area that I have got to work in. If I can get History, 'cause you know, it's how the Suffragette movement started with girls, then girls' schools in England, and the women teachers who joined the Suffragette movement, and the influence on the girls they taught, increasing the girls' awareness so that when they left school they joined the movement. I think perhaps that's one way that we could perhaps help."

Jane described her theoretical position as 'changing' because of her disillusionment with the slowness of change within educational hierarchies and her exposure to radical perspectives in university women's studies courses:

"I've had all these loose ideas floating around from the last four or five years - from teaching, from Playcentre, from being a Mum, from being a Mum back in education after all that time. And suddenly there are people talking about things that have happened to me. I spent a lot of time last year changing my position. When I wrote an essay for a Women's Studies course, I kept changing, thinking, 'I think I'm a Marxist, no, I'm definitely a radical,'" and then I'd have doubts, you see, the more reading I did. And people were saying to me, "it's good that you're changing." I think feminism is something that isn't constant."

ii. A Bi-cultural Perspective

Aroha attributed her feminism to her awareness of the strength and history of Maori women and her exposure to Pakeha feminist theory in a university context. She described her feminist educational strategies as 'liberal feminist' in the sense that much of her political activity was centred on encouraging Maori women to attain positions of seniority in educational hierarchies in order to use their strengths and talents to combat racism amongst teachers and pupils and to promote the teaching of Maori language and culture in schools. Aroha attributed her own success in attaining a position of responsibility to the support and encouragement of other Maori women in education.

Aroha's sense of pride and confidence in being a Maori woman had come partly through her awareness of their importance in history. She had read the writing of Rose Pere (1983) on the status of women in Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu and said that this was highly significant to her in her appreciation of the 'different but equal' or 'complementary' roles of Maori women:

"Tuhoe-Potiki and Kahungunu women, prior to the introduction of Christianity and the 'original sin of Eve,' were extremely liberated as compared with the author's English tipuna. With the exception of slaves (male and female) the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions; they retained their own names upon marriage. Retaining their own identity and whakapapa (genealogy) was of the utmost importance and children could identify with the kinship group of either of their parents" (Pere, 1983, 51-52).

Aroha described a conversation she had had with a male Maori scholar versed in both Pakeha and Maori scholarly traditions about the symbolic role of women on the marae. No formal occasion on the marae could begin unless both sexes were present - both were of equal status and importance:

"We discussed the importance of Maori women in traditional Maori society and it made me think that we were really important, in fact we had an elevated status in some instances above men and according to Maori myth woman was the first being ahead of man; but you look at the Christian things it's Adam isn't it before woman? Adam created woman. but he said that the tangi³ situation and the pakeha interpretation of that is that the man, the male, has the most important part of that situation because they're doing all the speeches. But he said the most important part is the woman when she gives that initial call to welcome everybody back to the marae and to bring the dead back into the marae. He was saying it was because of Hine-nui-to-po and Hine-nui-te-po was the off-spring of Tane who was one of the gods, and Tane mated with his own daughter. She got 'whakama'⁴ and so she went into hiding and he went to try to get her to come back and she said, 'No, you go and "I'll stay here. You go and you have our children now and I will receive them on death.'" And he was saying that when these sorts of things were written up she was the personification of death. The pakeha or Christian interpretation I suppose, was that woman represented evil, the unknown. Whereas for the Maori it was just the other place, the place to go back to mother. I felt good listening to that. So the woman that does the initial call on the marae, there's a dedication to Hine-nui-te-po to say 'there we are bringing back your off-spring.' So the woman is the giver of life and taker back of life."

The Pakeha liberal feminist demand for equality in the sense of the abolition of differentiated sex-roles was antithetical to this tradition which Aroha regarded as enhancing, rather than demeaning, women's status.

3. funeral

4. 'Whakama' is translated as 'shy or ashamed' or 'embarrassed' (Metge and Kinloch, 1978).

In the context of her work within educational institutions, Aroha espoused a liberal feminist strategy, inspired largely by the personal support she had received from women, particularly Maori women, in senior positions. She was concerned that so few women seemed to aspire to these positions. As some researchers have noted (e.g. Department of Education, 1982b) some women have tended to plan their careers around class-room teaching rather than administration. She saw a need for

"more women that can get themselves in those positions and women who are concerned about social issues like that...I do encourage other women around me to do that sort of thing, but a lot of them have the attitude that I used to have. They're quite happy to stay in the classroom. It's sad."

Aroha believed that women's experience in rearing children made them better teachers than most men and also more concerned with 'social issues'. When women did come forward and became involved with committees, such as teachers' union executives, these qualities of deeper concern with people made them more dedicated to the job:

"the women tend to talk and get on with what they've talked about. The men seem to talk and that's it, that is my impression. That was the same with several committees I've been on and men have been the chairpersons of those committees, yet they've done stuff all. They've said lots of good things but they've really done nothing to get those things under way. Its been the women that have tried to get the mechanics into motion and the men have just said, "Yes, this, this and this can be done or should be done", but not done anything. So I would rather see the women making sure that they get done. Like being in those responsible positions."

Some men's enculturation for violence made them a danger in the class-room. Aroha had had a number of negative encounters with male teachers, describing them as aggressive with children:

"I've talked to various women and we all seem to agree that things that are happening in schools, the bad things, like there's one teacher in school at the moment

and it's a male and he's very aggressive with children, aggressive in our terms, and if we could get around to getting rid of that kind of feeling in schools, to make children feel like school is an interesting place to be, that they can get a lot from school."

Aroha expressed pride in the achievements of contemporary Maori women. Her liberal feminist strategies were aimed largely at contributing further to this cause:

"I feel proud when I hear mention of Maoris in general and Maori women in particular and it's come in the last three years I guess, that I've come to hear more and more about Maori women. Previously it was only Maori men that we ever heard about. Lately I seem to hear that there are so many Maori women coming to the fore and I think that is fantastic, I think they can do a hell of a lot."

iii. Radical Feminism and Marginality

Marie was married with children when she first attended university. After graduating, she attended teachers' college and at the time of the interview she was completing her training and spending a considerable amount of time in schools on 'section' (teaching practice placement). Marie's feminist perspective was radical feminist. She did not believe that emulating male career patterns would liberate women - in fact, women's mothering role gave them a certain moral superiority over men, whose career patterns and socialisation for 'masculinity' deprived them of the opportunity for reflection on moral issues and interpersonal relationships. Marie believed that 'feminine' child-centred methods of teaching were superior to the pseudo-scientific technocratic behaviourism she was being taught at teachers' college. Her strong views about sex-roles drew criticism and antagonistic response from her fellow students, from lecturers and from teachers she met on section. Being a feminist in education alienated Marie from her peers and colleagues, making her a 'marginal' person in educational settings.

At teachers' college, Marie's attempts to be critical of sexist assumptions in course work were met with derision:

"If we're talking about girls in a classroom situation, I tend to say, are girls disadvantaged in the classroom? I merely raise the question. And then usually you get jumped on. Or, if I'm doing an English course and I make any comments about how sexist the book is, or the content, you know you get "Oh, not you again". Especially as we've looked at some interesting books. But, there's just this general sort of attitude that feminism's not something 'nice'."

Marie believed that most of the teachers' college students had got there because they were 'good conformists'. They believed in a 'natural law' in the distribution of 'intelligence', believing themselves to be slightly inferior to university graduates. The discipline and regimentation of the college annoyed Marie, who disliked its hierarchical and bureaucratic pattern of organisation:

"It epitomises the high school environment, if you want my honest opinion. And I hated high school, so you can imagine how I like it there. The teachers and students have got that, sort of, wall between them. They keep their healthy distance, and its sort of paternalistic in a funny sort of way. They don't really accommodate people who are capable of thinking for themselves."

Marie expressed concern at the large numbers of fundamentalist Christians in the teachers' college, seeing such students as actively reinforcing sexism (Dasler, 1982; Dworkin, 1983; Eisenstein, 1982) and being incapable of thinking for themselves:

"They see me as something rather vile and low, but they are definitely over there. And they have very tunnel vision. And, of course, they see women, that its their natural role that the women's place is in the home and things like that. So I can see when they go out to teach that they will encourage little girls to be little girls, in the sense that they see little girls should be... They are actually putting the boundaries up, rather than the little girl herself. But it is quite strong over there. They're good conformists. You see, they don't question anything. And its interesting, the English course I'm doing has got a number of them in it. And you can see how it affects their thinking. You know, that they get quite shocked when they have to look into some of the material they have to look into. We did a play. And we actually acted it, you know role played it. And one girl wouldn't even swear. There was

one part where she had to take the Lord's name in vain. I didn't realise, I was looking on the book for a cue. She wouldn't. And I actually questioned her on it. And I said "Well, its only a play." She still wouldn't do it. She said "I'll use something else instead." But I argued that you lost all meaning of the play if you're going to change the words around. That was precisely why those words were put in there for a purpose. But, she wouldn't, no way could you get her to say it."

Marie's first encounter with sexism in schools was when she tried to do some 'consciousness-raising' in an infant class on placement in response to some sexist attitudes expressed by some of the children:

"When I was out on section my associate said to me "Of course you're a feminist." She obviously picked it up in the classroom, by the way I taught the children... one boy made a comment that girls couldn't do a certain task, and I actually asked the rest of the children whether they thought that was correct. And we talked about it, and we looked at instances where girls were doing jobs the same as boys. So it was in general things like that. So once again it was mentioned as if it was a negative against me, rather than something in my favour. Oh, also in the reading material for the classroom too. There was a book where the fisher woman was the old hag and the male was presented favourably. And I thought we should talk about this with the children, because it tends to always be the women that's presented unfavourably. But the teacher doesn't think its necessary."

Marie's teaching style was 'child-centred' and reflected her feminist belief in the importance of 'personal knowledge', allowing children some freedom to decide what they were to learn and when they were to learn it. (This 'phenomenological' approach to pedagogy will be more fully outlined in Chapter Thirteen). Marie rejected the highly compartmentalised and technocratic approach to education held by her associate teacher:

"I'd like to teach the children so that they can be thinkers. So that, when they are grown up they'll be able to make choices for themselves. So they can think of all the alternatives. But if you have that sort of attitude or that sort of philosophy, you want to open them up to all sorts of experiences. Now, see, when I was on section, I did a unit in classical music, and we

talked about composers and things like that. Well those children were five and yet many of them could talk about composers and the different symphonies and what they had composed, you know, different pieces. We also did movement to music. Now my teacher felt that wasn't a bread and butter subject. She thought it was very nice teaching them all these things, but was it the bread and butter thing? Mainly because, you see, what would happen I would go in and start it off. I played Beethoven's Fifth, and first of all I'd tell them the story of the composer, then I would play the music and we'd talk about it. What sort of feelings it invoked in them and things like this. And how they think the composer felt. But you see, what would happen was, sometimes the lesson would go on for a long time so it meant that other routines had to be put aside. And she felt threatened because of that. Because they hadn't done their reading, couldn't see that reading could be part of this. Even though the children were writing and expressing themselves in art and things like that. That wasn't part of the school syllabus. Then I did one on ballet, and I took along tutus and pointed shoes. And, I sort of let it in. I introduced Tchaichovsky's music and how he wrote music for ballets. And so we got the children talking about this. I let them put on the costumes, and I said to them, "You can put on a ballet." Well, that went on all day. There was no time limit to that. Because they just wanted to be in them all the time. And they all had turns, and I had little boys wanting to be 'male ballerinas'. They were so engrossed. Shelly, who wore a tutu, they thought she was absolutely beautiful. Even the little boys said "Oh, isn't she beautiful." So we sort of talked about things that were aesthetically pleasing to the eye. Um, but like I say, that's very threatening to a teacher who sticks to a rigid programme, because she can't see where that applies to everyday life. Where I felt, I was providing those children with a living experience that they would remember for the rest of their lives. You know, 'the day I wore the tutu, danced.' So it depends on your priorities I suppose. You see, I see education as being a wider thing, encompassing lots of alternatives. Not just reading, writing and maths. So I tend to, sort of, excite the children to a high degree and the poor teacher can't cope."

iv. A Socialist Feminist

Fiona was an infant teacher. She had first come across feminist ideas through contact with other 'mature' women students in her classes at teachers' college and university. Contact with these women inspired Fiona to read as much as she could about women's achievements, her main source of information being women's biographies

and autobiographies. Fiona was married to a 'working-class' man whose work-mates were largely Maoris. In an attempt to understand them and the nature of their oppression, Fiona had become involved in Maori culture groups and courses. Her introduction to feminist theory was through her reading about American Black women and she had linked sexism and racism:

"I made that connection through reading people like Angela Davis and people like that who are Black women, reading mainly about Black women. And about the different movements in American. At the same time they were fighting racist attitudes, they were fighting sexist attitudes as well and a lot of these women came up against it with their own people, and their own political circle of people, which utterly threw me."

Fiona's interest in Black women's and Maoris' oppression led her to become interested in socialism. She came into contact with socialist ideas largely through a process of bibliographic 'detective work':

"It was reading the bibliographies of books. You know, I'd reading up about Angela Davis and she would list the Soledad Brothers and all these other interesting books and she mentioned time and time again socialists or the fact that it was all a capitalist problem and that. Which got me thinking about alternative systems, alternative societies, then starting to read up about socialism and communism and things like that."

Taking a first-year sociology course had further kindled her interest in socialism, particularly her introduction to Weber's 'protestant work ethic':

"I did a sociology course and I came across ideas that I'd never come across before about society and, I'd never even thought about it before, and all about capitalism and the protestant religion and all this sort of thing, and I found it so amazing and it all fitted in and I thought, "Yes, that's what's really happening!" and I started reading up about all this stuff about capitalism and all this sort of thing."

As a result of her study of sociology and of Maori language and culture, Fiona rejected the dominant model of Maori education in schools at the time - that Maoris needed 'compensation' for 'cultural deprivation':

"I was just so amazed that there was a whole other way of looking at society, because I just hadn'd thought about it before and that really set me off, I think, looking at minority cultures in terms of exploitation of people and exploitation of minority cultures...I got more and more involved with Maori things just to try and get an understanding of what was happening. And then that led me to realising that the same thing happened with women, racism and chauvinism."

She became one of the first Pakehas in her district to introduce Maori language and culture sessions for all children in her classroom.

Fiona was working on developing further her own socialist feminist theory. She had been influenced by anarchist theorists such as Proudhon, but was appalled at the sexism of his theory and some of the information she had read about Marx's and other radical men's attitudes towards the women in their own lives. The biographies of socialist women such as Kollontai and Zetkin were providing her with useful material:

"I like reading about how they've managed to overcome (or if they have), the struggle of socialism and feminism, - I want to know how it fits in, or if it fits in, and whether they thought it fitted in, and the measures they took, especially after the Russian Revolution, the child care measures they took and all this sort of thing and where they went wrong and they didn't work out. So I'm just working through at the moment where feminism is in relation to socialism, because I'm working on the basis of stateless socialism, of small community groups. Because in most of the literature I've read, I've come to the conclusion that you've got to get back to your smaller groups because its the size and the communication size, the whole size of everything which has distorted people's rights, I mean nobody has a voice any more. And you've got to get back to your small groups if its going to work out. And then I've got to work out about how you can change men's basic ideas on women, which are still around. Because this is what happened with the Russian Revolution; they got back to a different sort of

society and everything, but the men's ideas didn't change at all."

She became involved in a socialist organisation, although her family responsibilities and heavy workload prevented her from becoming as involved with political groups as she would have liked.

Fiona's practice as an educator was strongly informed by her aims of combating sexism and racism. This involved her in working with both the children and their parents, usually the mothers:

"I think attitudes of parents towards many of the issues, many of the feminist issues such as sexist books, you know, boys should be doing this, girls should be doing this, in the school, things like that. I'm very aware of stereotyping, of girls being in the family corner and boys being in the sandpit and all this sort of thing. And you come up against a lot of stereotyped attitudes amongst the parents, about not wanting their girls to go into the sandpit and get dirty. You know, they'll get their lovely little pretty dresses dirty and this sort of thing. And I just normally say, "Well don't send them in pretty little dresses. Make sure they're in old clothes." And, you know, you come up against that a lot."

She had developed strategies for dealing with sexist materials in the class-room. She described the way she encouraged children, including her own, to be critical of sexist assumptions in well-known stories:

"I find it's really hard for instance with books, fairy-tales - often you're so conditioned yourself you don't realise what's happening. But I now change a lot of the stories, I'll change them around and put different actors in here and there, but still read the basic one every so often. And just give them other ideas of looking at it. I felt a bit guilty doing that at first, because having been brought up with fairy tales, the tradition of reading fairy tales and things like that and them being an almost sacrosanct sort of thing, you know? The basis of children's education at the beginning and all this sort of thing, which I must admit I brought my own kids up on. I now discuss with them in fact these very things about fairy tales. I had a whole lot of books out for school, because we did about fairy

tales a couple of weeks ago and my kids were sitting reading these books the other day. Although they're miles too old for them they were sitting reading them and I said, I was talking about the stereotyped things in them and that, I was saying, "Just imagine how it would have been if Little Red Riding Hood had attacked the wolf herself instead of the hunter having to rush in?" All this sort of thing, you know? And so, hopefully, even though I brought them up on these stereotyped books at the beginning, they're thinking a bit differently now."

Fiona was concerned at the dominance of men in educational decision-making positions. She also felt that there should be more young women lecturers at teachers' college to challenge the unquestioned sexist assumptions of the more conservative young teachers' college students:

"A lot of the younger students were really anti-feminist, terribly anti. The three girls who were involved with feminism they thought they were really anti-men, because they were going through the stage that I had gone through, of going out with guys and everything, of thinking guys were really marvellous and they were at a completely different growth stage than we were at, who had gone through all that and seen the other side. So I can remember a really strong feeling in the class, there was a real barrier between a few of us older ones who thought similarly, especially on women's issues, versus the others who didn't; there was quite a barrier between us on that."

She observed that some women who had succeeded in men's terms as lecturers had assumed the personality and demeanour of males and that this was a negative influence on the younger students in terms of professional role-models:

"Just about all my lecturers have been male lecturers and I think that's quite noticeable at varsity and especially at Training College. The odd female lecturer that you have is often not really - I know the one that we had didn't relate well to us at all. And so you got a really negative opinion of a person in that position - a female in a high position in education. In fact, I've talked with several people about it and they have all said that the women that they have known in higher educational positions and higher positions have been

people that they haven't got on with, they haven't related well to or anything, they haven't related to them as women and things like that. "Well women can get to that position, but look at them when they get there" sort of view, you know. 'Mannish,' this sort of thing. Sort of authoritarian, sort of disciplinarian sort of people. And of course some of them have not been married and had children or things like that, so you know, you immediately think, "Right, that's what you have to do to get there."

Fiona had become very interested in the affairs of her union, but has been unable to become highly involved because of family commitments. She has, however, become active in feminist teachers' and anti-racist groups.

v. A White Woman Against Racism

Anne had become aware of oppression in New Zealand society when she was teaching a group of girls in a 'special' school. Many had been placed in this school for 'delinquency'. They were nearly all Maori girls:

"all the time I was beginning to question, I was beginning to question things around me. Just little by little. That made me question things really fundamentally because there were girls who I saw were intelligent, marvellous kids that I loved. I loved them intensely. I used to weep buckets over them and the way that they were treated I couldn't believe. I just could not believe the things that were happening to them. I'd go home and tell my parents and my father would say 'nonsense' and when I used to have that kind of conflict with them I knew, I knew that they were wrong and I knew that there were things really seriously fundamentally wrong with New Zealand society. That just pushed me forward in my political thinking quite a lot. Not formally but certainly emotionally in terms of knowing. "I know that things aren't as you say they are, I know that things aren't right, I know that there's deep injustices in New Zealand against blacks and against women." That's where it started, teaching there. I put my heart and soul into that."

Anne returned to university as an adult student. Here she began to identify strongly as a feminist. Her experiences as a tutor in an

all-male university department led to strong feelings of marginality and alienation. As a graduate student she found it difficult to relate to male lecturers:

"All my experiences seemed to confirm it, confirm everything that was being said and so I identified myself as a feminist and started to think about feminism. I was doing post-graduate work and I was having terrible troubles with my male lecturer who would not recognise my emotions, would not allow me to go into his office and cry or say "I just can't do it. It's too hard. I'm totally isolated, I'm working by myself, I can't bear it." He wouldn't let me, he wouldn't give me that kind of space and I really recognised it as a male thing."

Male lecturers did not recognise her emotions as valid or as relevant to her academic work. However, Anne found it necessary to deal with the stress, the personal pain and self-doubts involved in doing graduate work:

"The minute I started to say, "Oh", the minute I kind of looked woeful he would say something like "Well, you'll have the next paper done by next week won't you?" - that kind of thing, totally cutting me off and sort of brisking me along and I felt totally ignored and I just couldn't express the way I felt. I couldn't begin to talk to him about it because he would just go off into some other track and jolly everybody along."

Anne found the content of her courses sexist. Sexism pervaded the perspectives of her lecturers, including those who described themselves as radicals:

"There are male academic Marxists who are sexist in their writings still, even though they try not to be as much as possible. They still make the assumptions. When they write papers they still write about workers and they divide the population up into sort of workers and middle-class and producers and capitalists and all that sort of thing, because they're the great new Marxists around the place. They forget women, forget women altogether."

Sexism also pervaded the literature of her field. She had begun to read feminist theory, particularly in the social sciences, claiming that she had been strongly influenced and impressed by

"Anne Oakley, reading her things on motherhood and housework. The style of research that she did in those really impressed me because I always have read a lot but I always used to wonder why I read all this research, all these male writers and it wouldn't excite me. I'd be going to sleep over the page, literally. I used to think, "Oh, it's just because I'm stupid, it's because I can't concentrate. It's because I'm not motivated, it's because I'm bored." But then I would pick up someone like Anne Oakley and I'd read passionately from beginning to end. Well I thought, "What's going on?" and I realised that it was the way in which women write. I just immediately identified with what they're saying. It rivets me. It's important. It hits me where I think, now this is true, this right, this is important whereas with the men it was ponderous and so separated from my life and from anything that I believed was real or true, that I'd just go snoring to sleep over it...even Berger and Luckman. I read their book, I was rather riveted by it, The Social Construction of Reality, because that started to tie in theoretically with all my notions of feminism and socialisation of women and the way in which the world was constructed in certain ways. I went through their book with a pen. I had a borrowed copy and I went through the book with a pen putting great underlinings over all the sexism in that book. That's what kept me going, so I could find the next sexist passage."

Anne had, after completing her degree returned to her educational work in a large inner city girls' secondary school with a high proportion of Maori and Pacific Island pupils. She had come to believe that feminism was becoming 'reformist' rather than radical and the class structure of the school's streaming practices was reinforcing this belief:

"Too often over the years I've been involved in feminism I see everything just disintegrating into reform. Lovely fun, aren't we having a good time and aren't we talking about exiting things, but really in the end it's just a sort of intellectual exercise to make us all feel better. I mean the position of women if you like 'has improved' but the girls I'm working with, feminism hasn't touched them. The upper stream fifth form, they're spouting feminist theory all over the place."

They're all going to be doctors and lawyers. Quite overt. But the low stream girls, the Polynesian girls, are anti-feminist or not feminists. They're still accepting the old things, the old myths and that's the thing that really concerns me. There is change, but it's only happening in certain areas. And that's what I'm frightened of being part of. That's part of my criticism of Women's Studies its basically reformist."

Viewing feminism as a reformist strategy for privileged white women, Anne believed that the low-stream Polynesian girls could best be helped by radical Black women:

"The only way that they can be got to and that is happening a bit, is through radical black women. And the way they go through it is not through feminism. They don't go through feminism at all to those women. That comes much, much later. They go through the cultural thing. They teach them and they work with them culturally on songs, traditional knowledge and things like that and then slowly as the women get stronger and more confident in their own culture and amongst their own people, then they start to put in a bit of feminism. And that kind of comes through example through looking at the strong women."

After reading Donna Awatere's articles on 'Maori Sovereignty', Anne and others had formed a white women's group to study its implications for them and for Aotearoa (New Zealand) as a whole. This had led to her moving away from white feminist theory:

"I see it as something which offers a very fundamental challenge to New Zealand. I used to think feminism did that and now I see that it's been lost to reformism, to liberalism and I think that Maori Sovereignty is a true radical move for New Zealand. I want New Zealand to move in a radically different direction. It's not openly feminist but because radical Maori women are the ones who are directing it, I see that their interests are often in common with mine. But it's something that's very much in it's infancy ...we set up a discussion group around it... A white women's group because we were interested in what it was saying to New Zealand. I don't want to do it on behalf of Maori women, I want to do it because their aims are the same as mine in the end. In the sense that I feel that what they're doing has got pay-offs for me, it's moving in a direction which I find interesting and exciting for New

Zealand. I want an independent 'New Zealand - identified' country. A country that is identified here and not identified in Britain is going to be Maori-identified and that's where our identity is. The whole colonial inheritance which New Zealand still clings onto which I vehemently repudiate now. My political activity at the moment is focussed very much in Republican sentiment, really desiring an independent Pacific, and independent New Zealand and ridding ourselves of our colonial inheritance and our colonial mentality which we still have. We're still very much oriented towards Britain in every institution in this country."

Anne was continuing to read social theory and had developed an interest in the Marxist sociology of education. She was trying to develop a theory which adequately dealt with race, class and gender:

"I suppose that I'm really just developing a Marxist sociological analysis in my work and very much looking at the role of schools reproducing the status quo and how they do that."

vi. A Marxist Feminist's Pedagogy

At the time of the interviews, Terry was teaching adults in a tertiary institution. Her sophisticated knowledge of feminist theory had been put into practice in her teaching and she had become well known in feminist circles in her town for her innovative, non-hierarchical and multi-media approach to teaching adult students.

Terry had learned some of her teaching skills through teaching young children in primary schools. Some of her radical ideas about education and about issues such as class, race and peace had been inspired by contact with radical lecturers and visitors to her teachers' college during the mid-1960s:

"Two important things happened at teachers college in terms of my awareness of race issues and my political awareness of class issues. The first was an English course which was very 'social-issues-oriented.' The second thing was, it was the 'red' teachers college. It had people who were incredibly involved in race issues and Vietnam, black consciousness and we were always having people in to talk to us in assembly to do with those issues. Whatever was controversial the Teachers

College was open and those people were encouraged to come...I just loved that right from the start. All that stuff of trying to deal with moral issues, ethical issues, issues of class; I just responded to it instantly. Really, really enjoyed being part of it getting into the debates, going on marches down town..."

While at teachers' college, Terry had also become active as a folk singer in local coffee bars, and she regarded this as an important part of her political awakening:

"I seemed to instantly identify with class-based songs and songs of my ancestors, that is Scottish and Irish ancestors. I became conscious and quite well up on this like the Feenians, the I.R.A., the Black and Tans - the kind of conditions of people coming out to New Zealand, the goldminers, the whalers, the convicts in Australia. And so we used to have sailors roll in off the ships, people with lots of different things to offer, not only musically but in terms of history. I'd done all this history at school but I didn't really feel like I knew a lot of history and I learned a lot more from this stuff. I used to practise a lot to do a lot of music practice at home and I found all the time I'd been into English and poetry, I'd always turned on to that kind of thing, I had no trouble remembering vast ballads and vast words and music and I was right into it. I used to spend a lot of my spare time doing that. I think that was very important for me, like race consciousness, but particularly my class consciousness because a lot of that stuff was to do with hard times that people of various lower classes, whether it was American mid-west, Woody Guthrie style of stuff, whether it was the Black blues stuff- Mississippi blues or whether it was the proletariat in Scotland and England, anti-English stuff, the convicts in Australia, the anti-screws, gaol songs - that whole working class experience was opened up to me there and I just loved it from the start. I was really neat, really important and I still identify with a lot of that."

Terry's musical talents proved a valuable asset in her primary school teaching. Although teacher's college had given Terry a sensitivity to social issues, she felt that it had not prepared her adequately for teaching. Her 'child-centred' teaching style was inspired not by educational theories from college or university texts, but by her own unhappy experiences at school. Terry described her teaching style as grounded in her own experiences:

"I found the curriculum stuff and the actual teaching stuff that I got at teachers' college was mostly fairly boring and I don't think it really helped me very much. I think some of it was instinctive out of the kind of things like not feeling recognised as a child in myself, as an adolescent and feeling the needs of mine had not been fulfilled. So I tried to do them for the children once I got out there ...Dad was anti 'play way', whereas I always thought I'd never had any 'play way' and I wondered what the hell it was, and it felt right for me. My natural way was the way I felt I learned, that's how it was. That the way I felt I learned was what I tried to do with children, so if I found rote learning and book reading of the type that I continued to be told to do, rather boring, I never tried to do it to the kids. I also tried to find out about the child individually and therefore tailored the course around the child and not try and impose structures. It was very, very obvious to me and I think it worked. I think I was a pretty good teacher by and large after that first year I actually succeeded very well."

Terry gave a lengthy description of her approach to teaching adults. This provides a useful description of what Spender (1981a) has called the 'patriarchal paradigm' and the 'feminist model' of education, an empirical study of which will be presented in Chapter Thirteen. Terry's analysis of her own practice showed clearly how it was her own experiences of victimisation, discrimination and marginality in educational settings which had inspired her to devise teaching strategies which would help students to come to terms with these experiences in their own lives. For example, she described her own experiences of authoritarian teaching at school as important influences on her development of a freer approach:

"I think my educational philosophy has developed over a long period. My schooling was just so influential, in what I've ended up exposing as a philosophy, my experience as an individual..."

Her approach to her students was as an equal, a fellow learner. Terry discussed this approach with her students, offering them the opportunity to criticise her pedagogy and teaching styles they had experienced elsewhere in educational institutions. By making the human relationships in her class-room a part of what was being

studied, Terry hoped to liberate them from the taken-for-granted power relationship between teacher and student:

"This idea of the teacher and the learner should be a very dynamic thing and if people are really naturally learning they're often busy teaching each other and they're learning from each other and this whole business, of 'this is the person that knows and this the person that doesn't; is just fucked. Completely fucked and so my educational philosophy now is talking about that. For example, I actually go into my classes now and discuss educational problems just as specifically as that. "I'm here as a learner" and then if they want to bring up things like "your being paid X thousand dollars a year and I'm not," then we can talk about that. We can talk about the difference in power that represents, how it influences them, how it influences me, questions about assessments, patriarchy, everything. They can all come up in the classroom and I do that specifically. I want students to think about that. It's certainly not a curriculum-centred education going on and I believe that in the course of my teaching of adults that I've received an enormous amount of feed-back and input and learning experience from those students. I owe them an enormous amount. I'm sure more than I've ever given them. They've been wonderful. I find students really respond to that, most of them."

This perspective may be seen as characteristic of radical feminist approaches to the teacher-student relationship, as described by writers such as Freeman and Jones (1980,432):

"This assumption clearly entails a different conception of the teacher-learner relation from the liberal view (where teachers are usually seen as having knowledge which they pass on to students who lack it). Rather, in this context, all are on an equal footing, insofar as every member has had experiences which are germane to the group discussions."

Terry has found the rigid timetabling of tertiary institutions oppressive and restrictive of the teaching and learning process. She found the primary school system gave her greater freedom:

"That was one of the stresses that I found immediately as soon as I entered teaching. It was pretty hard for me with numbers I faced, and this has continued. It's

just as bad if not worse in the tertiary system. How the hell can you deal with the full person? There are so many structures militating against that: sheer numbers, the fact that's its all timetabled and cut up the way that it is, that it's really unnatural I think, in the way that people are expected to be there at X hour doing X topic. All of that is so false. I have this sort of naturalistic theory of teaching that you can say "OK that is a 'teachable moment'," or that kind of thing, but there's the teacher and the learner there too and that doesn't happen just because its 10 a.m. and its time to be scheduled such and such. When it's so false and fucked and our whole education system tends to be like that. In many ways the primary system was a bit better because there you had the same children a lot of the time right through from 9 until 3 more or less and you could to some degree, you didn't have to teach maths right then because you had this timetable on the wall that said, that tended to be when the inspector came and looked at it, but you weren't expected to be actually doing that. It was expected to be child-centred and it was expected that the curriculum areas would be integrated together so you would have a theme going. All the maths, languages and everything else was all around whatever the theme was."

The boom in feminist academic publishing had given Terry new materials, new theories to introduce to students in her social science subject to help them to make sense of their experiences:

"Now we've got untold information and new ideas and critical ideas, all pouring out of presses, women's presses and other sorts in all places in the world. We've now got enormous cross-fertilisation of stuff, whereas when I started there was nothing virtually available in that area."

Terry explained that her strategy of helping students individually to choose topics and work in media that they perceived as relevant to understanding their experiences included analysis of class as well as gender. Her own working-class origins and sense of class marginality had given her a sensitivity to students who felt alienated from the dominant culture of the academic world. She believed that change could not come about unless women, Maoris and working-class people achieved positions in the academic world. Only then would academic knowledge and teaching styles reflect the interests of oppressed groups:

"My feminism also influences at the sort of personal methodological level, like trying to break down the structures that are there, because I just believe that they were devised primarily by men of a certain class and race group that I don't happen to belong to. I do belong to the race but I don't belong to the class or the sex. I feel alienated from them naturally. I believe a lot of other people feel alienated from them naturally and I want to break them down because I think they're inequitous. They're discriminatory and they're incredibly oppressive. It's not just feminist, it's feminist-Marxist...the system is just not patriarchal, but it's also a class system and of course it is also a race system. All those categories of people who don't fit into the right colour and that are just put upon and that-basically what's being created is a whole hierarchy of winners and losers and certain people go through - I believe the system is set up to create meritocracy which is white and male primarily and I still believe it's like that in New Zealand. It's only starting to break down very slowly and it won't really break down until you've got people of different races and classes and sexes in positions of power to bloody select people."

SUMMARY

Although there were major differences between the women in their educational theories and strategies, several broad common themes are evident in the case studies. The first is the importance of personal experiences of discrimination, victimisation or marginality as grounding, or generating, feminist educational theories. In previous chapters, experiences of class, racist and sexist discrimination and marginality were described as they occurred in the women's families of origin and school contexts. In this chapter such experiences were described as occurring in the teacher-training and teaching contexts. The life-history approach has proved a very useful means of coming to understand how 'private troubles' become 'public issues' (Mills, 1959), or, in feminist terminology, how the personal becomes political.

Their education had provided the twelve women with a vision of the possibility and desirability of change. First, it offered a means of bringing about change in their personal lives through offering access to a profession which offered them personal and financial autonomy, a

chance to escape the kind of lives their mothers had led. Education also offered them access to ideas which articulated for them the nature and basis of their oppression - as women, as Maoris, as marginal working-class/middle-class. While some encountered these ideas directly through the content of courses (women's studies, sociology etc), others encountered them through student political activities (protests against the Springbok rugby tours, anti-Vietnam protests, Maori land issues).

The twelve women regarded their teaching as a means of bringing about personal changes in their students and social change in general; education was seen as an arena of political activity. Since feminism had articulated for them the contradictions in their lives, these feminist educators believed that girls and boys must be exposed to feminist ways of looking at the world. Despite the difference between liberal and radical feminist strategies, all feminist education may be seen as sharing a set of common overarching aims. These aims may be described as helping students to recognise that their gender-related experiences of oppression, discrimination or marginality are products, not of 'personal inadequacies', but of the inequality of the sexes in a patriarchal society. Feminist teachers and students work together to develop theories which describe and account for gender inequality and to devise political and educational strategies aimed at bringing about personal and social changes which redress social inequalities and injustices which are based wholly or in part on gender. These strategies frequently focus not only on curriculum content, but on structuring alternative, co-operative learning contexts which are in opposition to the bureaucratic regimentation of 'patriarchal' educational institutions.

The twelve women in the study were working for change within schools and through 'grass-roots' feminist educational programmes. All twelve women mentioned that they felt 'marginalised' in educational settings because of their feminism and the bureaucratic attributes of the 'system'. This sense of marginality was described as occurring amongst feminist adult students in university, and particularly teachers' college, settings when other students, particularly the young women students, were threatened by, and hostile

to, feminism. Many of the women had also experienced a sense of isolation and alienation as solitary feminists combatting sexism amongst their colleagues as well as their students in schools and tertiary institutions.

As well as seeking to 'add women in' to the traditional subjects of the curriculum, some of the women were also tutoring or teaching women's studies courses within and outside tertiary institutions. Eleven of the twelve had been students and/or tutors of women's studies, and the other one had close contact with women's studies teachers and had taken sociology of education courses which covered specific topics on 'gender'. All twelve, then, had had exposure to the literature of academic women's studies and described it as having been a major influence on their thinking about themselves as women and on their practices as educators. However, because of the small size of the population of women's studies tutors in New Zealand, it would be impossible to protect the confidentiality of the women if details of experiences as women's studies students and tutors from the life-histories were used.

Feminists who become involved in women's studies programmes in educational institutions have been described as experiencing a 'double dose' of marginality. Teachers and Students of 'women's studies' have been described as experiencing contradictions engendered by the structuring and organisation of 'interdisciplinary subjects' in institutions which are administered according to subject specialisation (Bowles, 1983; Coyner, 1983; Spender, 1978, 1981a; Tobias, 1978; Rutenberg, 1983, 76).

Chapter Thirteen explores the theme of the marginality of the academic feminist in a university setting, drawing on a model from the sociology of the curriculum (Bernstein, 1971). The women's studies programme at the University of Waikato is treated as a paradigm case of the marginality of feminist knowledge in academic institutions.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

FEMINIST EDUCATORS IN A UNIVERSITY SETTING:

A CASE STUDY

This penultimate chapter addresses the issues of the marginality of feminist knowledge in a university setting and the contradictions experienced by feminist academic staff and students. The case discussed is the University of Waikato's Women's Studies programme, with which I have been intimately involved for several years. This programme exemplifies many of the issues raised in previous chapters, but does so in the context of feminists teaching in a formal university context to students, many of whom are feminists on joining the courses.

The literature on teaching and administering women's studies programmes in university settings describes the position of the subject, and those who teach it, as one of vulnerability (Bowles and Klein, 1983; Spender, 1988; Tobias, 1978). Feminist academics may experience marginality in several respects. As women they are members of a minority group amongst academics and are more likely to be untenured or on the lower levels of career hierarchies (Deem, 1978; Lodge, 1976; Middleton, 1980; Over, 1981). As women's studies scholars they are involved with a new discipline, which, like all new disciplines, must struggle for legitimacy and security within academia. As feminists, they may feel intellectually 'accountable' to both academia and to the wider 'grassroots' feminist movement, a position which feminist writers (e.g. Boxer, 1982; Mies, 1983; Rutenberg, 1983) have described as potentially contradictory:

"As women, they are affected by sexist oppression together with other women, and as scholars they share the privileges of the (male) academic elite" (Mies, 1983, 20).

In this discussion of the Waikato programme, two themes are addressed in turn. The first part of the chapter analyses the structure and social relations of the women's studies programme as contradictory to those of the university as a whole. The programme's interdisciplinary and cross-departmental pattern and the insecure professional status of its staff are seen as perpetuating its marginality as a field of academic study. The second part of this chapter describes some contradictions experienced in the teaching context. To aid the analysis, I shall draw on Bernstein's (1971) model of 'educational knowledge codes.'

Bernstein saw the organisation of educational knowledge as patterned on two major knowledge 'codes': 'collection codes' and 'integrated codes'. He used the term 'collection code' to refer to patterns of curriculum organisation in which the 'contents' of various academic 'subjects' are insulated from one another through such organisational devices as compartmentalised timetabling, hierarchical subject-based departments, and rigid subject specialisation amongst teachers. Conversely, the term 'integrated knowledge code' refers to curricula in which boundaries between contents or disciplines are blurred. Bernstein suggested that sociologists should study empirically three message systems in educational settings: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. In particular, he suggested they study the degree of boundary maintenance between contents ('classification') and their pedagogy (or 'framing') - the "form of the context in which knowledge is transmitted and received" (1971, 50). Irrespective of content, the patterns of organisation and transmission of what counted as 'educational' knowledge shaped the experiences of participants in an educational setting: "the forms of their transmission, i.e. their classification and framing, are social facts" (1971, 68). He suggested that students might learn as much from the form of educational encounters as they did from course 'content' and argued that the organisation and teaching of academic knowledge, its 'classification and framing' should become central concerns of sociologists of education:

"The nature of classification and framing affects the authority/power structure which controls the dissemination of educational knowledge, and the form of the knowledge transmitted. In this way, principles of power and social control are realised through the educational knowledge codes and through the codes they enter into, and shape, consciousness. Thus variation within and change of knowledge codes should be of critical concern to sociologists" (Bernstein, 1971, 54).

WOMEN'S STUDIES AS A FIELD OF ACADEMIC STUDY

Before proceeding to the case study, some background on women's studies as an academic subject is useful. Academic women's studies

was generated from within the post-war feminist movement of the late 1960s - early 1970s as feminist scholars developed critiques of sexism in the traditional disciplines and sought to include feminist theory in university curricula. The dual origins of women's studies in the post-war feminist movement and the academic world have been usefully summarised by Tobias (1978, 90), who observed that without the women's movement

"there would have been no women's studies courses or research. The movement gave women teachers the courage to press reluctant departments and administrations for the relief time and the financial support needed to start teaching new courses. The movement made women students profoundly interested in and supportive of women teachers and it provided the research agenda as well. Coming on the heels of black studies and the crisis of relevance in the University, women's studies was able to employ a language and rationale which was already familiar in other contexts."

There have been many definitions of women's studies (e.g. Boxer, 1983; Bowles and Klein, 1983; Spender, 1978; Tobias, 1978). These definitions share a commitment to identifying and explaining gender-based inequalities and to bringing about social change. The University of Waikato's Committee on Women's Studies printed the following definition in its annual brochures from 1982-4:

"Women's Studies is an interdisciplinary field, It is concerned with making women more visible within the current academic disciplines: rediscovering lost works by women, documenting women's history, describing and expressing women's experiences through both the social sciences and the arts. Women's Studies researchers seek to describe current gender-based social inequalities and to construct theories which account for these. Underlying theory and research in Women's Studies is a commitment to advancing the cause of social equality."

Academic women's studies courses may be taught according to liberal-reformist assumptions or be based on a radical feminist model of education. The radical feminist approach demands not only making women visible in the academic content of courses, but implementing the feminist model of pedagogy, restructuring the experiences of teachers

and learners. This approach requires attention to both the content and form of education.

By 1978 there were at least forty-six women's studies courses in New Zealand, six of these in universities (Hancock, 1980). On the basis of a survey of these courses, Hancock (1980) concluded that the majority were based on liberal feminist, or reformist, premises. She argued that

"Radical feminists and feminist socialists who advocate revolutionary changes in the structure of society and relationships appear to be (with a few exceptions) generally not involved with Women's Studies courses in New Zealand" (Hancock, 1980, 64).

Hancock argued that the courses she surveyed were taught largely by conventional teaching methods, three-quarters being based on lectures, seminars and tutorials. According to Hancock, the pedagogical style of the American women's movement had made little impression on courses in New Zealand: few were using 'consciousness-raising' as a teaching technique. Taking Hancock's study as her point of comparison, Sissons (1982) undertook a further survey of courses and concluded that in the intervening period the number of courses had trebled and that the proportion of courses run by voluntary and informal groups outside institutions had risen from 20% of the total in 1977-8 to more than half in 1980. Sissons was critical of Hancock's assertions that women's studies in New Zealand was 'reformist' in emphasis, noting that in her study "only 25% fell into this category" (Sissons, 1982, 122) and that many such courses, although taught 'hierarchically', "also asked searching questions about the basis of women's oppression" (Sissons, 1980, 122). In other words, courses taught conventionally ~~may~~ have radical content.

COLLECTION AND INTEGRATED KNOWLEDGE CODES: THE MARGINALITY OF ACADEMIC WOMEN'S STUDIES

This section analyses the Waikato women's studies programme in its institutional context as a means of gaining further understanding of

feminist academics' experiences of 'double marginality' as discussed in earlier chapters. First, I shall describe the organisation of 'Subjects' at Waikato as exemplifying Bernstein's model of the 'collection code'. Second, I shall discuss the structure of the women's studies programme as an 'integrated code' which is in a contradictory and marginal position within the university hierarchy. Third, I shall describe the marginal status of feminist academics within the university.

When it was granted its charter in 1966, the University of Waikato was to be structured on an 'integrated' basis, rather than follow the narrow subject specialisation characteristic of the degrees awarded by the other New Zealand universities. The Waikato graduate would

"..gain a sense of the vital relevance of these subjects and of the intimate interdependence of one subject with another. He¹ must be given a context into which to fit his expertise; he must see it in its historical perspective and in relation to contemporary problems and issues" (Quoted in the University of Waikato Calendar, 1982; 34).

However, Waikato was forced to abandon its interdisciplinary emphasis when the other New Zealand universities refused to cross-credit its courses towards their specialised degrees and when faculty competition for resources gained support for 'departments'.² Waikato shifted into line with the other universities and reorganised itself on a traditional 'departmental' basis, and the degrees (in Humanities, Social Science, Education, Science, and Management Studies) are now similar to the subject-based pattern followed by other New Zealand universities. As Ritchie (1981) has pointed out, it is important to see the women's studies programme in this historical perspective, for

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1. The document from which this quotation was extracted contains sexist language. However, the calendar itself is written in non-sexist language.
 2. The reasons for Waikato's abandonment of its original interdisciplinary structure would make a fascinating study in the sociology of the curriculum. I am indebted to two foundation Professors, Professor Freyberg and Professor Bettison for these observations.

when it was established its interdisciplinary character was characteristic of the type of programme intended as 'mainstream' for the University of Waikato. By 1982 it was the only soundly established surviving interdisciplinary programme. The following analysis was carried out from 1980-1984.³

The administration of the university was centralised, major decisions on staffing and funding being made by the Vice-Chancellor and Deans in committee and academic decisions by the Academic Board, which consisted of all the professors and heads of department with some representation from non-professorial staff and students. Each 'Subject' had its own department. Women's Studies was not classified as a 'Subject', but as a 'programme of studies'. It therefore had no representation on the academic board and the all-male Vice Chancellor and Deans committee could only be communicated with indirectly. The structuring and organisation of 'Subjects' at Waikato typified Bernstein's description of the administrative correlates of 'collection codes' and the patterns of social relations these engendered:

"Where knowledge is regulated through a collection code, the knowledge is organised and distributed through a series of well-insulated subject hierarchies. Such a structure points to oligarchic control of the institution, through formal and informal meetings of heads of department with the head or principal of the institution. Thus, senior staff will have strong horizontal work relationships (that is, with their peers in other subject hierarchies) and strong vertical work relationships within their own department. However, junior staff are likely to have only vertical (within the subject hierarchy) allegiances and work relationships" (Bernstein, 1971, 61).

Within the university, 'subjects' were administrative categories which were funded and staffed on the basis of their student enrolments. Sociologists of the curriculum have argued that the existing 'classification' of educational knowledge into 'subjects' in universities reflects the power struggles of groups of (male)

3. In 1984 I was convenor of the Committee on Women's Studies.

academics as much as any epistemological categorisation of academic knowledge (Bernstein, 1971; Coyner, 1983; Spender, 1981a). Some fields of study, due to historical circumstances, have constructed a power base and, because they are represented at the higher levels of decision-making, can arrest the development of new subjects which might compete with them for scarce resources:

"Knowledge under collection is private property with its own power structure and market situation. This affects the whole ambience surrounding the development and marketing of new knowledge" (Bernstein, 1971,56).

Waikato's first women's studies courses were offered in 1974. That year two courses were offered in two departments: psychology of women and sociology of Women. According to Ritchie (1981; 60):

"the policy to begin with the establishment of specialist courses within subjects, first, rather than with interdisciplinary courses, was a deliberate one on the part of the Dean of Social Sciences who felt that it was important to establish a power base within departments before branching out."

By 1982 there were four courses offered within existing departments: with the addition of a feminist (and untenured) staff member to each of the Departments of Education and to the Department of Politics, 'women and education' and 'women and politics' were added to the programme. Graduate courses were offered in the sociology of women, psychology of sex-roles, and the sociology of women's education. In addition to these discipline-based courses, two undergraduate interdisciplinary courses were offered: an introductory course at second-year level and an advanced course at third-year level. From 1982-1983 the second year interdisciplinary course was convened by a senior lecturer in psychology, and the third year course by a senior lecturer in sociology.

Lacking a departmental structure, the programme was administered by an inter-departmental committee. This pattern of administration is, according to Bernstein, characteristic of integrated knowledge codes. He described this as

"a committee system of staff...to create a sensitive feedback system and which will also provide a further agency of socialisation into the code..." (Bernstein, 1971, 65).

He saw such committees as consisting of (1971; 65) "both teachers, students, and where appropriate, pupils, which will perform monitoring functions." The planning and co-ordination of the two interdisciplinary courses was the specific responsibility of the Committee on Women's Studies, which was a standing committee of the Academic Board, its elected chairperson being responsible to the Dean of Social Science. This (all woman) committee consisted of those who convened and taught in the interdisciplinary courses, the university librarian, student representatives from the courses, the Women's Rights Officer from the Students' Union, teachers of the women's studies courses taught within departments (co-opted), and representatives from each school of studies, the Centre for Continuing Education and the Hamilton Teachers' College.

The Committee on Women's Studies, unlike the administrative patterns of other subjects, fostered professional interaction across departmental boundaries. In the absence of a 'vertical' departmental structure for the programme as a whole, the committee had assumed the overarching aim of 'the development of women's studies'. It ran a women's seminar series involving staff and students and speakers from the local community and other parts of New Zealand, and also interested itself in the development of the field elsewhere, e.g. through the affairs of the Women's Studies Association (N.Z.) Inc. These activities fostered cross-disciplinary, and co-operative, work relations between feminist academics and students.

As a result of concerted action and planning by the committee, women's studies became a 'first supporting subject' for the B.A. and B. Soc Sci degrees. Students could take any four of the courses to meet this requirement. All courses in the programme were given a women's studies number. Relevant courses taught within departments were given a women's studies number in addition to the departmental number. Students taking, say, 'women and education' as part of a

women's studies first-supporting subject, would enrol under the women's studies number.

The allocation of resources within the university was calculated according to each department's EFTSs (Equivalent Full-time Students). This determined academic and non-academic staffing allocations. In the case of women's studies, which existed outside a formal department, but which crossed departmental boundaries (four in 1982-3), women's studies EFTSs were awarded to the host departments. In the case of the interdisciplinary courses, EFTSs went to the course convenor's department. In return, the departments provided secretarial and other administrative services. However, this anomalous pattern of organisation made women's studies particularly vulnerable. Since women's studies did not have 'Subject' status in the university, i.e. was not a department, its EFTSs did not show up in some university statistics as a separate entity, but were incorporated into those of the host department. Lacking departmental status, the programme did not have its own staff, but had to rely for its continued existence on the goodwill of the host departments.

The decisions taken within departments, insulated from one another in many other respects, could have serious repercussions for the women's studies programme. For example, in 1981 a woman lecturer in psychology who taught one of the women's studies courses was replaced within the department by a male industrial psychologist: the psychology staff who would have lobbied for continuing support for women's studies were on leave at the time this decision was taken. The courses in the programme were threatened by decisions within the central administration and the departments; for example staff contracts being terminated, staff going on leave, the placement of staff into other courses or replacing them with unsuitable teachers. Members of the committee have had to lobby continually within their own departments as well as in central decision-making bodies. The women's studies programme was in a position of continuing vulnerability and marginality.

In 1982 there were 192 academic staff at the university: 165 men and 27 women. Of the 22 departments, 10 had no women academics and 2

one untenured woman. There were no female professors or deans and 46% of the women held untenured positions, as compared with 14% of the men. 8 women were either contributors to, convenors, or sole teachers of courses in the women's studies programme. Of these 8, one was due to retire at the end of 1984, 6 had either limited term appointments (LTAs) or junior lectureships, and one, senior lecturer was permanent (Middleton and Moss, 1982; Moss and Middleton, 1982). Such marginal status has been seen in previous research as disproportionately affecting women academics (Deem, 1978; Lodge, 1976; Over, 1981). It is likely that feminist academics, as younger women, may be more disproportionately affected than women as a group. This was true of Waikato in 1982. Assuming that all the feminists were involved in the women's studies programme,⁴ 6 of the 19 non-feminists were untenured as against 6 of the 8 feminists.

According to Bernstein, the collection code format leads to oligarchical patterns of administration:

"a type of organisational system which encourages gossip, intrigue and a conspiracy theory about the workings of the organisation, as both the administration and the acts of teaching are invisible to the majority of the staff"(Bernstein, 1971, 61).

Noting that while senior academic staff had cross-departmental working relationships under a collection code pattern, Bernstein commented that junior staff were isolated from each other within departments. He argued that cross-departmental programmes, such as women's studies could bring about radical changes in the work contacts of junior staff and

"...a move from collection to integrated codes may well bring about a disturbance in the structure and distribution of power in property relationships and in existing educational identities" (Bernstein, 1971; 63).

4. As far as I am aware, all women staff with a strong commitment to feminism have become involved to some extent in the programme. This involvement ranges from contributing one lecture to 21.201, to running courses.

Bernstein's point can be illustrated by a series of events which occurred in 1982 when the university was undergoing a financial crisis. As Moss expressed it, the "gossip, intrigue and conspiracy" mentioned by Bernstein were prevalent⁵ and the untenured academic staff became concerned for their futures:

"It became apparent that untenured staff, who had initially been taken on to provide 'flexibility' in a period when fluctuating rolls made the areas of future growth uncertain, were now perceived as providing an expedient solution to the budgetary difficulties" (Middleton and Moss, 1982,2).

This crisis brought about 'cross-departmental loyalties' amongst the untenured group as a whole, male and female. The group held weekly meetings on its own behalf and, on the basis of a questionnaire survey, produced a position paper (Moss and Middleton, 1982) to use as 'ammunition' for lobbying those at decision-making levels. This process brought together junior staff from across the campus - people who had in many cases no previous contacts in common work or other social contexts - from the school of Management Studies, Humanities, Science, Education and Social Science. The focus of these meetings may be seen as the experience of 'marginality' of young staff: the average age of the group members was 33. This group, in constructing a picture of the university as a whole (seen from 'below'), exposed some of the harsher realities of the operating of collection coded hierarchies during a financial crisis. Although not an example of an 'integrated code' in a teaching sense, the mere coming together for the sharing and airing of grievances by a relatively powerless group in a hierarchical organisation may to some extent undermine the divisions between junior staff described by Bernstein as characteristic of a collection code (Middleton and Moss, 1982).

This fight for tenure was essential for the survival of the women's studies programme. It was interesting to note that some

5. See Moss and Middleton (1982); Middleton and Moss (1982). The analysis in this section on untenured staff was developed in collaboration with my colleague, Logan Moss. This phrase, and the excerpt quoted below, were his.

untenued males noted in their questionnaire responses that the removal of the untenued group would remove some of the more radical perspectives from the university curriculum, a reflection perhaps of the age-group most affected - those in their early to mid 30s who had experienced student life in the 1960s:

"A number of respondents expressed concern that their removal would adversely affect the balance of perspectives currently offered within their departments. In five departments this imbalance was seen in terms of an undervaluing of the qualitative or theoretical aspects of fields of study..." (Moss and Middleton 1982).

At least partly as a result of this collective action, all of the 18 with Limited Term Appointments and some of the junior lecturers were offered tenure. This secured the positions of all but one of the women's studies staff whose positions were threatened.

In 1984 the programme was augmented with the temporary addition to the staff of a Fulbright Scholar, who offered two further interdisciplinary courses: 'Women in American Society' and 'Women and Madness'. The programme for 1985 will consist of nine undergraduate courses: a temporary junior lecturer has been appointed to replace the retiring senior lecturer in sociology,⁶ another *American* scholar will offer a course on 'American women writers' and an English lecturer is to offer a course on 'Women, Writing and Reality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.'

At the time of writing,⁷ the programme remained vulnerable in that it relied heavily on the contributions of junior lecturers - who were, by definition, untenued - and on the goodwill of departments. Its invisibility in the university's records of student numbers and the fact that it did not, like other 'subjects', have a right to staff on

6. Rosemary Seymour, Senior Lecturer in Sociology and pioneer in university Women's Studies teaching in New Zealand, tragically died before retirement.

7. February, 1985.

the basis of enrolments relegated it to a continuing position of marginality. The women's studies programme at the University of Waikato provides a useful illustration of the marginality of feminist knowledge in academic institutions. Administered by a feminist collective of largely junior and untenured women staff, the women's studies programme has had to struggle for legitimacy, for visibility, for funding, for its continued existence in an institution whose administrative structures have prevented interdisciplinary approaches from attaining 'subject' status. Within the university, feminist knowledge and staff were relegated to a continuing situation of marginality and vulnerability.

FEMINIST TEACHING IN WOMEN'S STUDIES: A CURRICULUM THEORY APPROACH

In previous chapters discussions of feminist teaching strategies have employed the dichotomy common in feminist literature between liberal/reformist and radical feminist pedagogies. In this section I draw on the literature of curriculum theory to construct a more refined typology: liberal, phenomenological and activist pedagogies will be described. In the next section case studies will be described of feminist educators who espoused these positions and who, in the context of a course on 'Women and Education' have expressed a sense of marginality or alienation from the University system.

Liberal approaches to teaching may be exemplified by the writings of the London School of curriculum philosophers such as Hirst (1975a, 1975b, and Peters (1966). Within this perspective teachers are seen as having earned their authority (Downey and Kelly, 1979, Pring, 1975) by virtue of their expertise in an academic discipline. Teaching is seen largely as a technical problem of how best to 'initiate' (Peters, 1966) students into the various forms of knowledge deemed by top academics as being most educationally worthwhile (Dearden, 1976, 1980; Hirst, 1975a, 1975b; Peters, 1966). Contemporary American curriculum theorists have commented that in the United States curriculum design has, since the 1960s been dominated by what has been termed a 'technocratic rationality' (Apple, 1979; Giroux, 1982) in which curriculum designers adopt behaviourist principles in 'structuring' the existing 'disciplines' in ways consistent with the 'stages of development' of learners (Bruner, 1977).

Liberal feminists work within the accepted definitions of 'disciplines' and seek to make studies of women's experiences and feminist critiques visible within these. Interdisciplinary women's studies courses within a liberal framework introduce students to the perspectives on women which have been developed within the various disciplines. Waikato's introductory course exemplified this approach - the course syllabus for 1982 contained the statement that this was to be

"an interdisciplinary course designed to look at women's roles, both in the family and in the work place, from the perspectives of different disciplines. We draw upon psychology, anthropology, education, history, literature and demography, to investigate the changing nature of women's roles and the influence of culture and society on women's lives".

Women were the subject matter of the course.

Since the aim of liberal feminism is to encourage women into positions of seniority within various social hierarchies, liberal approaches to women's studies aim to provide students with positive female 'role-models' through the literature they study and through the personal examples of women course teachers. Both these themes were evident in the planning of the introductory course:

"Women have never passively accepted society's pressures and rules for them. By studying the lives of early feminists,...the suffragette movement...and the contemporary women's movement we learn similarities and differences of women's political demands at different times in our history and we learn just how constant these demands have been "(21, 201 syllabus, 1982).

The convenor of this course wrote:

"...at least in a women's studies course students should have the opportunity to see women, from differing disciplines, demonstrating their expertise" (Ritchie, 1982, 10-11).

In interdisciplinary courses of this type, taught by a large team of lecturers, innovative teaching styles can be difficult to implement. This point was noted by Bernstein (1971, 60), who observed that such

"Integrated codes will, at the level of the teachers, probably create homogeneity in teaching practice...integrated codes will reduce the discretion of the teacher in direct relation to the strength of the integrated code (number of teachers co-ordinated by the code)."

Radical feminists have criticised the institutionalisation of women's studies courses within the academic context, arguing that the setting up of an elite hierarchy of feminist 'experts' defeats one of the objects of feminism, which is to challenge the hierarchial structure of academic knowledge (Smith, 1974: Spender, 1981b; Stanley and Wise, 1983):

"feminists...seek an end to hierarchies and standards, as they have been constructed, on the grounds that they are not an inherent part of learning, but of a stratified society...in the current context where a body of knowledge is rapidly becoming available, and where the possibility of 'transmission' exists - with all its concomitant attributes of hierarchies and competition - it may be very important for feminism to focus on past achievements and to keep the cooperative model in mind, for it could begin to get 'lost' as feminism enters institutions" (Spender, 1981b, 169).

While liberal feminists pressure women to 'succeed' in terms of the institution, radical feminists have accused those who do of becoming a part of the male power elite. Womens studies scholars can then be accused of exploiting the movement to gain privileges. This contradictory position leaves academic feminists working 'within the system' in a double-bind situation-marginal both as academics and as feminists.

Women's studies teachers in universities are 'doubly marginal'. As women they are a minority amongst (male) academics: as women

academics they are anomalous amongst women. As feminist academics teaching women's studies they are associated with a vulnerable field of marginal status. As Klein (1983, 38) has observed, by being involved with interdisciplinary studies, feminist scholars make it difficult to 'succeed' in terms of the liberal model:

"A women's studies person has an interest in a number of disciplines; she does not conceive of knowledge in a compartmentalised way. Academic reputations are made by working on a tiny area within a sub-field or discipline."

Some radical feminist teaching strategies are similar to those of the 'child-centred' pedagogies characteristic of the 'free-school movement' of the 1960s and 1970s. Previous chapters have described the importance of consciousness-raising as part of the radical feminist approaches to teaching. Within this perspective, classes are "less a question of teaching and learning, or of imparting a body of information, and more a process of co-operative discovery" (Spender, 1981; 169). While radical feminists are concerned with students' personal experiences of oppression or discrimination as women, other educationists have also regarded students' personal experiences as an appropriate starting point for classroom teaching. Influenced by phenomenological sociology, educationists such as Young (1971) and Bernstein (1971) have argued that teaching must bring together the "uncommonsense knowledge of the school and the commonsense knowledge, everyday community knowledge" (Bernstein, 1971; 58). During the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a rapid growth in the relativistic (Keddie, 1973; Kleinfield, 1975) phenomenological styles of teaching: the 'interpretive paradigm' in sociology (Chapter Four) had its counterpart in the school teaching profession, as many classroom teachers were exposed to popular versions of 'phenomenology' through the best-selling educational paperbacks of the day, such as the Penguin Education Specials. Although we do not yet have comprehensive research in New Zealand on the professional reading of teachers (see Shuker, 1980), these books were widely read and many educators were familiar with such writers as John Holt (1974), Ivan Illich (1970), Herbert Kohl (1969), Postman and Weingartner, (1971).

The printing of the Little Red Schoolbook (Hansen and Jensen, 1972) in 1972 in this country spread the debate to many children; if school curricula (in both their overt and covert dimensions) were agents of repression, it was reasoned in this literature, 'curricula' should be abolished. The 1970s saw many experiments in 'free' or 'alternative' schooling, throughout the western world, including New Zealand (Barlow et al, 1976) as a part of the (largely middle-class) counterculture, or 'hippy', movement. During the early 1970s, phenomenological educational theories were discussed widely by practitioners in the field through such forums as the 1973 Educational Development Conference, discussion of the Johnson Report (Department of Education, 1977), United Women's Conventions, (1979) etc. The popular version of phenomenology was essentially optimistic; if reality (including classroom reality) were socially constructed, surely it could also be reconstructed. By offering pupils greater flexibility in their educational decisions and less authoritarian school experiences it was hoped to empower people to take control of their lives and to build a just society (Illich, 1970).

As a criticism of this perspective, as it had been applied in schools, Giroux has argued that many 'child-centred' permissive approaches did students a disservice in that teachers

"succumb to a vision of human liberation in which 'healthy' vibes and feeling good slide into a subtle form of manipulation. Beneath the smiles of warmth lies a rather reductionist behaviourism that substitutes the crude external calculus of limited pain and maximum pleasure for social responsibility and critical thinking. As such, self-realisation ends up as a sophisticated form of self indulgence. Pleasure oriented classroom encounters are reduced to the role of a medicinal bath in which the notion of the student as subject is denied rather than affirmed. Joy and 'happiness' become engineered antidotes for... repression and false consciousness..." (Giroux, 1982, 67-68).

Feminist researchers have not given the 'free school' approach very much critical attention. Firestone (1979), however, noted that A.S. Neil observed sexist attitudes and sex-stereotyped behaviours at

Summerhill (Neil, 1968), but did nothing to counteract these, seeing them as 'natural.' Clarricoate's (1978) observations of pupils in a British primary school 'open classroom' showed teachers doing nothing to influence the girls' sex-stereotyped narrow range of choices of 'project' topics.

Similar criticisms have been made by socialist feminists of some of the radical feminist approaches to consciousness-raising as a teaching strategy (e.g. Mitchell, 1973; Rowbotham, 1973). It can be argued that this approach may romanticise women's experiences - if women are an oppressed group, they will have been adversely affected by this and the nature of the effects of oppression should be studied critically:

"...the problem created by simply rejecting everything that is, and inverting existing male values to make a female culture out of everything not male, is that the distortions of oppression are perpetuated" (Rowbotham, 1973, ix).

"...the rise of the oppressed should not be a glorification of oppressed characteristics - such a progress would be jumping into the roundabout of a vicious circle" (Mitchell, 1973, 178).

Activist pedagogies are based on the assumption that people learn best by critically reflecting on and theorising their own actions in the social world. Education is seen as a means of personal liberation and of working for broader changes in society:

"Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1972, 52).

Giroux (1982) has advocated the use of life-history analysis as a teaching technique which is compatible with an activist approach to education: students and teachers must learn to link "biography, history and social structure" (Mills, 1959). Rejecting the liberal model of 'initiation' as disembodied intellectualism, and phenomenological models as naive student-centred permissiveness,

Giroux, drawing on Freire (1972) advocated life history analysis as a means of empowerment:

"students must be given the opportunity to use and interpret their own experiences in a manner that reveals how the latter have been shaped and influenced by the dominant culture. Subjective awareness becomes the first step in transforming those experiences" (Giroux, 1982, 124).

Giroux argued that teachers must also come to terms with their own biographies as historical constructions:

"Teaching must be viewed, in part, as an intensely personal affair. This suggests that prospective teachers be given the concepts and methods to delve into their own biographies, to look at the sedimented history they carry around, and to learn how one's cultural capital represents a dialectical interplay between private experience and history" (Giroux, 1982, 158).

This experience of teaching and learning as "an intensely personal affair" is exemplified in the case of a Maori male student in his thirties whose experience of feminist teaching led him to delve deeply into his own biography to confront some old feelings from primary school days about middle-class Pakeha girls. He began to see this as an effect of racism rather than a sign of his own inferiority.

At an early stage in the course he had told me that for some reason he could not quite understand, he could not relate very easily to a woman lecturer in a 'position of authority.' He was generous in consenting to let me tape our conversation for my research. I quote this excerpt as an illustration of the impact the presence of a feminist lecturer can have on students outside the context of 'women's studies'. This student was taking a course on 'teaching in multicultural settings':

"...I wasn't talking about women in general. I mean I'm not uncomfortable with Maori women, and if they are more eloquent and more forceful and higher ranking in terms of society, that doesn't worry me at all. But what it was, what I was trying to tell you was, that being

pakeha as you were, and being in charge of the place and the Rangatira for the course..what it did was remind me of certain things that I learned in school. And the fact was that then, you know, there were girls who were white, pretty from the pakeha point of view, dressed nicely, they ate nice lunches and they were successful in school. And the thing that I always remembered was that they would giggle at my, and my relations' and my friends', clumsiness in using the English language. And they would laugh at us when we were strapped because we didn't do our spelling or our maths, or we didn't get enough right, and so we were walloped in front of them. And now this kind of an attitude, this kind of a thing within me towards women, white women especially, has always been there. And when I hear feminists going on about how tough their lives are and being oppressed by men, I understand that, I agree, but they've got bloody higher chances than I had, and I'm a Maori man. Now relate that to Maori culture, where a man is pretty well assured of a place, of a dominant position, you know, and a woman too, but there are different criteria for measuring it...I find it difficult to side with the radical elements, you know, it was sort of hard. I was thinking, "God damn it, here she is, she's running this thing and she is saying that women are being oppressed" and I'm thinking, "God damn it, she ought to have lived some of my life and see what it's like." That's what I was sort of trying to get at and I think a bit of resentment on my part. Then I thought, "How stupid. I've just got to get along, why the hell, I've just got to get along there and learn what there is to learn." And so that's what I did...it was getting to the stage when I was having dreams about those days, and I knew it was coming from this course...you know, school days, getting the strap... and those girls giggling and laughing and us boys ganging together and beating up some other poor person or going and playing football and pumping the hell out of anyone we could get hold of. But you know in that way I'm also very pleased to have confronted that problem and come to terms with it."

Feminist students who took the 'Women and Education' course were frequently 'mature students' and either practising teachers or former teachers. As feminist educators, these students had well-developed feminist educational theories; liberal feminist, radical feminist, etc. While those whose perspective were 'liberal feminist' found little difficulty accommodating themselves to the requirements of academic women's studies, radical feminist students have expressed the opinion that feminism cannot be fostered within the bureaucratic, competitive and hierarchical structures of the university. Before

quoting specific examples of the contradictions experienced in the university setting by several feminist educationists who were studying 'Women and Education' as 'mature' students, I shall briefly outline the structure and teaching strategies of the course in the year concerned.

When I started it in 1981, 'Women and Education' was the only university course of its type in the country. The first section of the course consisted of an introduction to theoretical perspectives on women and education (as outlined in Chapter Four) and was taught as a 'guided reading' programme. Classes took the form of prepared discussions of the set material and corresponding exercises on the study guide, e.g. analysis of media stereotypes, life-history interviews. The guided reading section of the course was assessed by an essay and an 'open book' test. While much of the content of this part of the course was radical, the format was in the liberal mode of 'initiation' into a body of theory and did not in itself challenge the dominant style of university teaching. Students were required to read and critique examples of writings which exemplified 'conservative', (e.g. biologically determinist), perspectives (Jagger and Struhl, 1978; Sayers, 1982), liberal perspectives, Marxist, radical feminist and socialist feminist perspectives. This approach allowed students of all theoretical persuasions to work on stating, refining and critiquing their own theoretical positions. Ardent conservatives have seldom taken the course, but for some, particularly younger students who had not encountered feminism previously, exposure to the liberal-functionalist research on sex-role stereotyping was 'consciousness-raising'. Marxism attracted mainly those with backgrounds in socialist politics and those who had studied some sociology. Radical and/or lesbian feminism was seen as threatening by some of the liberal students, while students 'passionately converted' to these persuasions sometimes became impatient with what they saw as 'retracing their steps' by being required to work through liberal writings, whose arguments they had long ago rejected in spirit as being 'politically unsound'.

The second part of the 'Women and Education' course was designed to encourage student praxis. Here there were two assignments. The

first allowed a free choice of topic: an essay, a piece of research, a video or film or some alternative means of presentation. Students were required to present an aspect of their topic to the class either as a seminar, guest speaker, video, film, audio tapes, drama etc. Most of the students elected to do research on a topic directly related to their own situations as teachers or as women students. The final assignment was designed to encourage the students to close the gap between theory and practice: there were two options. The first was to write a feminist analysis of their own schooling, and/or tertiary education. In this they were required to outline a theoretical position and apply it to their own experiences. School photos and reports were often included to aid memory. The alternative assignment was to keep a dossier of press-cuttings and other materials of current relevance to women and education, classifying and analysing these materials in terms of the perspectives studied in the course. Radical students who were members of feminist collectives could then include records and analysis of their own political activity both on and off campus. One student's record consisted largely of her analysis and justification of her participation in the campus feminist collective's work on the student newspaper and in political protests (leafletting and street theatre), at a beauty contest, an A.N.Z.A.C. parade, and examples of her confrontation with sexism on campus. This folder was a good illustration of praxis, of her reflection upon her theory-in-action. It has been, however, the radical students who have challenged the course as hierarchical and anti-feminist. These challenges expose the contradictions experienced by many feminists teaching and learning within academic institutions.

One radical feminist student's essay gave a useful description of the contradictions she was experiencing as a feminist student. I quote from her introduction in which, from a separatist and relativist position, she made the following statement:

"Why Feminists Drop Out Of University - Feminist Critique Of My Own University Experience

The very act of writing this essay involves me, as a radical feminist, in a series of contradictions.

Firstly, I am required to present a critique of my university education by presenting a piece of work in what I see as a patriarchal academic mode - that is, an essay which requires that I legitimise my own experience by providing 'adequate referencing'. I am obliged to validate my experience by quoting the writing of those who have 'succeeded' in the very institutions that I am attacking, and therefore have enough academic 'clout' to earn credibility, and the privilege of access to publishing resources.

Furthermore, I had a limited choice of topic for presentation and the end product is subject to assessment by a person placed above me in a hierarchical system, who will 'grade' it and rank me on a success/failure scale using 'standards' which I had no hand in setting. Paradoxically, in order to challenge the structure, value systems and operation of the university, I am forced to use those very forms which I find distasteful and alien - result: academic schizophrenia!"

In this, she was expressing some of the conflict that can arise within the university system's collection code when a student is working and learning in terms of a radical feminist separatist perspective. Within this course, heated debates took place between liberal and radical feminist students. These are exemplified in the following short excerpt from a tape-recorded class evaluation of the course:

- I. Assessment implies that there is a standard, that you either fail, or you win.
- B. I agree, but the university just won't allow a course without assessment.
- W. Well, then, it's not a feminist course, and women's studies is just part of the status quo and women's studies is no challenge to the establishment.
- O. Are you saying that the course is mere tokenism then?
- W. I'm saying that it's maintaining the status quo.
- O. What do you suggest?
- W. What do I suggest? Well I don't think that real feminist women's studies can happen in the university.
- O. Where do you think it could happen?

- W. I think it happens 'out there' in c.r. groups, in informal groups...
- P. ...can I come in? Even though I largely agree with you that things can be done better, and differently, and more feminist-orientated outside the university, don't you think its also good that there's something here within the institution?
- K There's a lot of people here that probably wouldn't have been exposed to it otherwise...
- J. I think that the course is important and I think that it should be within the university. What goes on outside, and this comes down again to the thing about what we mean by being educated; I hope that it doesn't stop here, that it's something that goes on all the time. All Sue is doing is passing on what she has learned, what she has gathered, to us, and we can go further. But for me Sue has got the know-how, because she's been in contact with more of the research, etc. etc. that's been done than you and I have. I know that we could go to the library and we could look up 'feminism' and we could look up the various sub-sections and we could read them, but I think that with a course, we're all different I know, but with a course we're forced to look at certain readings which we mightn't do otherwise on our own. I'm only pointing out why I think it's important that we have a leader.
- W. That you have a leader.
- J. Yes, that I need a leader."

DISCUSSION

Feminist educators in a university setting are in a position of 'double marginality.' They are marginal as academic women, and as feminists whose subject, women's studies, is also of marginal status within universities. This marginality may be seen as partly due to the youthfulness of the subject, and the struggles for legitimacy and visibility which have been characteristic of the emergence of new fields of study in general. However, a situation of continuing marginality has been brought about by the anomalous pattern of interdisciplinary and cross-departmental organisation of the women's studies programmes, a characteristic of programmes around the world which reflect the collaborative style of scholarship favoured by feminists (Bowles and Klein, 1983; Keohane, 1982; Spender, 1983).

The power dynamics of the 'collection knowledge code' in which groups of academics organised hierarchically into departments which compete for scarce resources is not conducive to the security and stability of 'integrated' forms of knowledge which are the province of junior academics from a variety of departments. To adopt the same structure as other subjects, however, could be destructive of women's studies: it could 'ghettoise' feminist scholarship, isolating it within the confines of its own department. Its presence within departments has meant that feminist academics have had some influence in introducing some women's studies content into other courses in the department and have served to stimulate awareness of sexist assumptions, attitudes and practices amongst their non-feminist colleagues and students (Bowles and Klein, 1983).

Feminist academics may also experience contradictions between their identity as academics and their involvement in the 'grass-roots' feminist movement outside the university. Feminist staff and students may be involved in the same groups and there can be tensions involved in being part of both the academic and the feminist communities:

"Women's Studies emerged from a political and social movement outside the walls of the university. As a result, its concerns are not strictly academic and its legitimacy is dependent on its acceptance by the feminist community as well as the standards of the academy. Women's Studies is responsible to the goals of the women's movement, goals which include a critique of these traditional 'standards of academia'" (Rutenberg, 1983, 75).

This potentially contradictory position further marginalises academic feminists: not only are they of marginal status within the professional hierarchies of the university, they may also be regarded by some radical feminists as marginal within the women's movement (Rutenberg, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Such critics regard activities such as the grading and assessment of feminist scholarship according to the criteria of the university as elitist and antithetical to the fundamental feminist principles of collaborative theory-building. A feminist academic who espoused such an extreme relativist position would be unable to survive as a scholar within the

institution (Rich, 1979). A tradition of separatism has emerged in women's studies teaching outside formal institutions and there have been debates between those who work for change within 'the system' and those who regard universities as inherently oppressive (Bowles and Klein, 1983). Those who espouse the separatist position are taking the view that the hierarchical organisation of knowledge in which some people are 'experts' with the power to 'pass' or 'fail' others is necessarily repressive. In this, they are taking a position which is very different from the experiences described by the women in the life history chapters of this thesis, who had experienced their university education as helping them to create a vision of the desirability and the possibility of change in their personal lives, and the lives of women in general. The emotional battering of academic women by radical feminist students who 'dispute their legitimacy' can be destructive not only of individuals, but of the establishment of women's studies as a legitimate field of study.

As a revolutionary movement, feminism, in academia as elsewhere, seeks an alteration in power relations. As an integrated knowledge code, women's studies shares the characteristics described by Bernstein (1971, 67) as

"an attempt to declassify and so alter power structures and principles of control; in so doing to unfreeze the structuring of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN:

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that New Zealand women who attended school in the post-war years and who have, as adults, become both educators and feminists have experienced in their lives contradictions and a sense of marginality, which have generated in them visions of both the desirability and the possibility of change. During their schooling, these women experienced contradictions between their upbringing and education to be 'intellectuals' and their upbringing as women - to be subordinately feminine and/or heterosexually active. The separation of sexuality and intellectuality has served a useful analytic purpose. However, in everyday human experience these may not be separated in this way. This concluding chapter will draw together these sociological constructions of sexuality and intellectuality.

It was argued (Chapter Three), using Foucault's (1980a) argument, that in New Zealand - during and after the Second World War - sexuality had

"...acquired a specific political significance...because it concerns characteristics and activities that are at the intersection between the discipline of the body and the control of the population" (Giddens, 1982, 219-220).

The question of the 'control of the population' was addressed earlier (Chapter Three). Foucault's (1980a) notion of the 'discipline of the body' provides a useful tool for further analysis. A chronological perspective on the lives of these women should offer a vantage point generative of further understandings of how 'gendered intellectuality' was constructed, reproduced and resisted in educational settings. In doing this, I hope to contribute to the understanding of what Foucault has termed the 'history of the present'. This task has been described by Sheridan (1980, 195) as

"to seek out the new, that which is coming to birth in the present - a present that most of us are unable to see because we see it through the eyes of the past, or through the eyes of a 'future' that is a projection of the past."

The 'present' is the experienced reality of New Zealand post-war-born feminist educators. This experienced reality includes their feminist and other perspectives on the social world, what Schutz (1970a, 11) termed "the specific meaning and relevance structure for the human beings living, acting and thinking within it." Schutz's 'specific meaning and relevance structures' consisted of 'sedimented layers of meanings': the women's interpretations and explanations of past events and influences are 'in the present'. It is these 'interpretations and explanations', not the 'past events and influences' themselves, which are the subject of the present study - a 'history of the present.'

Foucault's own 'histories of the present' studied what he termed (1980a) 'polymorphous techniques of power'. He viewed power as

"...an effect of the operation of social relationships, between groups and between individuals. It is not unitary; it has no essence. There are as many forms as there are types of relationship. Every group and every individual exercises power and is subject to it" (Sheridan, 1980, 219).

The education of the post-war period constructed and reproduced in both its stated departmental policies and its everyday cultural practices within schools what I shall refer to as 'gendered intellectuality.' Girls, and only girls, were to receive 'domestic training' as part of the compulsory common core curriculum (Chapter Three). While the liberal and official educational ideology of the post-war years was premised on the value of equality of opportunity to compete for positions in the social hierarchy, 'femininity' was socially constructed as 'subordination'. A useful illustration of this is Jane's comment (pp.302-304) about her experiences as a teacher of home economics: women who were teaching home economics were being 'put down' by their colleagues.

During their childhood years, the women had felt ambivalent about the process of being brought up to be 'feminine' and/or heterosexually aware. For example, Chris (p.277):

"I was getting into trouble with my parents for not wanting to do feminine things...I kept being pressured to be inside and help my mother. I wanted to be outside...doing active things..."

Her father had taught her to (p.277)

"dig the garden and grow vegetables, how to make concrete, how to make fences, I was hanging around when he was tinkering with the car...I liked doing that sort of thing, but I didn't get approval for it."

As creative individuals, the women devised strategies of reconciliation of, and/or resistance to, these experiences of contradiction. A useful example of 'resistance' (Chapter Thirteen) to the process of becoming 'heterosexually aware' was described by Marjorie (p.228):

"My mother kept telling me that I could be quite attractive if I'd only dress better... I quite deliberately dressed up in a sloppy and casual way - in an anti-feminine manner. I always did, and I always have, and I continue to. My mother tried desperately to buy me pretty dresses and things, but it never worked."

Activities associated with masculinity were perceived as having higher social status, and to be more intellectually and personally satisfying, than feminine things. For example, Sharon (pp.187-193 and Marjorie (pp.226-227), who said that she

"took on the beliefs of the society around me and identified with the men. As a child I was very much a 'tomboy'...I was still identified as a female, and therefore inferior, but I tried very hard not to be. I tried very hard to be as good as the boys physically."

Puberty and adolescence presented particular contradictions for tomboys. Sharon (Chapter Eight) discussed her experiences of constraints: of 'getting a hiding' from her father for coming home late because she had been with a family of boys. She was, in

adolescence, expected to change her body-image from that of a strong farm labourer to that of a 'feminine young lady' (p.190):

"...my father started saying things like 'You'll have to watch your nails' and things like that and you don't realise that those pressures are conflicting. You're out doing things on the farm - and then, you're supposed to be 'looking nice.'"

An analysis of the 'polymorphous techniques of power' must focus on what Laing (1971, 45) described as 'micro-history':

"...transformations extending for several generations in small social networks, especially families. This terrain lies between individual biography and larger-scale history. It is an area curiously neglected by sociologists, anthropologists and historians."

It was argued (Chapter Three, Five and Eight to Eleven) that 'gendered intellectuality' was socially constructed, contested, reproduced and resisted within the family and the school. The life histories have provided the kind of information needed for a sociological analysis of the subtle influences 'significant others', such as parents, teachers and grandparents, may have on a child's aspirations, expectations, achievements and perspectives. It was noted (Chapters Four and Five) that previous analyses had not taken the mother's influence sufficiently into consideration. They had focussed on establishing statistical correlations between father's occupation and school success. As MacDonald (1979/80, 151), expressed it, sociologists should place greater emphasis on "...the operation of the sexual division of labour in the creation and the nature of cultural capital."

All of the women studied perceived their mothers as having been in some senses unhappy, unfulfilled or frustrated, attributing this to the general lack of educational or vocational opportunities for women before the war, set-backs brought about by the 1930s depression, the effects of the war itself, and the individual circumstances of their mothers' families. For example, Barbara (p.210) mentioned the effects of her

"..mother never being able to achieve the ambitions she probably felt she had. I never ever heard her complain about it. She's never, in any sense, held it over my head saying, 'You've got to do better than me'...but I always felt she wanted me to."

It was noted (Chapter Eight) that several of the women had mothers who had 'married down'. Women who 'married in' to farming districts were described as not 'fitting in' to the rural subculture, for example Sharon's mother was 'too educated' (p.188), and Pauline (p.214) expressed the following sentiments:

"When I was a kid I used to be really ashamed that she did things like she danced in the operatic society and she used to practise dancing in the kitchen when we had kids visiting...when I was a kid, she was 'different'.. she used to wear fashionable clothes."

In this, the mothers' lives were perceived as 'marginal' - both mother and daughter experiencing that feeling described by Schutz (1944) as being a 'cultural hybrid' with the understanding of two different 'patterns of group life.'

During adolescence, particularly once they had started secondary school, the women felt strongly pressured to become heterosexually aware. Chris (pp.277-282) resisted the imposition of 'compulsory heterosexuality' (Rich, 1980) by becoming a lesbian. Colleen, used to the company of her six brothers, found the adolescent girls' subculture at her Catholic secondary school 'anthropologically strange' (Greene, 1973). She commented (p.242) that

"...if you talked to a boy, there were sexual connotations....To me, boys weren't like that at all... there was a deviousness with girls that I found very hard to cope with...quite often they were willing to get in on everything, but , once you were caught, they always passed the buck."

The women's families' attitudes to sexuality were 'Victorian' (Foucault, 1980a; Thompson, 1971 edition). Even the biological

'facts of life' were seldom freely discussed (Chapter Eleven). The experience of physically becoming a woman, menstruation, was socially constructed as a shameful, dirty secret. Those who had begun to menstruate at an early age (e.g. Sharon, Chapter Eight) described this time as one of increasing parental restrictions on their physical freedom. As Thompson (1971 edition, 132) wrote of American girls in the Victorian era, for these post-World War Two babies

"...womanhood began with much unpleasantness. It was characterised by feelings of body shame, loss of equality with boys, and loss of the right to be aggressive."

The social organisation of school knowledge was designed to reproduce meritocratic, and gendered intellectuality. The 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1971a, 1971b) of the 'academic' (or 'professional') streams was that of the middle and professional class (Chapters Four, Five, Eight to Ten). For example, Tahuri (p.195) described the pupils in '3 Professional A' as "...the doctors' kids, the lawyers' kids, the boss of the supermarket's kids, the research scientists' kids". They wore, when not in school uniform (p.202), "...twinsets and pearls and beautifully cut skirts and neat shoes with discreet heels ...carbon copies of their mothers."

Foucault's (1980a, 28) discussion of the 'internal discourse' of sexuality in schools provides a further tool for this analysis:

"On the whole one can have the impression that sex was hardly spoken of at all in these institutions. But one only has to glance at the architectural layout, the rules of discipline, and their whole internal organisation: the question of sex was a constant preoccupation... What one might call the internal discourse of the institution - the one it employed to address itself and which circulated amongst those who made it function - was largely based on this assumption that this sexuality existed, that it was precocious, active and ever present".

This 'precocity', 'activity' and 'omnipresence' of sexuality in the secondary school has been demonstrated in these women's

descriptions of the distinct, and differentially-valued typifications of 'gendered intellectuality' which were constructed and reproduced within the family and school settings (Chapter Three, Four, Eight to Eleven). For example, several women described their choice of course at secondary school - 'academic' or 'commercial' and/or their choice of career, as having been influenced by what sociologists (e.g. Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971; Codd, et al 1985a; Hodges, 1979; Tilly, 1979) have termed the 'marital strategies of class-located patriarchal families.' Margaret (p.198) commented

"It was a slightly 'snobby' thing, I suppose. Obviously, if you have an intelligent daughter, I suppose you don't want her to marry a drainlayer...I would go to university. I would have a career...which would make me more interesting...I would make some brilliant professional man an exciting wife."

A university education and a career such as teaching would be "a short adventure between school and marriage" (Watson, 1966, 159). Career-minded girls in the top academic streams were described by the women as either 'swots' or 'intellectuals'. The term 'swots' was one of derogation: these girls, and some of their teachers, were seen as a-sexual and destined for spinsterhood (Chapter Eight to Eleven). Part of a commercial girl's schooling was learning the type of dress and grooming that was expected in the office (Chapter Five, Chapter Eight, Taylor, 1984). They saw themselves and their teachers as more glamorous than the 'swots', for whom open flaunting of their sexuality was viewed as a sign of delinquency (Chapter Four, Chapter Five, Chapters Eight to Eleven). For example, Tahuri wearing her 'Elvis' costume on mufti day, (p.202) and Chris's 'dykey' image (p.278). The 'academic girls' described their adolescent fantasies of life as intellectuals. Margaret (p.200) described her teenage image of herself as the girl-friend of an intellectual male:

"...they would lie around with candles and read Eliot to each other. They were quite amazing guys. I remember reading Eliot ad infinitum in the Seventh Form - we had to read the complete works. I grew to hate T.S. Eliot. Well, I don't think I ever understood a word of it, but I did know that it was a frightfully amazing, intellectual thing to understand..."

Marjorie, a child of English parents, had to 'speak properly' (p.226). On being taken to exhibitions of New Zealand contemporary paintings and pottery by her art teacher, Barbara (pp.211-212) threw out all her 'Little Dickie' ornaments and from then on "collected modern art prints." The culture of top streams in girls' schools was based on the 'habitus' of the urban intellectual or professional class. The women whose parents had 'put them in commercial' had felt deprived of an academic education. For example, Sharon (p.193) said that she still felt marginal in her identity as an intellectual:

"I missed a lot of ground work...I think there are things that you never actually catch up on, just basic general knowledge of how the world operates. All about religion, all about politics, all about the history of the world...even though I can get to a certain standard now, and I've got a good degree, I still have a basic 'lacking'. But I'll never catch up. I'll never be able to read fast enough. I'll never catch up on those 'booky' type things in my whole life."

The cultural practices of the school administration, and the adolescent girls' subcultures of secondary schools, constructed and reproduced a racist, as well as a gendered, intellectuality. Tahuri (p.201) explained that

"To get into the Maori language classes you had to be in the general stream, which meant second or third class intellect...and because I was top stream, I had to be fed a diet of French and Latin."

Within her peer subculture in the academic stream, Tahuri's Maoriness was unacceptable (p.239):

"...kids have cake stalls...and I got up and said, 'I'll bring a rawene bread'. 'Oo, what's that?' And I said, 'Maori bread'. 'We don't want that on our stall.'"

These observations lend support in New Zealand to Bourdieu's (1971a, 175) idea of a hierarchy of cultural works. Cultural artefacts were seen as

"...established in a hierarchy according to their degree of legitimacy. One may observe that in a given society at a given moment in time not all cultural signs are equal in dignity and value."

'Intellectuals' like Barbara (p.212) spent their leisure time "going to all the right concerts and listening to the tone of the violins and reading all the right books." They were also expected to remain virgins - this was true of all twelve women studied. 'Academic girls', such as Margaret (p.200) and Pat (p.271) noted that virginity had been the norm in their classes. They associated overt sexual activity, as well as low intelligence, with girls in the commercial, homecraft, and other lower streams, e.g. Margaret, p.200; Tahuri, p.202; Janet, p.253; Josephine, pp.270-271. According to Pat (p.269):

"...we were in the top streams and there was no-one that I can think of in our group who got pregnant...You were always hearing about someone in the lowest type of classes getting pregnant."

A number of the women mentioned the stigma at the time against 'unmarried mothers' as a major deterrent on their having sex (e.g. Pat, p.269; Jill, p.268). Girls who were seen as 'easy' were subjected to the harsh judgments of the 'double standard' (Chapter Four; Chapter Eleven) of sexual morality. Those who 'got pregnant' were sometimes compelled to hide their condition from their parents' acquaintances, and sometimes even their parents, e.g. Diane, (p.272):

"I chose to go secretly to the North Island and go through the whole pain of child-birth...and 'finding my feet', on my own, and in a strange place, broke, at the age of nineteen-and-a-half, rather than deal with my mother being in on the situation."

The 'internal discourses' of the women's families and schools lend support in New Zealand for Foucault's (1980a, 28) analysis of 'power/knowledge' in secondary schools as "based on the assumption that...sexuality existed, that it was precocious, active and ever

present." The interwoven practices in the home and in the school constructed and reproduced a gendered, racist, intellectuality based on the double standard (Engels, 1946 edition) of female sexual morality. 'Low stream', and particularly 'low stream Maori' (Tahuri, p.202) girls were typified as more sexually active and less intelligent. Overtly sexual academic girls were treated as deviant, for example, Geraldine (p.203). Foucault (1980a, 35) has provided a powerful statement on the centrality of sexuality in schools and other sites:

"What is peculiar to modern societies, in fact, is not that they consigned sexuality to a shallow existence, but that they dedicated themselves to speaking of it ad infinitum, while exploiting it as the secret."

The women described experiences of marginality as having been formative of their political ideas as feminist intellectuals. While some of these have already been mentioned with respect to the women's mothers' aspirations and change of status after marriage, others discussed in the life-histories were experiences of class, or 'gendered class', marginality. This was particularly true of the women whose fathers, or mothers, came from working-class families (e.g. Marjorie, p.225; Barbara, p.208-213). Janet (p.250) described her father's socialist and union sympathies as having had a strong impact on her thinking as a school-girl:

"...very early on I was aware that my father was, that my family were, strongly Labour supporters, that my Dad was a unionist, that I got told things about the Depression, and the waterfront strike later on, from the side of the workers always. And I'm sure that's where my sympathies for socialism really grew."

Fathers with working-class backgrounds, however, held conservative views on the nature of education. 'Success' was measured in what Janet (p.250) described as 'conventional middle-class terms.' Marjorie described her (English) father's attitude to 'hard work' (p.225):

"My father's family were incredibly right wing; even though they were poor, they bought the capitalist myth - if you work hard, you can make it...The only future...for a young man is in the office and that's where you get your pension. You don't want to go 'working for yourself', because that's the road to ruin."

This upwardly-mobile working-class ethic is characteristic of Sharp's (1981, 112-113) analysis of 'petit-bourgeois ideology' with its themes of

"...ontological anxiety, exaggerated commitment to individualistic competitiveness, and its conceptualisation of social hierarchies as open, natural and just."

During their schooling, many of the women had become involved in the 'social issues' (Mills, 1959) of the day. They had done so at a very personal level. For example, Marjorie had begun to question her father's support for American (and therefore New Zealand's) involvement in the South East Asian War (p.229):

"...it was an emotional thing. I just couldn't bear the pictures of the starving children and the napalm and the women - that started to get to me in an emotional way."

Tahuri gave the following examples:

"I and remember when Vervoed got in and we had to 'pray for the Black babies' and the nun actually telling us, and she was weeping, about Apartheid and what was happening in South Africa" (p.238).

"...one of the boys who was very Irish, coming to school one day in tears, and we learned that his uncle had been shot..." (p.238).

Some of the women had, then, in their families and schools, access to ideas which articulated their personal experiences of 'marginality' or discrimination in terms of 'the social' (Mills, 1959). Stories of

radical activists told in the women's school-years inspired them to seek change in the condition and status of oppressed groups, such as Maoris and 'the workers' (e.g. Janet, p.250; Fiona, pp.313-318; Aroha, pp.307-310).

Experiences such as that of cultural marginality in the top academic stream (Chapter Ten) were not pleasant - a sense of 'not belonging' can be fraught with tension, particularly if the group to which one is 'the stranger' (Schutz, 1944) is the dominant, high status, group (Chapter Eight). The personal experience of marginality led the women to view change as desirable, while access to radical perspectives such as Marxism, socialism, or theories about racism, helped them to apprehend such changes as also possible. Those who had become aware during their schooling of inequalities and injustices of race and/or class reported that they had had little difficulty identifying with feminism as adults.

The strong sense of class marginality, of 'being a cultural hybrid' or a 'marginal intellectual' (Bourdieu, 1971a, 179) was a likely characteristic of those recruited into teaching during the shortages of the 1950s and 1960s (Chapters Three, Four and Five). The increased availability of secondary and higher education in the post-war years meant that children from economically-impooverished families, but who had the necessary 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1971a; 1971b; Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1971), ensured that many whose parents had not had the opportunity to attend secondary school or university and therefore did not have 'qualifications', could attend university as full-time students. The provision of financial incentives to those willing to 'bond' themselves to teaching after completing their degrees, together with the widespread availability of casual, part-time, and seasonal employment, meant that students could be financially independent of their parents.

The decision to attend university and/or teachers' college was described by some as a result of the personal examples of strong, independent, intellectual women, e.g. Margaret (p.198):

"...my grandmother was always held up to me...she was very bright and had got a degree in maths and she'd had a big struggle to get it."

Teachers were also cited as examples of strong female images, e.g. Janet's comments (p.252):

"If I liked the teacher, I did well. I came 'top' of science in the third form, because we had this 'neat' teacher, a 'Doctor'. She was one of the 'old school' - she was very maternal and lovely, she wore a gown. She had this aura of 'European, successful independent woman. '...I knew she was a 'Doctor' and she'd been to an 'overseas' university."

Stories of Catholic woman saints, who "were 'political' in that they stood up for what they believed" (Colleen, pp.245) and heroines of the Second World War - spies and the French Resistance (Tahuri, p.223) were cited as sources of the women's visions of change and their power to effect it:

"We were told things like the story of Violet Szabo...and how she won the military cross and how she was a war hero...we were read reams about Joan of Arc and how she was a warrior, and how that was a really good thing for a woman to be. We were told about the heroines of the French Resistance. We were given amazingly dynamic models of what women could do, as well as men."

Although all twelve women had been brought up with a strict belief in the importance of virginity before marriage (Chapter Three, Chapter Eleven), by their late 'teens to early twenties, not one of them remained a virgin. One girl, (Chapter Eleven) had begun to 'sleep with' her boyfriend in the sixth form (he using condoms) out of a 'fear of losing him'. Two of the women had been victims of sexual abuse - one was raped at nineteen by a boy peer, the other a victim of father-daughter incest in childhood. These women described these experiences as a source of shame and degradation, which led them to become estranged from their parents and to sexual difficulties, including periods of promiscuity, as young adults. They expressed

feelings of worthlessness. For example, Rachel had, in the sixth form, run away to escape the violence at home (pp.286-287). She was able to use her body, her physical sexuality as a means of economic support (p.286):

"I was doing well at school in my school-work, but my emotional state and everything were so...terrible, and I just couldn't stand it at home or anything. So I went, and I was living with these guys in this flat...I'd taken off in the middle of the night. I...used to clean up the flat for them, and they'd come back, and I'd sort of cook up their meals and stuff. I guess I was just being used. I was very much being used - as a housekeeper and cooker, and to have sex on the sideline."

While some of the women's first sexual encounters had been forced upon them, others had made conscious choices to explore their sexuality freely. These women were influenced by the permissive ideas of the 'sexual revolution' (Chapter Two), which were contrary to their parents' and schools' attitudes towards sexual morality. The decision to 'lose one's virginity' outside of marriage was, for women whose parents upheld the dominant ideology of feminine domesticity, a stressful one. For such women, becoming a 'non-virgin' could, if it became known, mean a degree of alienation from their parents. Rather than confide in their parents, such women led a 'double life'. For example, girls who were 'having affairs' often concealed the fact from their parents, since to be sexually active openly could lead to being regarded as a 'slut' (e.g. Cathy, p.284; Rachel, pp.287-288).

The 'sexual revolution' offered young women a vision that changes in patterns of sexual morality were possible. Their mothers' lives did not inspire these women with a desire for emulation: marriage for their mothers had meant subordination. While some of the women sought alternative patterns of sexual relationships as young adults - de facto relationships, a sequence of brief affairs, lesbian relationships - others had married in their early twenties. Those whose marriages had been premised on patriarchal 'sex-roles' underwent considerable stress when, as mature women, they sought higher education as a means of gaining access to professions which would give

them financial autonomy and intellectual/political stimulation e.g. Rachel, p.288).

An example of the stress brought about in the conflict between the ideology of virginity before marriage and the 'permissive anarchy' of the 'sexual revolution' was Sharon's (p.192) nervous illness. Cathy (p.282) found the 'dramas of her sex life' took up most of her energy at university, making it impossible to 'concentrate on work'. University was a site for the realisation of her marital strategies (p.285):

"I very much wanted a steady relationship with one person, and most of my energy when I was young was directed at finding that. I don't think I could ever have succeeded at university without that. I feel so much different being at university or studying now, because I've got all that sorted out."

In the cases of Cathy (pp.282-286); Rachel, (pp.2861-289), and others, 'sexuality', then 'intellectuality', dominated their lives in sequence.

The freedom of the 'sexual revolution' was politically controlled by the 'medicalisation of sex' (Foucault, 1980a). Some of the women described the attitudes of doctors towards unmarried women who wanted 'the pill'. The availability of the contraceptive pill has been described by O'Brien (1982, 110) as

"...a world-historical event...in that men and women are both in the position of being able to mediate the separation of copulation and reproduction. The material and conceptual base of the 'double standard' no longer exists and women are now exploring the ramifications of freedom and control."

The medical profession accorded 'sexual freedom' to women within marriage. For example, Cynthia had got married at twenty-one, since to 'live with' her lover would have alienated her from her strict and religious parents (p.290):

"I felt I was quite radical. At least I was getting married and going on the pill and not going to have children. Everybody else I knew was saving for their first house...we thought we were quite 'with it' ...we didn't even buy furniture when we got married. We got married and then went away [overseas] for a [working] holiday."

As a single woman, Cathy was not given 'the pill' by her doctor. She described the anxiety this caused her and other women students at the time (p.283):

"...you couldn't get 'the pill' in those days...it was just dreadful. If you knew a doctor who would give it to somebody that wasn't married, the word would get around like wild-fire."

Feminism made the contradictions in women's lives visible, through identifying, 'naming' (Freidan, 1963) and analysing them. The process of becoming a feminist was described as one of coming to see personal experiences of contradictions and/or marginality as outcomes of broader social inequalities in the distribution of power/knowledge. Experiences of sexual oppression and confusion (e.g. Geraldine, pp.174-179; Cathy, pp.282-286; Chris, pp.277-282) came to be seen as social products, rather than symptoms of 'personal inadequacy'. A useful description of a feminist view of the gendered 'discipline of the body' was given by Cora who had chosen 'political celibacy' (Chapter Six, Chapter Eleven) as a strategy (p.293):

"The men seemed to me like alien creatures, like a totally different species to women...I would see men walking down the street with women - obviously heterosexual women - very much in the mode of women as adapted by newspaper advertisements - the media image of women, the very stereotyped image of how a woman should be. And I'd see...women tottering down the street in their high heels with their hair looking uncomfortable, or wearing clothes that didn't look comfortable. And the men striding beside them, much more 'using their bodies', much more 'in' their clothes and using body language - it would seem, more comfortable and free. and it seemed to me at the time, the women were absolutely captive. It seemed to me that they were less than human, less than the men."

Another example of 'the personal' becoming 'political' was Cynthia's (p.291) description of her feminist consciousness-raising experience - having to give up her teaching job through lack of child-care:

"There's this sort of separation between what you read and your theory and practice anyway - its very hard to get them together....It wasn't until I had children that for the first time I realised what the books, what feminism, was about ...It was having to give up my job...I hated being 'financially dependent'."

The women studied had come into contact with feminist ideas during the 1970s when they had left school. They were tertiary students, teachers, or taking time out of the paid work-force to bring up children at the time they had first encountered feminism. For many, education was what had accorded them access to feminist thought: for example, Jane's, (pp.304-305) social science course; Fiona's (pp.314-315) introduction to sociology; Hine's (p.224) experience with a feminist tutor in a university social science course; Cora's (p.292) and Fiona's (p.317) contact with feminist 'mature' women students in their classes; Chris's (pp.280-281) experience as a graduate student of seeing feminist students 'put down' by male lecturers. The impact of university women's studies courses was mentioned by Jane (p.307) as offering powerful theoretical tools for the analysis of her experiences as a woman in education:

"I've had all these loose ideas floating around from the last four or five years - from teaching, from Playcentre, from being a 'Mum', from being a 'Mum back in education' after all that time. And suddenly there are people talking about things that have happened to me. I spent a lot of time last year changing my position. When I wrote an essay for a women's studies course, I kept changing, thinking, 'I think I'm a Marxist, no - I'm definitely a radical', and then I'd have doubts...the more reading I did."

The women's experiences in the family and in education, as children and as adult students, had led them to view education as a means of bringing about social change. As radical teachers, they

aimed to help their students to view their personal experiences of oppression, marginality or discrimination as outcomes of social inequalities, to formulate theories which account for such inequalities, and to design strategies for their resolution. The women described their experiences of being 'feminist teachers' in the context of formal educational institutions as a 'double marginality' (Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen). First, they experienced this as women, who were marginal in striving for and attaining senior positions in male-dominated career hierarchies. Women were described by some (e.g. Aroha, pp.309-310) as being more concerned as a group than men in the teaching profession with 'social issues'. Aroha (p.309) spoke of her difficulty in encouraging other women to seek 'positions of responsibility':

"...the more women that get themselves in these positions ...women who are concerned with 'social issues'...I do encourage other women around me to do that sort of thing, but a lot of them have the attitudes that I used to have. They're quite happy to stay 'in the classroom.' It's sad."

Jane, troubled by the derogatory attitudes of her colleagues to her subject of home economics, became involved in setting up her local 'Feminist Teachers' group (p.305):

"There were lots of hassles...women not applying for positions, why they didn't apply and, if they did apply, why they didn't get the jobs, the P.R.s."

In addition to their sense of marginality as women in male-dominated career hierarchies, the women described a further experience of marginality as feminists - members of a dissenting minority. For example, Marie, a 'mature student' at teachers' college, described the attitudes towards her of many of the other students, particularly those of 'fundamentalist Christian' (pp.311-312) persuasions, as "something rather vile and low." A further example was described by Fiona (p.317), also a 'mature' teachers' college student:

"A lot of the younger students were really anti - feminist, terribly 'anti'. The three girls who were involved with feminism - they thought they were really 'anti-men', because they were going through the same stage that I had been through - of going out with guys and thinking guys were really marvellous. They were at a completely different growth stage than we were at, who had gone through all that, and seen the other side. So I can remember a really strong feeling in the class; there was a real barrier between a few of us older ones who thought similarly, especially on 'women's issues', versus the others, who didn't - there was quite a barrier between us on that."

Feminist university teachers whose 'subject' was 'women's studies' experienced, in addition to their marginality as women and as feminists, the continuing marginalisation of their subject (Chapters Twelve and Thirteen). The social organisation of academic women's studies contradicts the dominant, compartmentalised and 'discipline-based' (departmental) structure of the dominant 'collection' knowledge code (Bernstein, 1971). The interdisciplinary and interdepartmental structure of women's studies makes it vulnerable to decisions made within contributing departments and at senior policy-making levels of the institution, at which it may not, because of the 'junior' nature of its staff, be directly represented. Such conditions, characteristic of what Bernstein (1971) termed 'integrated knowledge codes', may in themselves generate in participants a radical critique of the institution, which is seen as unable, or unwilling, to accommodate new and dissenting voices. As Bourdieu (1971a, 179) recognised, "attacks against academic orthodoxy" are most likely to come from the "intellectuals situated on the fringes of the university system."

For some of the women, teaching style and methods were not seen as feminist issues in that their educational strategies, in line with 'liberal feminist' aims, were centred on encouraging more girls and women into 'non-traditional' subjects and occupations and/or attaining positions of seniority. Others, however, advocated a style of teaching which took into account pupils' emotions and which helped them to view the 'personal' as 'the social or political'. This approach was regarded with suspicion in some teaching situations. For example, Marie (pp.312-313) noted that when

"On section I did a unit on classical music and we talked about composers and things like that. Well, those children were five, and yet many of them could talk about composers, and the different symphonies and what they had composed...We also did movement to music. Now my teacher felt that wasn't a 'bread and butter' subject."

Women who espoused a radical, activist, pedagogy described the contradictions they experienced teaching in institutions which were structured according to the dictates of the 'collection code', e.g. Terry (p.326):

"in the tertiary system, how can you deal with the 'full person'? There are so many structures militating against that - sheer numbers, the fact that its all timetabled and cut up the way it is..."

Teachers such as Terry had developed teaching strategies which, in both their form and content, challenged their students to question the power/knowledge relations in education (p.325):

"This idea of the 'teacher and the learner' should be a very dynamic thing and if people are naturally learning, they're often busy teaching each other and they're learning from each other...this is the person that 'knows' and this the person that 'doesn't know'...I actually go into my classes and discuss educational problems just as specifically as that: 'I'm here as a learner.' And then if they want to bring up things like 'You're being paid X thousand dollars a year and I'm not', then we can talk about that. We can talk about the difference in power that represents - how it influences them, how it influences me, questions about assessments, patriarchy, everything..."

In this, Terry discussed a useful example of what Bernstein (1971, 67) described as

"...an attempt to declassify and so alter power structures and principles of control; in so doing to unfreeze the structuring of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness."

Through the technique of life-history analysis, this thesis has analysed what Mills (1959, 11) described as

"...the larger historical scene in terms of the meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals."

According to Mills (1959, 207) people in 'western' post-war societies were powerless in that they were

"...gripped by personal troubles which they are not able to turn into social issues. They do not understand the interplay of these personal troubles of their milieux with problems of social structure."

In contrast, the focus of this thesis has been on women who have come to adopt a radical critique of the social world. It has addressed the questions of how New Zealand post-war-born women educators came to identify themselves as feminists and how their feminism has influenced their educational practice. The women were viewed, not as helplessly 'conditioned' for passivity, but as active and creative strategists, who devised means of dealing with, and resolving, the contradictions they experienced in their lives. To recognise 'personal troubles' as 'social issues' a woman must feel unhappy, stressed, dissatisfied with her lot. She must have access to ideas which articulate for her these experiences of ambivalence, contradiction or marginality as outcomes of social inequalities. For these twelve women, education offered a vision of both the desirability and the possibility of change in their own lives, and in those of women in general.

The recording and analysis of women's life-histories has been described by Rowbotham (1979, 9) as "...a contribution to the cultural challenge by women of men's hold over the way in which the world is seen, felt, known and understood." As a piece of feminist writing, this thesis is a strategy for identifying, analysing and resolving contradictions as experienced by post-war New Zealand, and other, feminist educators. Its task has been "... to seek out the new, that

which is coming to birth in the present - a present that most of us are unable to see because we see it through the eyes of the past" (Sheridan, 1980, 195). As a 'history of the present', this thesis is, in Foucault's sense, "...an effect of the operation of social relationships" (Sheridan, 1980, 219). For as Bauman (1978, 17) has argued

"History and its understanding become essentially the same process; the understanding of the past, the effort to penetrate and to capture the meaning of human deeds is itself history. Acting as an agent of this understanding, the historian is subject to the logic of history."

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